



**Gambling In Elizabethan England:
Perspectives on England's 'Lotterie Generall'
of 1567–69**

by

Patrick Seymour Ball, BA (hons), BSc (hons)

School of Humanities

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Declaration of Originality

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'Who would complete without the extra day
the journey that should take no time at all?'

— W. H. Auden

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Abstract

This study concerns Elizabeth I's attempt to establish a state lottery as a means of 'voluntary taxation'. The outcome was unhappy. Under one twelfth of the 400,000 tickets sold, with drastic measures required to achieve even so much. The sales period was extended greatly and people coerced into taking part; to avoid making a loss the organisers ultimately found it necessary to diminish every prize to one twelfth its original value. The thesis approaches the lottery from several angles. Its early chapters treat the scheme as a single, big event, contextualising it against the history of English gambling and evolution of European lotteries. Within this broader setting, socio-cultural and political contributors to the failure are explored. Later chapters involve closer scrutiny of specific participants and tickets, informed by methodologies such as quantitative history, microhistory and prosopography. Several factors make this possible. The printed lists of prizewinning tickets have partly survived, preserving details of around four thousand purchases. Participants were expected to devise posies for their tickets: short sayings or rhymes, original or quotation, to be read publicly when each ticket was drawn. This offered those buying under duress an avenue for complaint. Moreover, a high proportion of them were social elites. Not only can such individuals be identified, further details about them can be located. This enables their posies to be interpreted in context, rather than taken literally: sarcasm, equivocation, double meanings, etc. become visible, suggesting political undercurrents not immediately apparent. The late 1560s involved tension, abroad and domestically. The lottery coincided closely with Mary Stewart's materialisation in England. The thesis contends that an awareness of her presence helps make sense of certain posies, while the tickets may preserve evidence of early reactions to her appearance.

CONVENTIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Conventions

Those lottery tickets whose details are preserved at the Surrey History Centre are referenced in the text and notes by the ticket number alone (Ticket 831, and so forth); Appendix B gives the full reference, including page and column numbers.

Biblical citations are from the Geneva Bible unless otherwise specified; quotations from Shakespeare come from *The Oxford Shakespeare*, second edition; translations are original except where otherwise stated.

Biographical entries from the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* use an abbreviated title in the footnotes, with the subject's name and dates — ‘*DNB*, “Naunton, Sir Robert (1563–1635)”’ — with full details under the Bibliography's listing for the *DNB* (ordered alphabetically): “Naunton, Sir Robert (1563–1635), politician”, by Roy E. Schreiber’. Citation from other biographical dictionaries follows the same procedure. The *History of Parliament's* member biographies are treated similarly. However, these cite the work's online edition, identified by the editor of the relevant printed series (Bindoff, Hasler, etc.): ‘Bindoff, “HALES, John II”’ in the notes becomes ‘Bindoff, “HALES, John II (by 1516–72), of Coventry, Warws. and London”’.

Footnote citations from volumes in the Victoria County History series take the following format: ‘*VCH*, Oxford 8, “Aston Rowant”, p. 26.’ The Calendar of State Papers is cited: ‘*CSP Domestic, Elizabeth: 1591–94*, pp. 159–60.’ Heralds' visitations are standardised as: *Visitation: Huntingdon, 1613*; the titles of the published works are given in the list of abbreviations below. A short-title catalogue reference is supplied with early modern printed works.

Dictionaries, calendars, online catalogues, etc. appear in the bibliography under the heading Tertiary Sources, as do collections of pedigrees when these are not primary sources such as heralds' visitations.

List of Abbreviations

Full reference details of these works are provided in the bibliography

<i>Acts of the Privy Council</i>	<i>Acts of the Privy Council: New Series</i> , ed. J. Dasent
<i>Alumni Oxonienses</i>	<i>Alumni Oxonienses: Early Series, 1500–1714</i> , ed. J. Foster
<i>Alumni Cantabrigienses</i>	<i>Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part I: to 1751</i> , ed. Venn and Venn
AND	<i>Anglo-Norman Dictionary</i> (online edition)
Bindoff	<i>The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1509–1558</i> , ed. S. Bindoff
Bateson, <i>Bishops' Letters</i>	M. Bateson (ed.), 'A Collection of Original Letters from the Bishops to the Privy Council, 1564'
BL	The British Library
Blackstone, <i>Commentaries</i>	W. Blackstone, <i>Commentaries on the Laws of England</i>
Burke, <i>Commoners</i>	J. Burke, <i>A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland</i>
Calvin, <i>Institutes</i>	<i>Institutes of the Christian Religion</i>
CCEd	<i>The Clergy of the Church of England Database</i>
CCR	<i>Calendar of the Close Rolls</i>
Chamberlain, <i>Letters</i>	<i>The Letters of John Chamberlain</i> , ed. N. McClure
Cheney, <i>Handbook of Dates</i>	<i>A Handbook of Dates for Students of British History</i> , ed. Cheney and Jones
CPR Ireland	<i>Calendar of the Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery in Ireland</i>
CSP	<i>Calendar of State Papers</i>
CSP Ireland	<i>Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Ireland</i>
DCB	<i>Dictionary of Canadian Biography</i> (online edition)
DIB	<i>Dictionary of Irish Biography</i>
DNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> (online edition)

<i>DWB</i>	<i>Dictionary of Welsh Biography</i> (online edition)
<i>Eastward Ho!</i>	Jonson, Chapman and Marston, <i>Eastward Ho!</i> , ed. C. Petter
<i>FamilySearch</i>	<i>FamilySearch: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints</i> (online genealogical database)
Fénelon, <i>Correspondance diplomatique</i>	<i>Correspondance diplomatique de Bertrand de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon</i> , ed. A. Teulet
Foxe, <i>Acts and Monuments</i>	<i>Acts and Monuments of John Foxe</i> , ed. S. Cattley
Froissart, <i>Chronicles</i>	J. Froissart, <i>Chronicles of England, France, Spain, and the Adjoining Countries</i> , trans. T. Johnes
Fuller, <i>Worthies</i>	T. Fuller, <i>The Worthies of England</i> , ed. P. Nuttall
Gargrave, 'Articles'	T. Gargrave, 'Articles', in <i>York Civic Records</i> , vol. 6, ed. A. Raine, pp. 137–38
Hakluyt, <i>Principal Navigations</i>	R. Hakluyt, <i>The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation</i>
Harington, 'Treatise'	J. Harington, 'Treatise on Playe', in <i>Nugae Antiquae</i> , vol. 1, ed. Harington and Park
Hasler	<i>The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1558–1603</i> , ed. P. Hasler
Hasted, <i>Kent</i>	E. Hasted, <i>The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent</i> , 2nd edn
<i>Henry VIII: Letters and Papers</i>	<i>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII</i>
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
HMC, <i>Salisbury</i>	<i>Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Salisbury Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire</i>
HMC, <i>Seventh Report</i>	Seventh Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts
HMC, <i>Twelfth Report</i>	Twelfth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts
Holinshed	R. Holinshed, <i>Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland</i>
<i>Homilies</i>	<i>Certain Sermons or Homilies Appointed to Be Read in Churches in the Time of the Late Queen Elizabeth</i>

Howell, <i>State Trials</i>	<i>A Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason and Other Crimes and Misdemeanors</i> , ed. T. Howell
<i>Inner Temple Records</i>	<i>A Calendar of the Inner Temple Records</i> , ed. F. Inderwick
James VI, <i>Basilicon Doron</i>	<i>The Basilicon Doron of King James VI</i>
Kemp, <i>Loseley MSS</i>	<i>The Loseley Manuscripts</i> , ed. A. Kemp
<i>Lincoln's Inn Admissions</i>	<i>Records of the Honorable Society of Lincoln's Inn, Volume I: Admissions</i> , ed. W. Paley Baildon
<i>Lincoln's Inn Black Books</i>	<i>Records of the Honorable Society of Lincoln's Inn: The Black Books</i> , ed. J. Douglas Walker
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
<i>London Port Books</i>	<i>The Port and Trade of Early Elizabethan London: Documents</i> , ed. B. Dietz
Lottery Chart	Lottery Chart, 1567, SHC, Loseley MSS, 6729/7/144
Lysons, <i>Magna Britannia</i>	D. and S. Lysons, <i>Magna Britannia, Being a Concise Topographical Account of the Several Counties of Great Britain</i>
Machyn, <i>Diary</i>	<i>The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, From A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1563</i> , ed. J. Nichols
<i>MED</i>	<i>Middle English Dictionary</i> (online edition)
Murdin, <i>State Papers</i>	W. Murdin, (ed.), <i>A Collection of State Papers Relating to Affairs in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth</i>
Nichols, <i>Progresses and Processions</i>	<i>The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth</i> , ed. J. Nichols
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> (online edition)
Parkin, <i>Norfolk</i>	<i>An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk</i> , ed. C. Parkin
<i>Returns of Aliens</i>	<i>Returns of Aliens Dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London</i> , ed. Kirk and Kirk
Rhodes, <i>Boke of Nurture</i>	'The Boke of Nurture by Hugh Rhodes', in <i>The Boke of Nurture by Iohn Russell, etc.</i> , ed. F. Furnivall
Rymer, <i>Fædera</i>	<i>Fædera, conventiones, litteræ et cujuscunque generis acta publica etc.</i> , ed. T. Rymer

<i>Shakespeare Lexicon</i>	<i>Shakespeare Lexicon and Quotation Dictionary</i> , ed. A. Schmidt
SHC	Surrey History Centre
<i>Statutes</i>	<i>The Statutes of the Realm</i> , ed. J. Raithby
STC	<i>Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475–1640</i> , ed. A. Pollard and G. Redgrave, 2 nd edn
Strype, <i>Annals</i>	J. Strype, <i>Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion</i>
Strype, <i>Grindal</i>	J. Strype, <i>The History of the Life and Acts of the Most Reverend Father in God, Edmund Grindal</i>
Thrush and Ferris	<i>The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1604–1629</i> , ed. A. Thrush and J. Ferris
Tilley, <i>Proverbs</i>	<i>A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries</i> , ed. M. Tilley
TNA	The National Archives
<i>Tottel's Miscellany</i>	<i>Tottel's Miscellany</i> , ed. H. Rollins
<i>Treatise of Treasons</i>	<i>A Treatise of Treasons against Q. Elizabeth, and the Croune of England</i> , STC (2nd ed.) / 7601
TRP	<i>Tudor Royal Proclamations</i> , ed. P. Hughes and J. Larkin
USTC	<i>Universal Short Title Catalogue</i> (online edition)
VCH	<i>Victoria County History</i>
<i>Visitation: Bedford, 1566, 1582, and 1634</i>	<i>The Visitations of Bedfordshire, Annis Domini 1566, 1582, and 1634</i> , ed. F. Blaydes
<i>Visitation: Cornwall, 1620</i>	<i>The Visitation of the County of Cornwall in the Year 1620</i> , ed. Vivian and Drake
<i>Visitation: Hertford, 1572 and 1634</i>	<i>The Visitations of Hertfordshire, Made [...] in 1572, and [...] in 1634</i> , ed. W. Metcalfe
<i>Visitation: Huntingdon, 1615</i>	<i>The Visitation of the County of Huntingdon</i> , ed. H. Ellis
<i>Visitation: Kent II, 1574 and 1592</i>	<i>The Visitations of Kent, Part II: Taken in the Years 1574 and 1592</i> , ed. W. Bannerman

- Visitation: Lincoln, 1562–4* *The Visitation of the County of Lincoln in 1562–4*, ed. W. Metcalfe
- Visitation: Lincoln, 1592* *The Visitation of the County of Lincoln, 1592*, ed. W. Metcalfe
- Visitation: London, 1568* *The Visitation of London in the Year 1568*, ed. Howard and Armytage
- Visitation: Norfolk, 1563 and 1613* *The Visitation of Norffolk [1563 and 1613]*, ed. W. Rye
- Visitation: Northampton, 1564 and 1618–19* *The Visitations of Northamptonshire Made in 1564 and 1618–19*, ed. W. Metcalfe
- Visitation: Stafford, 1583* *The Visitation of Staffordschire [1583]*, ed. H. Grazebrook
- Visitation: Surrey, 1530, 1572 and 1623* *The Visitations of the County of Surrey [...] in the Years 1530 [...]; 1572 [...]; and 1623*, ed. W. Bannerman
- Visitation: Wiltshire, 1565* *The Visitation of Wiltshire 1565*, ed. W. Metcalfe
- Visitation: York, 1584/5* *The Visitation of Yorkshire, Made in the Years 1584/5*, ed. J. Foster
- Wainewright, ‘Two Lists’ J. Wainewright, (ed.), ‘Two Lists of Supposed Adherents of Mary Queen of Scots, 1574 and 1582’
- Wing *Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales and British America, [...] 1641–1700*, ed. D. Wing

CHAPTER ONE:

LOTS, LAUGHTER AND ELIZABETH I

This thesis investigates England's Lottery General, a royal lottery inaugurated late in 1567 and drawn in 1569. The scheme received limited scholarly attention prior to 2007, when David Dean published the first of three articles about it, and deserves more notice than it has attracted. This study hopes to build upon Dean's pioneering work, developing a fuller picture of the lottery. Its opening chapter uses Anne Patten, one of the ticket-buyers, to introduce the scheme and foreshadows various themes explored later. Why the lottery should matter to historians is addressed, along with how best to investigate it, given the limited state of the primary and secondary sources. A note before commencement: the anachronistic term *gambling* (or *gambling behaviour*) is generally used, rather than *gaming* or *play*, although the word only appeared around 1700. This has been done to locate the event within English gambling's longer history.

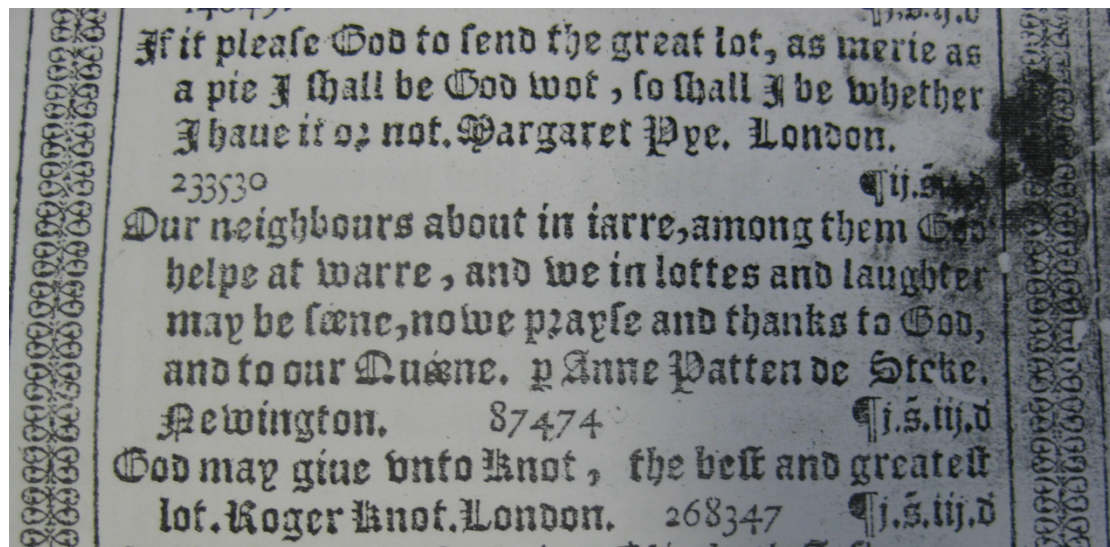


Figure 1.1: Details of tickets bought by Margaret Pye, Anne Patten and Roger Knot, drawn March 1569, from printed lists of prize-winning lots held at the Surrey History Centre, Woking (LM/2008, p. 159, col. b)

Ticket 87,474: Anne Patten

Our neighbours about in iarre,
among them God helpe at warre,
and we in lottes and laughter may be seene,
nowe prayse and thanks to God, and to our Queene.

This jingle described England's first state lottery, a form of mercantile gambling Elizabeth I was seeking to introduce from the Continent as a revenue-raising tool. Participants were directed to supply posies with their tickets: rhymes or sayings, original or citation, that would be read aloud when each ticket was drawn publicly at the 'reading' of the lottery. This accompanied ticket 87,474, taken by 'Anne Patten de Stoke Newington' (Fig. 1.1).

Patten's contrast of English merriment with conflict in neighbouring states was necessarily predictive. The dates tickets were purchased went unrecorded but she certainly bought hers many months before it won one shilling threepence at the draw. Ticket sales commenced on 24 August 1567, continuing until 30 September 1568; the reading began on 11 January 1569 and ran to 6 May. Details of prizewinning tickets were printed: lot 87,474 was among those drawn in March, over five months after sales closed.

In the meantime Patten's rosy picture had acquired dramatic irony. There were fewer lots and less laughter than she foresaw, nor did other participants express equal gratitude to Elizabeth. Her diagnosis of external strife was accurate: the lottery spanned twenty months that witnessed the start of five years of international crisis. However, the later 1560s saw internal tensions too. Domestically, the 1559 religious settlement was coming under strain, while the question of the succession acquired urgency as Elizabeth aged.

Two days before sales commenced Spain's Duke of Alva entered Brussels (22 Aug 1567), come to quell the Dutch Revolt's opening phase. When ticket sales ceased (30 Sep 1568) he had executed two leading patriots, Egmont and Hoorn (5 Jun), and was about to defeat the third, William of Orange, in battle (16 Oct). His troops' overland passage to the Netherlands alarmed Swiss and French Protestants, triggering France's Second War of Religion (28 Sep 1567). The third War began late 1568. Europe's rulers also experienced dynastic difficulties. In January 1568 Philip II imprisoned his unstable heir, Don Carlos,

who died on 24 July. Philip's despatch of Alva, not his son, to Flanders had antagonised Carlos, who had talked of killing them both. In Sweden, Elizabeth's ex-suitor Erik XIV was deposed and replaced by his half-brother (28 Sep 1568) after warring with his nobility from 1567.

More portentously for England, on 24 July 1567, a month before ticket sales began, Mary Stewart abdicated in Scotland. Her relocation to England coincided with the lottery. On 2 May 1568, the day after sales had been scheduled to finish, she escaped Lochleven Castle, then fled south (16 May) after defeat in battle. Mary's arrival transformed the political landscape: the realm now had a Catholic pretender, complete with heir, to rival its unmarried, childless, ageing, Protestant queen. Reports arrived that Alva meant to invade and liberate her. Elizabeth covertly supported Huguenot armies in France, partly because the Cardinal of Lorraine, Mary's Guise uncle, was intriguing to rescue her, perhaps place her on the throne.

Soon after sales finally closed (30 Sep) an enquiry was initiated (10 Oct) into Mary's involvement in her second husband's murder. This terminated abruptly on 10 January 1569, the date fixed for the start of the reading. As the draw proceeded, a scheme to marry her to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, gathered impetus. That culminated in the 1571 Ridolfi Plot. Meantime, thoughts of liberating her as part of a Catholic rebellion led, six months after the draw finished, to the Northern Rising, the largest insurrection of Elizabeth's reign.

While Mary's arrival collapsed foreign and domestic politics together, England was already tense. Kesselring's overview of the situation in the late 1560s describes 'an atmosphere ripe for violent action and reaction'.¹ This had multiple causes. The 1559 religious Settlement was becoming strained. For Catholics, the changes had gone too far; for some Protestants they had not gone far enough. People found themselves obliged to commit to one side or the other. In dioceses such as Durham the higher clergy made themselves unpopular with their uncompromising reformist zeal. Elsewhere, more moderate bishops were condemned for implementing change too slowly. Meantime, many communities remained attached to the old religion: there was discontent, conflict and worry.² William Cecil's 'strong sense of

¹ K. Kesselring, *The Northern Rebellion of 1569*, p. 1. The account that follows is strongly indebted to Kesselring (pp. 10–44) and to N. Jones, *The Birth of the Elizabethan Age*

² E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 565–93

crisis' in the 1560s affected policy: from 1559 he interpreted events in providential terms, fearing a 'Catholic International' that threatened the realm.³ England's bishops had been directed in 1564 to report the religious leanings of gentlemen in their dioceses, with most Catholics excluded as justices. The North remained predominantly Catholic. During the Northern Rising Sir Ralph Sadler reported that fewer than ten northern lords were Protestant, while the simpler sort were blinded with superstition. Sir Francis Knollys had earlier warned that people round Bolton Castle would 'laugh in their sleeves' if Mary escaped, rather than help recapture her.⁴

The succession too provoked anxiety. This intensified as Elizabeth aged with neither child nor designated successor. Her near-death from smallpox in 1562 sharpened concerns, as did a second illness in 1564.⁵ In the political sphere there was skirmishing over contentious issues. Elizabeth's need for money led her to summon Parliaments at which other matters, distasteful to her, might be raised. J. E. Neale's account of a divided Privy Council and obstreperous Parliament, whose organised Puritan faction made supply bills conditional on royal action over religion and the succession, is outmoded.⁶ Nonetheless, military interventions in France and Scotland required Elizabeth to convene Parliaments and demand subsidies, occasions the Council, if not the Commons, could use to put pressure on her to marry.⁷ In 1566 she forestalled a formal bill about the succession by delivering a 'blistering speech' on the matter.⁸ The 1566 Parliament, directly before the lottery, was especially difficult.⁹ To obtain her subsidy the Queen ultimately announced she would forgo a third of what she had requested; in a sense, she used the lottery to raise the remainder. The subsidy, which took until 1572 to collect, was still being gathered as tickets sold: it was intimated that if sales raised insufficient money another subsidy might be necessary.¹⁰ More generally, Elizabeth's economic expedients prior to the lottery had left people cynical about her money-raising techniques.¹¹

³ S. Alford, *The Early Elizabethan Polity*, pp. 43–44, 53–54

⁴ Sadler to Cecil, 6 Dec 1569, *The State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler*, ed. A. Clifford, vol. 2, pp. 324–25; Knollys, cited by P. Holmes, 'Mary Stewart in England', p. 201

⁵ D. Loades, *Elizabeth I*, p. 144–45; G. Elton, *The Parliament of England, 1559–1581*, p. 357

⁶ Neale, *Elizabeth I and her Parliaments*; M. Graves, *Elizabethan Parliaments 1559–1601*, pp. 19–24; for Council divisions, Alford, *Polity*, pp. 213–16

⁷ Graves, *Elizabethan Parliaments*, pp. 56–57

⁸ Elton, *Parliament*, p. 369

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 162–65; for a more benign view, J. Alsop, 'Reinterpreting the Elizabethan Commons', pp. 216–40

¹⁰ Gargrave, 'Articles', p. 136

¹¹ D. Dean, 'Elizabeth's Lottery', pp. 604–05

Prophecies and the tendency to interpret events as portents aggravated more substantive concerns.¹² The lightning strike of 1561 that destroyed the roof and steeple of Old St Paul's Cathedral was variously interpreted: James Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, preaching in front of the ruins days later, sought to counter Catholic suggestions the fire was God's judgment on Elizabeth's Protestantism by construing it as wrath at the slow pace of reform.¹³ Collections to repair St Paul's steeple continued to 1566 and beyond: the fact work was never commenced led Catholic polemic to bracket these collections with the lottery itself as money-laundering schemes that secretly raised funds to support Protestant warfare abroad.¹⁴

Popular interest in monsters and deformed births, reflected in pamphlet publications, spiked in the 1560s as in other years of uncertainty, perhaps because these were understood as divine comment or guidance.¹⁵ Pamphlets on such subjects could also serve as propaganda, hiding coded messages too dangerous to state openly.¹⁶ Reports in 1569, just after the lottery draw commenced, that Agnes Bowker had given birth to a cat received attention at the highest levels and were denounced as Catholic rumour-mongering.¹⁷

One ballad that represented another monstrous birth as a microcosm of England in 1568 did not specifically mention the lottery then underway. However, its account resonated with various sentiments about the scheme: the head engaged 'wyth greedy care' in 'rauine and oppression'; greed at the common level too, with the 'gorging paunch' wanting to 'lyue in wealth and ease'; 'lying othes' and idleness; 'filthy talke [...] poysoned speech'; 'close and hidden vice'.¹⁸ One foot attached to the baby's head symbolised the people's disobedience towards the prince: 'some do seeke not to be lead, But for to leade amis' [...] 'those Subiects be most vicious, That refuse to be lead'. During the 1566 Parliament Elizabeth herself repeatedly deployed the same image against the Commons: 'It is monstrous that the feet should direct the head.'¹⁹ All occurred against a backdrop of grain riots and disturbances

¹² Jones, *Birth*, pp. 38–47

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 44

¹⁴ C. Kitching, 'Re-Roofing Old St Paul's Cathedral, 1561–6', pp. 123–133; *Treatise of Treasons*, ff. 100r–101v.

¹⁵ D. Cressy, 'Monstrous Births and Credible Reports', pp. 35–36

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 41–43

¹⁷ D. Cressy, 'Agnes Bowker's Cat', pp. 9–28

¹⁸ *The Forme and Shape of a Monstrous Child* (London, 1568), STC (2nd ed.) / 17194

¹⁹ Neale, *Elizabeth I and her Parliaments*, p. 150

provoked by economic disruption; there was widespread concern about the social threat posed by masterless men.²⁰

Thus, although England was more stable than its neighbours as the lottery took place it was less merry than Anne Patten made out. Mary Stewart's history, in particular, which intersected with the lottery at several points, initiated or sharpened various frictions of succeeding decades. A 'Memoryall to the Quene at the End of the Parliament' prepared by Cecil soon before Elizabeth dissolved Parliament on 2 January 1566/67 foresaw as dangers 'generall discontentations' relating to religion, 'ye slender execution of ye subsidy' and 'danger of sedition in somer by persons discontented'.²¹ As that summer closed the lottery was proclaimed.

Nor was the scheme itself so happy an occasion: it became a public relations disaster as well as an economic failure. With 400,000 tickets priced at ten shillings each the organisers aimed to realise £200,000. Nearly £107,000 of this was earmarked for prizes, leaving £93,000 profit. The 'Chart' that announced the lottery stressed that Elizabeth would not retain this: it would be spent on 'the reparation of the havens and strength of the Realme, and [...] other publique good workes'.²² The silting-up of England's medieval harbours was prompting growing concern, while the prospect of war with France preoccupied William Cecil in the 1560s.²³ The lottery should have financed the strengthening of England's defences without resort to a contentious subsidy.

Sales were poor from the start, however. This was attributed straightaway to rumours that questioned the Queen's good faith (Fig. 1.2). There were fears prizes would not be forthcoming and that the money raised would support activities different from those declared. Such suspicions may have been self-fulfilling. Elizabeth's first response was to insist vehemently that all promises would be kept 'inviolably'. When that failed to boost sales she had to adopt more drastic measures, abandoning in the process the commitments just guaranteed. This perhaps confirmed the doubts of those who were already mistrustful. An attempt to prolong the close of ticket sales from 2 May 1568 to 2 February 1569 had to be abandoned: Elizabeth, informed by the Privy Council that 'generally the people desire

²⁰ Kesselring, *Northern Rebellion*, pp. 13–16

²¹ Cecil, 'Memoryall to the Quene at the End of the Parliament', SP 12/41/36, f. 75

²² Lottery Chart

²³ W. MacCaffrey, *The Shaping of the Elizabethan Regime*, pp. 86–101, 182–83; Alford, *Polity*, p. 96

very much to have the day of the reading with speed thinking [2 February] over long', brought the date forward to 30 September 1568, with the draw to commence on 3 November.²⁴ Pressure was exerted on notables and corporate bodies to buy tickets, as the scheme broadened from its original focus on a few leading towns to encompass all England. Finally, on 9 January 1569, the day before the (re)-revised date on which the draw was to commence, it was announced that under one twelfth of tickets had sold, rendering the original plan unviable.

Projected vs. Eventual Revenue

INITIAL PROJECTION (1567)

400,000 tickets @ 10 shillings each	£200,000
– 29,501 prize tickets [various values]	– £60,379 12s
– 370,499 tickets with the 'default' prize [2s 6d]	– £46,312 7s 6d
TOTAL	£93,308 6d

EVENTUAL OUTCOME (1569)

~ 33,300 tickets @ 10 shillings	~ £16,667
– prizes [value reduced to one twelfth]	– £5031 12s 8d
– default prizes [reduced to one twelfth]	– £3859 7s 3½d
TOTAL	~ £7776

Figure 1.2: Projected versus actual revenue raised by the lottery

Sixteenth-century lotteries typically specified in advance the number of tickets and the number and value of prizes. Failure to sell all the tickets therefore presented difficulties. With sales harvesting £16,000 when she had guaranteed prizes worth £107,000 Elizabeth faced a substantial loss. She thus adopted a suggestion that brought her income and outlay back into balance. Every ticket sold was split to yield twelve daughter tickets: this realised the target of 400,000, matching the 400,000 prizes. Meantime, every prize was reduced to one-twelfth its original value: this shrunk the expense to match the diminished revenue. This solution was the only way of tackling the shortfall 'truly, indifferently, and ratably'.²⁵ The English, though, who had been deterred by rumours Elizabeth would not honour her

²⁴ *TRP*, vol. 2: #552 (13 Jul 1568), 'Advancing Lottery Date to 3 November', pp. 294–95

²⁵ *Ibid.*, #557 (9 Jan 1568/69), 'Announcing Reduced Lottery Prizes', pp. 306–07

commitments, seem not to have appreciated the last-minute change. London's French ambassador reported grumbling that the Queen had siphoned off £100,000 of lottery money for diversion to foreign Protestant armies.²⁶

In the end nobody was satisfied. The Queen obtained little for defence of the realm, generating around £85,000 less than anticipated. When a precisely analogous sum blew into English harbours just as the Privy Council was digesting this failure, in the form of gold despatched to pay Spanish troops in the Netherlands, Elizabeth impounded it, aggravating tensions with Spain.²⁷ The lottery's poor success perhaps influenced her action. Meantime, lottery participants, some reluctant to begin with, felt defrauded.

The tickets' posies acquired significance in this context. They gave resentful participants a way to voice discontent. All were read publicly in London; sheets of prizewinning tickets were printed and distributed throughout the realm to notify winners. People were aware of the opportunity this presented: in 1566, when Elizabeth promised Parliament to marry and name a successor, the Commons sought to document its gratitude in the statute that granted her the subsidy she requested, something distributed in a similar way, binding her to the commitment by recording it in print.²⁸ 'A white wall is a fool's paper' ran one contemporary proverb.²⁹ In requiring people to buy tickets despite disinclination, then obliging them to write something on the tickets, the scheme's organisers whitewashed a wall for graffiti.

Many posies were less positive than Anne Patten's, perhaps for this reason. A significant number registered dissatisfaction. They complained, criticised or admonished from diverse perspectives. This thesis will suggest that some, like the rumours bedevilling the scheme, were seditious.

That this was not appreciated is suggested by Elizabeth's own posy: *Videō et taceo* ('I see and hold my peace'). The motto appeared among the impresas in Geoffrey Whitney's 1586 *Choice of Emblemes*, with a verse elaborating its meaning: this was 'her Majesty's poesie at the great Lottery in London' (Fig. 1.3). Whitney was explicit. Elizabeth had devised the motto to signify her clemency: she would not punish her subjects for a first offence. Roughly 5.5 per cent of the total tickets were Elizabeth's own so, on average, every eighteenth ticket

²⁶ Fénelon, *Correspondance diplomatique*, vol. 1, p. 155

²⁷ C. Read, 'Queen Elizabeth's Seizure of the Duke of Alva's Pay-Ships', pp. 443–64

²⁸ Elton, *Parliament*, p. 164

²⁹ A. Gordon, 'The Act of Libel', pp. 384, p. 395 n. 34.

drawn and read bore the somewhat Orwellian reminder the Queen was watching.³⁰ Since Whitney's *Emblems* appeared the same year as the other known Elizabethan lottery, which experienced 'very slacke' ticket sales because of the 'hard opinion and distruste conceived of the last lotterie', it is possible his verse cautioned against repeating the offence.³¹

Video, & taceo.

*Her Maiesties poësie, at the great Lotterie in LONDON,
begon M. D. LXVIII. and ended M. D. LXIX.*

I See, and houlde my peace: a Princelie Poësie righte,
For euerie faulte, shoulde not prouoke, a Prince, or man of mighte.
For if that LOVE shoulde shoote, so ofte as men offende,
The Poëttes faie, his thunderboltes shoulde soone bee at an ende.
Then happie wee that haue, a Princeesse so inclin'de.
That when as iustice drawes hir sworde, hath mercie in her minde,
And to declare the fame, howe prone shee is to faue:
Her Maiestie did make her choice, this Poësie for to haue.

*Ouid. 2. Trist.
Si quoties peccat homi-
nes sua fulmina mittas
Iupiter, exiguo tem-
pore inermis eras.*

*Sed piger ad pœnas princeps, ad præmia velox:
Cuique dolet, quoties cogitur esse ferox.*

Ouid. 1. Pont. 3.

H 3 *Amicitia*

Figure 1.5: Geoffrey Whitney's explication of Elizabeth's posy

In fact, even Anne Patten of Stoke Newington's apparently loyal and positive posy permits alternative interpretations. Anne, daughter and co-heiress of Richard Johnson of Boston, was married to William Patten, who leased the manor of Stoke Newington, Middlesex, in the 1560s.³² The parish too bought a ticket, whose posy stressed its goodwill, perhaps under their influence: earlier in the 1560s they had extensively refurbished the church.³³ William

³⁰ G. Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes*, (Leyden, 1586), STC (2nd ed.) / 25438, p. 61

³¹ Privy Council to London's Lord Mayor, 26 July 1585, in *Memorials of the Guild of Merchant Taylors*, ed. C. Clode, pp. 141–43

³² *VCH*, Middlesex 8, 'Stoke Newington', pp. 177–178; *Middlesex pedigrees*, ed. G. Armytage, p. 41

³³ Ticket 56462; W. Robinson, *History and Antiquities of the Parish of Stoke Newington*, p. 164

Patten was a writer on various subjects, responsible among other things for an account of the Earl of Somerset's 1547 expedition to Scotland, for the celebrated 'Laneham Letter', which described Elizabeth's entertainment at Kenilworth in 1575, and for England's first Armenian-language vocabulary.³⁴ He was also an official close to William Cecil, who made him teller of the Exchequer for life in 1562. In late 1567, however, auditors realised Patten had embezzled £7928. This equated to £500,000 or more in modern terms. He was suspended on 13 January 1568 and on 13 July replaced, subsequently losing all public offices. The loss of income forced him to relinquish the lease on Stoke Newington.³⁵ When Anne's ticket was purchased is unrecorded. However, her husband's offence surfaced during Michaelmas term (9 Oct to 28 Nov in 1567), which renders it plausible his downfall had begun: this was not long after ticket sales opened, while most seem to have sold later, once pressure was exerted.³⁶

As William's writings have been described as 'badly infected with monarchophilia' his wife's posy could reflect a family tendency to ingratiate that might also have inspired early, voluntary ticket-buying.³⁷ Still, it seems not improbable Anne devised her posy knowing of her husband's disgrace. Was its unusually positive nature calculated to regain Elizabeth's favour by exhibiting ostentatious loyalty as others complained? If so, this would not be the only occasion the family deployed poetry to soften the Queen. In 1572 William composed the Latin *Supplicatio Patteni* in her honour. It described his misfortunes, blamed the theft on a servant and requested a formal investigation of the business. His infant son Thomas copied the verses out for presentation to the Queen the day before her accession was celebrated. His wife's lottery posy perhaps involved a comparable ploy. Later sycophantic verse of William's may have had a similar object. Full favour, however, may never have been restored.³⁸

In short, examination suggests even a message seemingly as uncomplicated as Patten's had possible ulterior motives. In pressing reluctant subjects to buy tickets and invent posies Elizabeth's regime, in effect, demanded people perform mirth and loyalty. 'Play to order',

³⁴ B. O'Kill, 'The Printed Works of William Patten (c. 1510-c. 1600)', pp. 28–45; B. Hill, 'Trinity College Cambridge Ms.B. 14.52, and William Patten', pp. 192–200; D. Scott, 'William Patten and the Authorship of "Robert Laneham's Letter"', pp. 297–306

³⁵ *DNB*, 'Patten, William (d. in or after 1598)'; O'Kill, 'Printed Works', p. 31–2

³⁶ *DNB*, 'Patten'; Cheney, *Handbook of Dates*, p. 141

³⁷ O'Kill, 'Printed Works', p. 35

³⁸ *DNB*, 'Patten'; Hill, 'Ms.B. 14.52', p. 199; O'Kill, 'Printed Works' pp. 30–33

however, as Huizinga puts it, 'is no longer play.'³⁹ Anne's case attests the lottery's potential to serve instead as a vehicle for individual causes.

Why the Lottery Deserves Scrutiny

There are various reasons. It was conceived on a grand scale in several respects. With England's population below six million the 400,000-ticket target represented approaching one ticket for every ten persons. This was ambitious, especially when at ten shillings they were expensive. The sum to be raised was sizeable, analogous to other fiscal endeavours, even if half would be returned as prizes. The 1563 subsidy, for example, had raised £249,722 while that of 1566 collected £118,000.⁴⁰ It was understood as taxation, albeit voluntary, by all. Its levying of money on inland towns, in peacetime, to maintain England's coastal defences superficially resembled Charles I's ship money; considered in this light, refusal to buy tickets and complaint via posies were forms of tax revolt. The scheme's reach was equally ambitious. It tried to infiltrate all England, spatially and socially. As it foundered its scope broadened, from initial focus on certain major towns to the whole realm. Lottery superintendent John Johnson expressed hopes that 'not one parishe [should] escape' but should 'bring in some money into the Lottes'.⁴¹ Social leaders, corporate entities, finally even servants were pressed to participate.

It addressed major challenges. The repair of the havens and defence of the realm, for which the money was destined, were serious matters. The decay of England's medieval harbours prompted concern throughout the century and was never arrested: despite the state's efforts Sandwich, Hastings and their ilk ceased to be significant ports.⁴² In the 1560s the prospect of war preoccupied Elizabeth's government, prompting the 1563 and 1566 levies. Ultimately, the lottery revenue was insignificant and what became of it unclear. It was perhaps consumed in quelling the Northern Rising. However, the enterprise tackled important issues.

It engaged with European politics and culture. Elizabeth's attempt to transplant Flemish lotteries represented an early instance of the 'pillaging of Dutch culture' that ensued over

³⁹ J. Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, p. 7

⁴⁰ F. Dietz, *English Public Finance 1485-1641*, vol. 2, pp. 22-24

⁴¹ Johnson to William More, 10 July 1568, SHC, 6729/7/144j

⁴² There seems no comprehensive survey of this phenomenon: E. Ward ('The Cinque Ports and their Coastline', pp. 306-11) gives a concise account; for the sole reclamation, E. Ash, "A Perfect and an Absolute Work", pp. 239-68

the next hundred years.⁴³ Catholic polemic soon portrayed it as surreptitious fundraising to support Protestant armies in France and the Netherlands. While this seems improbable the idea indicates its transnational setting.

It was a large-scale failure. Its organisation was beyond the government's capacity. David Dean has presented the Lottery as a case study in the limits of sixteenth-century governance, arguing that Tudor monarchs lacked ability to impose their will on the populace in such matters.⁴⁴ Transport and communications too were considerations; there is evidence of recurring logistical overreach. Ticket-selling was spread across England. It was declared that every ticket would win something, although over ninety per cent received the 'default' prize, a refund of a quarter the ticket cost. Moreover, the Lottery Chart claimed every prize would be disbursed promptly, within a day of being drawn, and that, should the draw date be postponed, ten per cent interest would be awarded on money paid for tickets.⁴⁵ These were grandiose, foolhardy assurances.

A second, more compelling, reason for scrutiny is that the extant posies provide a snapshot of late 1560s England. The desire to have everyone contribute let persons throughout the realm voice opinions, whether these related to the lottery itself, major events of the day or their own personal affairs. The twelfth-century *Dialogus de scaccario* ('Dialogue Concerning the Exchequer') has been described as of inestimable value to English history: 'in every direction it throws light on the existing state of affairs.'⁴⁶ This is because, since taxation permeates every aspect of life, a thoroughgoing account of a state's fiscal methods yields a complete portrait of society. The lottery was in some ways the reverse: everyone levied was given a moment to speak, allowing a composite picture of society to be constructed. Young women asked for a good husband or a marriage portion. Widows and orphans made their own demands. Communities wanted funds to establish grammar schools. Individuals promised to assist the poor if they won. Coastal settlements needed funds to repair or develop harbours. In Dorset, Blandford Forum, devastated by fire in 1564, beseeched God to send lottery money in restitution (ticket 303927). Dutchman Cornelius de Lannoy, who in 1566 had undertaken to make Elizabeth yearly 50,000 marks of gold through alchemy, only to be imprisoned in the Tower after attempting to leave England without doing so,

⁴³ Cf. L. Jardine, *Going Dutch*

⁴⁴ Dean, 'Elizabeth's Lottery', pp. 587–611

⁴⁵ Lottery Chart

⁴⁶ Editor's remark, *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, ed. E. Henderson, p. 3

quoted Cicero (*Tusculan Disputations*, I, 30, 74), stressing his resignation to death.⁴⁷ These requests, often to God or Fortune, resembled wishes accompanying coins tossed into a well. Their utility to historians resembles that of the inscriptions on medieval birch-bark *gramoty* unearthed near Novgorod: they offer insights into society's everyday concerns.

A third reason for studying the lottery is its interplay with events. Some posies mentioned political figures or happenings. Whereas William St Leger's posy was rudely Protestant — 'In God I hope, and a fart for the Pope' (ticket 230364) — other buyers declared allegiance to the Catholic faith or regional magnates. John Allen's suggested he knew his son was founding the English Seminary at Douai as the lottery took place. A later chapter will argue that awareness Mary Stewart was in the kingdom assists in deciphering the meaning of certain cryptic posies, while the tickets are potentially a valuable source for immediate reactions to her arrival. Conyers Read has characterised the record of Anglo-Spanish negotiation in the years after Elizabeth seized the gold driven into English ports as 'a kind of seismograph to catch and record the vibrations set going by larger disturbances': the ongoing talks can be seen to be highly sensitive to developments in international politics over this period.⁴⁸ The lottery tickets similarly retain the imprint of contemporaneous happenings, although they reflect the events of a single year, often obscurely. Conversely, the documentation of other events may preserve an imprint of the lottery, so greater familiarity with it may help make sense of them. As noted, its low success perhaps influenced Elizabeth's decision to impound Spain's bullion, something scholars have had trouble explaining. Read's 'seismograph' detected no vibration from the lottery, though. Perhaps it should have.

A fourth reason for study is that the affair was not straightforward. It represented a complex, unsuccessful attempt to impose Continental methods of raising revenue. English monarchs traditionally sought to suppress games of chance; Elizabeth was promoting one. Some participants used their posies to condemn lotteries. Enthusiasm was lacking in more Catholic counties such as Lancashire, which were strongholds of game-playing, whereas certain staunch Protestants favoured this form of gambling. The lottery was a voluntary levy that became progressively less voluntary. Although national considerations, defence

⁴⁷ Ticket 111545; J. Campbell, 'The Alchemical Patronage of Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley', unpublished MA thesis, pp. 78–87

⁴⁸ C. Read, 'Pay-Ships', p. 446

and trade, prompted Elizabeth to introduce it ticket-buyers often expressed more parochial concerns. Such paradoxes may yield insights into the era's culture and mentalities.

Studying the Lottery

A pioneering article on the geography of British gambling observed: 'The accent has been on generating a preliminary general picture [...] rather than on testing tightly defined hypotheses.'⁴⁹ This study follows the same line of approach. Lotteries were a mercantile form of gambling new to England. Ideally the Lottery General would be situated within the longer history of British gambling. This is problematic, though. If Tudor and early Stuart lotteries have received limited scholarly attention more traditional sixteenth-century gambling has had almost none. The thesis must therefore generate its own context rather than rest on existing work; the paucity of scholarship makes it hard to orient oneself in regard to the primary material.

The methodology adopted involves double contextualisation. On one hand the lottery is examined as a monolithic event. Big-picture techniques set it within English gambling's longer history and against the broader vista of early-modern Continental lotteries. This broad-brush approach silhouettes the lottery against a backdrop, using cross-cultural, diachronic techniques and taking account of factors including acculturation, the conjunction of diverse time cycles, and so forth.

Simultaneously, a more synchronic strategy is deployed, using other methodologies to achieve a pointillist picture. The lottery was not just a single, big occasion: it involved numerous, discrete ticket purchases by different buyers in different locations; the tickets bore individual posies and won specific prizes. Details of only one per cent or thereabouts of the 400,000 tickets survive. However, these still amount to roughly four thousand tickets with 2150 purchasers. Each can be investigated, as Anne Patten's has been, to uncover its circumstances. When the individual findings are pieced together a composite picture emerges of England as the lottery took place. This approach draws on microhistory, thick description and quantitative analysis to suggest individual and collective readings of the posies.

⁴⁹ P. Jones, D. Hillier and D. Turner, 'Back Street to Side Street to High Street', p. 123

The State of the Scholarship

Historical scholarship on other kinds of Tudor gambling is minimal. There is a single article on non-lottery gambling in England before 1600, with a few others on early Stuart gambling.⁵⁰ There is currently no monograph on the history of English gambling that centres on the pre-Restoration era; most studies of later periods address primarily the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁵¹ Global histories of gambling discuss the sixteenth century largely without reference to England.⁵² Studies of anti-gaming legislation (which, in any case, targeted playing, not gambling per se) place their emphasis on archery, not games. Such scholarship responds to the importance for military history of the statutes that banned gaming: these bans hoped to encourage longbow practice, as it was feared other pursuits distracted potential bowmen.⁵³ This leaves a restricted number of studies that consider gambling *en passant*. Stone's *Crisis of the Aristocracy* devotes five pages to aristocratic gambling as an instance of conspicuous consumption. McIntosh's research on controlling misbehaviour touches on gaming as one suppressed activity.⁵⁴ Certain articles, Sul's on Tudor and Stuart spas for example, touch on gambling incidentally.⁵⁵ Nonetheless, information about traditional sixteenth-century gambling practices must largely be obtained from primary sources themselves or from scattered incidental mentions in secondaries, then synthesized before it can serve as a backdrop against which to view the lottery. There is no coherent body of scholarship on Elizabethan gambling.

The lottery has been better served. In 1836 Kemp published selections from the More family's archives, including multiple documents relevant to the scheme. These revived awareness of it.⁵⁶ William More of Loseley Hall, Surrey's lottery treasurer, preserved numerous proclamations and letters about it, alongside printed sheets of prize-winning tickets.⁵⁷ Two popular narrative histories followed, of which Ewen's 1933 *Lotteries and*

⁵⁰ A. Zucker, 'The Social Stakes of Gambling in Early Modern London', pp. 67–86; P. Barber, 'Gambling in Wartime', pp. 17–20

⁵¹ e.g., M. Clapson, *A Bit of a Flutter*; R. Munting, *An Economic and Social History of Gambling in Britain and the USA*; C. Chinn, *Better Betting with a Decent Feller*

⁵² e.g., D. Schwartz, *Roll the Bones*

⁵³ Cf. M. Strickland and R. Hardy, *The Great Warbow*

⁵⁴ L. Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy*, pp. 567–72; M. McIntosh, *Controlling Misbehavior in England, 1570–1600*, pp. 96–107

⁵⁵ H. Sul, 'The Tubs of Pleasure', pp. 148–158; N. Tosney, 'The Playing Card Trade in Early Modern England', pp. 637–56

⁵⁶ Kemp, *Loseley MSS*, pp. 188–95; cf. also W. Bray's earlier 'Account of the Lottery of 1567, Being the First upon Record', *Archaeologia*, 19 (1821), pp. 79–87

⁵⁷ Hasler, 'More, William I'

Sweepstakes, which superseded Ashton's *History of English Lotteries*, remains the definitive account.⁵⁸ Each opened with a chapter on the 1567–69 lottery. However, both treated it as a failed precursor of more prosperous later schemes. Although each printed a selection of the posies, this was essentially for their curiosity value. Since Ewen, works on gambling have frequently given brief (if sometimes inaccurate) accounts of the lottery, though without dwelling on it.⁵⁹ Several articles in *History Today* have been devoted to it.⁶⁰

The first fully academic investigations were David Dean's. He considered the posies for their insights into English local identity and influence on England's first emblem book, Thomas Palmer's *Two Hundred Possees*.⁶¹ These works are rare examples of scholarship on posies as a genre.⁶² Another article addresses the lottery itself, presenting it as a case study: an early modern regime's attempts to control the nation, specifically as regarded revenue-raising.⁶³ This located the occasion within the history of state formation, rather than gambling, with emphasis on government mechanisms of persuasion and implementation and the success these obtained. Dean's works provide invaluable context regarding the scheme's financial and political background; they examine its organisation and cultural ramifications.

This thesis seeks to extend Dean's work by exploring the ticket posies' context and meaning through in-depth investigation of the authors. It demonstrates the extent to which participants are identifiable. As Anne Patten's case illustrates, knowing buyers' circumstances may allow more informed analysis of their posies. It enables a pragmatic reading, which uses context to decipher their message, rather than a semantic interpretation that relies on the words' literal sense. This approach has potential to uncover irony, ambiguity, circumspection and the like. It also permits quantitative and prosopographical techniques: more detail can be unearthed about buyers' ages, faiths, occupations, etc., than appeared on their tickets. Doing this not merely deepens the comprehension of individual participants' motives; it can potentially transform understandings of the lottery as a whole.

⁵⁸ C. Ewen, *Lotteries and Sweepstakes*; J. Ashton, *A History of English Lotteries*

⁵⁹ D. Miers, *Regulating Commercial Gambling*, pp. 129–30; Schwartz, *Roll the Bones*, pp. 122–23; R. and G. Brenner, *Gambling and Speculation*

⁶⁰ A. Haynes, 'The First English National Lottery', pp. 610–13; R. Woodhall, 'The British State Lotteries', p. 498

⁶¹ D. Dean, 'Locality and Self in the Elizabethan Lottery of the 1560s', pp. 207–27; Dean, 'Another Source for Palmer's *Two Hundred Possees*?', pp. 35–37

⁶² The best overview, J. Fleming's *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England*, pp. 9–25, pre-dates Dean's work and does not mention lottery posies

⁶³ D. Dean, 'Elizabeth's Lottery', pp. 587–611; my thanks to Prof. Dean for letting me see this article before publication

Continental lotteries provide a valuable frame of reference for England's, which worked from a Flemish template. In states where lotteries had greater cultural prominence, more source material survives for them and they have generated more scholarly literature. This has been consulted, although its quantity in a given language is typically inversely proportional to this scholar's proficiency in that language. Locating early English lotteries in their European context merits much further attention.

'Unfortunately,' de Boer noted in 2006, 'a general history of lotteries in English does not yet exist.' For the moment this statement holds true.⁶⁴ Moreover, while overviews of European lotteries exist much scholarship concerns specific individual schemes. However, several catalogues published to accompany exhibitions of gambling art contain good chapters on European gambling, written by experts for a general readership, some of which concern early modern lotteries.⁶⁵ An article on the sociology of Iberian lotteries gives a good background to European lotteries more generally.⁶⁶ These various works devote little attention to English lotteries but cover the Continental situation well.

Late medieval and sixteenth-century lotteries prospered best in Europe's commercial hubs, northern Italy and the Netherlands, as well as the trade corridors running through Germany between them. German lotteries often took place in conjunction with shooting fairs.⁶⁷ There is research into Swiss lotteries based on surviving posy registers.⁶⁸ The most comprehensive studies in English of Italian lotteries are those of Evelyn Welch.⁶⁹ Dutch and Flemish lotteries are especially well known.⁷⁰ A posy register similar to that for the English Lottery survives for Leyden's 1596 lottery and has prompted several studies. One of especial relevance to this project relates to the involvement of Leyden elites, as this thesis examines

⁶⁴ D. de Boer, 'Lotteries and Lottery Rhymes as Elements of Popular Culture in the Low Countries 1440–1640', p. 59, n. 5. N. Glaisyer is preparing a monograph: *Venturing Fortunes: A Cultural History of Lotteries in England, 1567–1826* (working title)

⁶⁵ A. Buffels (ed.), *L'Art du jeu*; A. Buffels and J.-E. Vandenbosch (eds), *L'Enchantement du jeu*; U. Schädler (ed.), *Créateurs de chances*

⁶⁶ R. Garvía, 'Syndication, Institutionalisation, and Lottery Play', pp. 603–52.

⁶⁷ K. Kusudo, 'Open Shooting Festivals (*Freischießen*) in German Cities, 1455–1501', pp. 65–86

⁶⁸ K. Isacson and B. Koch, 'Los ziehen und Los ziehen', pp. 127–151

⁶⁹ E. Welch, 'Lotteries in Early Modern Italy', pp. 71–111, and *Shopping in the Renaissance*, pp. 203–09; also A. Seville, 'The Italian Roots of the Lottery', pp. 17–20

⁷⁰ For Dutch lotteries: A. Huisman and J. Koppenol, *Daer compt de lotery met trommels en trompetten!* supersedes G. Fokker, *Geschiedenis der loterijen in de Nederlanden*; for Belgium: I. Eggers, L. De Mecheleer and M. Wynants (eds), *Geschiedenis van de loterijen in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden*

elite participants in the English lottery.⁷¹ Other lotteries in the Low Countries have also received attention.⁷²

Lotteries were less prominent at this time elsewhere. The French, like the English, resisted attempts to introduce them, so little has been written about them; what has is often non-scholarly.⁷³ Garvía's sociological investigation of modern syndicated gambling is the sole Anglophone study of Spanish lotteries. Although his analysis is perceptive and sets Spanish gambling in a pan-European context it does not extend backward beyond the seventeenth century.⁷⁴

Many research fields of which gambling activity forms a subset, as well as many methodological routes by which it might be approached, such as social, cultural or ethnographic history, came to prominence recently, in the mid-twentieth century. Social and cultural history seem in any case to have neglected it. Johan Huizinga's seminal *Homo Ludens*, which established play as a field of scholarly enquiry, dates from 1938. The first serious study of early modern English sport was Brailsford's of 1969.⁷⁵ Games and gambling were not reputable when historical writing centred on institutions, politics and great men: a review of Church's 1896 *Games of the Far East* demanded, snidely, whether one should now look 'to the Clarendon Press for an exhaustive book on cricket, to Cambridge for a treatise on football, to St Andrews for a history of golf?'⁷⁶ Such disapproval until recently deterred research: 'I ask myself in vain,' one sociologist declared in 1961, 'why historians and sociologists [...] refuse to study games of chance.' Huizinga ignored gambling games in *Homo Ludens*, seemingly considering them 'sterile' forms of play.⁷⁷ Sociologists, too, long avoided the topic as disreputable.⁷⁸ This aversion contrasts with popular interest in gambling.

⁷¹ 'Trecker, treckt met goe couragie', ed. D. de Boer; K. Bostoen, "'Adieu, mijn geld!'", pp. 34–41; D. de Boer and K. Bostoen, 'Sorte non sorte', pp. 218–40

⁷² N. Middelkoop, 'Gillis Coignet and the Amsterdam Lottery of 1592'; G. Vaandrager, 'Loterijen en glasschenkingen', pp. 146–172

⁷³ G. Descotils and J.-C. Guilbert, *Le Grand Livre des loteries*, the most cited, is wholly unscholarly. More useful popular works are: C. Vincent, 'Les Loteries en France ou les marchands d'illusions', pp. 7–11; C. Morin and C. Dufresne, *La Roue de la Fortune*, pp. 142–159; R. Rouault de la Vigne, *La Loterie à travers les âges et plus particulièrement en France*, pp. 13–24. For a succinct scholarly account: A. Neurrisse, 'La Blancque', pp. 681–82

⁷⁴ Garvía, 'Syndication', pp. 615–17

⁷⁵ D. Brailsford, *Sport and Society*

⁷⁶ Unnamed reviewer in *Badminton Magazine*, cited in W. Vamplew, *The Turf*, p. 11

⁷⁷ R. Caillois, *Man, Play and Games*, p. 162 (for citation), 169–70 (for Huizinga's views)

⁷⁸ J. McMillen, 'Understanding Gambling', pp. 12–15; Garvía, 'Syndication', pp. 605–06

Popular histories and bibliographies have partly offset the lack of academic work.⁷⁹ However, the tension between disapproval and popularity has had consequences for gambling scholarship. Even books by scholars are frequently written for popular audiences.⁸⁰ In the case of lotteries, this tension has resulted in a cyclicity of publication pegged to upswings of interest in the topic. Since British lotteries' prohibition in 1826, historical studies have tended to appear when their reinstatement was contemplated. Ewen's 1933 *Lotteries and Sweepstakes* was stimulated by the Irish Hospitals' Sweepstake, inaugurated in 1930. This drained significant money from Britain to the Irish Free State, prompting diplomatic tension and consideration of a British sweepstake to reverse the flow.⁸¹ As Ewen wrote, a 1932–33 Royal Commission investigated the option, although this led instead to the 1934 Lotteries and Gaming Act, tightening measures against the Irish Sweepstake.⁸² He argued that 'an impartial and fully authenticated history [...] would be helpful [to those] called upon to give the matter consideration'.⁸³ A similar movement towards revival from the mid-1950s perhaps triggered Woodhall's 1964 *History Today* article.⁸⁴ Haynes's 1979 article followed the 1975–76 decision that charities and local councils might hold lotteries and the Rothschild Committee's 1978 recommendation that state lotteries be reintroduced.⁸⁵ The resumption of a national lottery in 1994 inspired Seville's of 1999.⁸⁶

Being inherently institutional, a state lottery left evidence. This distinguished it from more traditional forms of English gambling, for which stray primary-source references must be hunted in repositories across England. First, its organisation was documented. Copies of the 'Chart' that announced it survive, as do public proclamations about it. There are circular letters despatched to those charged with implementing the scheme, others directing corporate entities to buy tickets. The resultant deliberations and actions of livery companies, town corporations, etc., sometimes also survive. A list survives from Crondall parish,

⁷⁹ e.g., C. Hargrave, *A History of Playing Cards and a Bibliography of Cards and Gaming*; N. Horr, *A Bibliography of Card-Games and of the History of Playing-Cards*; F. Jessel, *A Bibliography of Works in English on Playing Cards and Gaming*

⁸⁰ e.g., D. Schwartz, *Roll the Bones*

⁸¹ M. Coleman, "'A Terrible Danger to the Morals of the Country'", pp. 197–205, 214–217

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 205–207; M. Huggins, 'Betting, Sport and the British, 1918–1939', pp. 298–300

⁸³ Ewen, *Lotteries and Sweepstakes*, p. 5

⁸⁴ See R. Munting, 'The Revival of Lotteries in Britain', pp. 637–39; Woodhall, 'British State Lotteries', pp. 497–504 (cf. concluding remarks)

⁸⁵ Haynes, 'First English National Lottery', pp. 610–613; Munting, *Economic and Social History*, pp. 79–82

⁸⁶ Seville, 'Italian Roots', pp. 17–20; also J. Raven, 'The Abolition of the English State Lotteries', pp. 371–389

Hampshire, of sums contributed by different parishioners towards its tickets. Part of the organisers' private correspondence likewise remains. Nonetheless, much of the organisational side is unrecorded.

There is one important lacuna: the Acts of the Privy Council from the 1560s feature notable gaps, including one, from May 1567 to May 1570, that covers the whole lottery period.⁸⁷ It clearly oversaw the scheme, as it did Elizabeth's later, 1586 one: William Cecil and Robert Dudley despatched letters furthering the enterprise in their capacity as lords of the Council. However, its deliberations on how to boost ticket sales, counter seditious rumours, and so forth, have not survived. The Council in the North appears to have coordinated ticket-selling in northern counties while the Council in the Marches of Wales probably did likewise. These administrative ganglia of the Privy Council presumably kept records of instructions from London that might have compensated for the loss of the Acts. However, the northern Council's registers were destroyed in the Civil War while the Welsh Council's records disappeared sometime after its abolition in 1689.⁸⁸ In 1922 Ireland's archives were shelled. This blind spot obscures Elizabeth's Council's views on concurrent events with a possible bearing on the lottery.

It also raises a practical difficulty regarding terminology. While the Council appears to have overseen the lottery, the extent of its involvement is unclear; where a given decision originated or was authorized is rendered uncertain. Characterising such decisions becomes problematic. Should one describe them as taken by the Queen, the Council, some vaguely defined group (the 'organisers', 'government', 'regime' or 'authorities'), or fall back on the passive voice ('It was decided')? This difficulty has not been satisfactorily resolved. References to decision-makers need to be understood as consciously vague: it is often not evident who precisely determined what was done.

Surviving lottery tickets constitute a second, important source of information. Although the Lottery Chart asserted every ticket would win a prize, over ninety per cent gained the notional 'default' prize, a quarter the ticket's cost. However, almost 30,000 received actual prizes. Their details were printed on broadsheets for dissemination through England to notify prize-winners, some of which have survived, conserved by Surrey's lottery treasurer

⁸⁷ D. Crankshaw, 'The Tudor Privy Council, c.1540–1603', *State Papers Online, 1509–1714*, unpaginated (passage associated with n. 84)

⁸⁸ R. Reid, *The King's Council in the North*, p. 263; C. Skeel, *The Council in the Marches of Wales*, pp. vii–viii

William More. These preserve the details of roughly two thousand tickets drawn in February 1569 and two thousand from March, approximately one seventh the printed prize tickets and one percent of the total 400,000 lots. Though a fraction of the original this is a substantial number that permits analysis. Because some tickets survive in fragmentary form, however, the precise number of 'usable' ones varies according to what is being examined: the prize obtained, buyer's name, ticket number, etc. are not all preserved for all nominally extant tickets.

Chapter Summaries

The thesis consists of three sections, each comprising several chapters. The first section, 'The Lottery in Historical Context', locates the scheme within broader histories. Chapter Two examines English gambling before the 1560s. English kings' need of bowmen during the Hundred Years' War caused them to prohibit pursuits liable to distract from archery practice, something that resulted in the banning of gambling games by statute. This approach differed from those of other European nations, with implications for England's reception of a state lottery. Chapter Three considers traditional modes of gambling by gentlemen. Many surviving tickets were taken by social elites. This chapter explores the social function of cards, dice and the like for the gentry. Could the lottery have addressed these needs? The evolution of Continental lotteries up to the 1560s is surveyed briefly in Chapter Four. This sets the scene for Elizabeth's introduction of a lottery modelled on European templates.

The second section ('Introducing the Lottery') relates to Elizabeth's attempt to import mercantile gambling as a fiscal tool. Chapter Five narrates the scheme's announcement, implementation and failure, emphasising the interaction between organisers and populace as a driver of events. Chapter Six proposes further reasons the scheme went awry.

The third section ('The Lottery Tickets') considers the main primary source material: the printed sheets of winning tickets. Chapter Seven examines these. It describes their constituent elements: what each reveals, how they can be used and the difficulties they present. This chapter addresses the most basic issues raised by the tickets. Chapter Eight goes further and explores what can be done once buyers have been identified. Because elite individuals purchased a high proportion of tickets, not only are they often identifiable, other information can frequently be unearthed about them. A partial profile of the typical

participant can be attempted. Tickets can be grouped by buyer age, status, occupation, faith and the like, and their posies examined for commonalities (or differences from other groups).

Chapter Nine offers a taxonomy of tickets according to their posies' sentiments. These ranged from loyalty or enthusiasm through anxiety and grumbling to complaint about forced participation. Chapter Ten scrutinizes certain posies for a subversive element, given the tensions of the period and Mary Queen of Scots's arrival in England. Juxtaposing certain posies with the information gleaned about their authors suggests a few may have exhibited political disloyalty, although the (unsurprisingly) cryptic nature of such posies requires any conclusions to be extraordinarily tentative. Chapter Eleven brings together the arguments of preceding ones and concludes the work.

PART I:

**The Lottery
in**

Historical Context

CHAPTER TWO:

UNLAWFUL GAMES

Ticket 65,484: 'Bycause unlawfull games put shooting out of place, the strength of noble England decayeth sore alas. p Lon. Tho. Crompe.'

This was perhaps London fletcher Thomas Crompe hinting at his profession.¹ Certainly, the ticket-buyer recognised a reversal in royal policy. For two centuries monarchs had repressed unlawful games, for undermining England's defence by distracting potential archers from practice, with games of chance their main target by 1500. Elizabeth, though, was aggressively promoting a game of chance to assist England's defence. While the constraints of this project allow only a tentative outline to be sketched, focusing on legislation, the course of English gambling regulation prior to Elizabeth's lottery will be charted.

England's first anti-gambling legislation actually prohibited game-playing. Until the word *gambling* emerged around 1700 English did not differentiate wagering games from play more generally, subsuming *gambling* within *gaming* and *play* as other European languages do still. This was perhaps because gambling was not yet strongly institutionalised, so still diffused throughout society. Most contests potentially attracted small bets.² A German traveller reported in 1602 that young Londoners enjoyed bellringing, making wagers on 'who will pull a bell longest or ring it in the most approved fashion'.³

The original objection to gaming, however, regarded not the money wasted but the time. England's military dependence on longbows created concern other games could inhibit training. This made games a national security matter to be addressed by Parliament whereas equivalent 'tavern sins' were dealt with under common law. Acts therefore made archery practice compulsory and banned other games.

¹ Thomas Crompe of St Stephen's, Coleman Street Ward, married twice in the 1560s; a later subsidy roll stated this man was a fletcher: *Allegations for Marriage Licences Issued by the Bishop of London I*, eds G. Armytage and J. Chester, pp. 29, 40; *Two Tudor Subsidy Rolls for the City of London, 1541 and 1582*, ed. R. Lang, pp. 194–99

² Cf. J. Van Humbeeck, 'Exploitation et repression des jeux d'argent en Flandre aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles', p. 327

³ G. von Bülow and W. Powell, 'Diary of the Journey of Philip Julius, Duke of Stettin-Pomerania, through England in the Year 1602', p. 7

In 1363 Edward III proscribed various ‘vain games of no value’ for rendering archery, which had brought ‘honour to the kingdom and advantage to the king in his actions of war’ [...] ‘almost wholly disused’.⁴ Henceforth monarchs employed a discourse that reflected archery’s centrality to English military strategy. From 1477 every act on the subject deployed the words *defence* and *decay*, typically attributing archery’s decline to unlawful games: this became ‘a topos of long standing’.⁵ In 1487 *5 Henry VII c.13*, for instance, claimed that ‘the greate and auncient defense of this realme hath stande by the archers and shoters in long bowes, which ys nowe gretly lefte and fallen in decaye’.⁶ The definitive act, *35 Henry VIII c.9*, ‘An Acte for Maytenance of Artyllarie and debarringe of unlaful Games’ (1541), in force throughout Elizabeth’s reign, gave the theme an extended treatment. The Lottery Chart avoided both words, perhaps deliberately: the money raised would go towards the ‘reparation of the havens and *strength* of the realme’. The ‘decay of the havens’, however, was the more standard term.⁷

Crompe was apparently not the only participant who noticed that the Crown was urging gambling for the same reasons it had formerly forbidden it (Fig. 2.1). Other posies alluded to gambling or cited proverbs used to caution against it. Most using the word *decay* did so in a marked manner. Some buyers treated their purchase as metaphoric longbow training. All suggest the royal change of policy was in people’s minds.

Although legislation united them, scholars have generally considered archery and gambling separately. Military historians set archery’s decline against the rise of firearms; the limited scholarship on medieval gambling ignores archery except insofar as it originated anti-gaming legislation.⁸ Games certainly did not bring about archery’s demise, which partly authorises this approach. Nevertheless, their joint legal history features a mix of military, economic and social history, linguistic and conceptual shifts, deep structures versus

⁴ *CCR*, Edward III, vol. XI, pp. 534–535 (1 June 1363)

⁵ Strickland and Hardy, *Warbow*, p. 405

⁶ *Statutes*, vol. 2, p. 521

⁷ Lottery Chart (emphasis added). For ‘decay’: W. Raleigh, *A Discourse of Sea-ports Principally of the Port and Haven of Dover* (London, 1700) Wing / R157, p. 3; H. Manship, *The History of Great Yarmouth*, pp. 136 and elsewhere

⁸ For archery: Strickland and Hardy, *Warbow*; for games: P. Robert, ‘Les Origines de la répression des jeux en droit anglo-saxon’, pp. 147–60; McIntosh, *Controlling Misbehavior*, pp. 98–100

individual agency, event history as opposed to *conjunction*. Examining them together renders gaming regulation more comprehensible.

TICKET NO.	TICKET PARTICULARS	NOTES
217307	I will learne to be wise, as good thus, as at dyce. Gloucest.	Perhaps anonymous as implicitly critical
332081	Have at all. p Waltherum Bogan. Totnes.	A frequent posy; a standard cry from dicing and fighting
41421	Have at the great lot. p Symon Cheiny. Tunstal. Kent.	A variant on the above, nominating the target; this kind of posy was also common
236933	Best hop have the ring. p Bosham parish, Sussex.	Relating to contests in general (e.g., sporting) rather than games of chance
267559	My cock is best. Edward Blower. Isle of Wight.	Cockfighting allusion: a wagering sport
363969	Many a flye eateth the blinde. p Ric. Phillips de Quellington. Glouc.	Proverb used by John Northbrooke in 1577 in regard to false dice fooling young gamesters
202746	Beware of had I wist. By me William. Exon.	William Alley, Bishop of Exeter; a proverb Northbrooke and Haly Heron used to warn against gambling.
359134	Beware of had I wist. p the parish of Estrie.	Note, though: in 1572 Richard Boteler bought Hernden manor, Eastry; around 1800 a gold ring with the family arms and motto 'Do not, for to repent' was unearthed in the grounds (Hasted, <i>Kent</i> 10, p. 111)
166821	I shoote at the fairest marke. p Anne Sedgrave of Dublin.	Perhaps related to Elizabethan mayors of Dublin Christopher and Walter Sedgrave.
251923	At the best lot I shote. John Hiscock of Melborn-abbas.	Melbury Abbas, Dorset, where the family was local
211945	I am a bruer & occupie malt, therfore I shoote at ye great salt, if God it me sende it wil helpe to buy me a score of malt. William Freeman. London.	One of the lottery's prizes was a salt cellar

Figure 2.1: Selected tickets whose posies seem to associate the enterprise with either unlawful games or archery practice

The Initial Phase: 1363–1409

Two royal proclamations of 1363 and 1365 ordered Edward III's subjects to abandon other games and practise archery.⁹ These had four significant features. First, they erected the opposition between archery and other sports. Their Latin used the words *ludi inhonesti* ('inappropriate games'). This commandeered a term used by religious writers, possibly following Innocent III's 1207 decretal against *ludi theatrales*, which denounced various mock-liturgical rituals as dissolute, reminiscent of the Roman theatre. Raymond de Peñafort (d. 1275), followed by the influential Nicholas de Lyra (1270–1349), distinguished five decencies necessary for play to be acceptable: *honestas personarum, instrumentorum, temporis,*

⁹ CCR, Edward III, vol. XI, pp. 534–35 (1 June 1363); vol. XII, pp. 181–82 (12 June 1365). For the Latin original: Rymer, *Fœdera* III pt 2, p. 704

materiae, morum (propriety of companions, gaming implements, times, stakes and behaviour), while the anonymous *Speculum morale* (compiled 1310–20), about virtues and vices, had a section headed *De ludis inhonestis*. English bishops applied *ludi inhonesti* to lay games deemed unseemly in ‘sacred precincts’.¹⁰

Archery was one such game. London’s bishop Robert Braybroke condemned it in 1385, with other *ludi inhonesti*, for damaging the fabric of St Paul’s: people were firing at birds inside the cathedral.¹¹ Edward, however, refashioned the term to differentiate it from other pursuits: shooting, source of English honour and victory, was now largely abandoned for ‘dishonest and unthrifty games [*ludos inhonestos*]’ and the realm almost devoid of archers. Men were therefore instructed to ‘practise the art of shooting [...] bows and arrows, pellets or bolts’. Other sports were forbidden.¹² (It should be noted that translators, unaware *ludi inhonesti* was a stock term, frequently translate *inhonestos* loosely: in most contexts ‘inappropriate’ seems inappropriate.¹³)

Second, Edward’s proclamations addressed a short-term problem. While initiating a tradition of claims archery was declining they reacted to an immediate shortage of skilled bowmen, hence their appearance in June: archery was practised, and commissioners of array recruited, over summer.¹⁴ They belonged to event history: this was a period of phony war following the 1360 treaty of Brétigny and the populace had presumably stopped practising. Archery’s longer-term decline had not begun; indeed, the longbow had only lately come to prominence as a military weapon.¹⁵

Third, the concern was time, not money: archery contests themselves attracted wagers.¹⁶ Training, though, required fine weather. The banned pursuits were mostly summer sports that competed for practice time: ‘hurling of stones, loggats, or quoits, handball, football, club

¹⁰ L. Clopper, ‘English Drama’, pp. 742–43; Clopper, *Drama, Play and Game*, pp. 12–22, 64–66, 68; J.-M. Mehl, *Des Jeux et des hommes dans la société médiévale*, p. 65; Mehl, *Les Jeux au royaume de France du XIII^e au début du XVI^e siècle*, pp. 17, 328

¹¹ R. Braybroke [Braybrook] (1385), ‘Disrespect for Religious Places’, trans. S. Alsford, *Florilegium Urbanum*, <<http://users.trytel.com/~tristan/towns/florilegium/community/cmreli19.html>> [Accessed 15 May 2017]

¹² *CCR*, Edward III, vol. XI, pp. 534–35

¹³ Cf. translator’s note to Braybroke, ‘Disrespect’

¹⁴ For commissioners, R. Hardy, ‘The Longbow’, p. 166

¹⁵ Strickland and Hardy, *Warbow*, p. 167 and elsewhere

¹⁶ e.g., *The Privy Purse Expences of King Henry the Eighth, from November MDXXIX to December MDXXXII*, ed. N. Nicolas, pp. 67, 72, 76 and others; also ‘Robin Hood and Queen Katherine’, in *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* III, part 5, pp. 196–205; Strickland and Hardy, *Warbow*, pp. 381–82

ball, canibuc, cock fighting or other vain games of no value'.¹⁷ Fourth, they reflected a sole will so had a clearly defined purpose. Edward anticipated war. Longbow proficiency demanded regular training, something he had to ensure occurred.¹⁸ Whereas parliamentary statutes might reflect multiple perspectives royal proclamations did not.

In 1388 this opposition passed into law. The shift from proclamation to act entailed changes. First, the new, parliamentary milieu allowed diverse individuals and perspectives to shape legislation. Second, the social context was different: *12 Richard II c.6* sought to suppress subaltern groups. Surrounding chapters of the statute restricted their movement (*c.5*), limited their wages (*c.4*), stopped agricultural workers becoming apprentices (*c.5*) and addressed vagrancy (*c.7* and *c.8*). *Cap. 6's* main business was to prohibit servants from bearing arms. However, it also repeated Edward's commands about archery and games. This seems intended to reconcile a tension: English peasants had to be rendered incapable of fighting English lords but might be needed to fight French ones. The act's ban on weapons therefore expressly excepted longbows, reiterating Edward's proclamations. In the process it brought other games into statute law too.¹⁹

Third, diceplay joined the act's outlawed games, the only non-physical game banned. Perhaps this reflected the heightened social emphasis. A sedentary game associated with winter, it did not compete with archery. Edward's proclamations had not mentioned it. The prevalent emphasis on social control, rather than military matters, perhaps dictated its inclusion: dicing had long been subject to moral disapproval.²⁰ The legislation's language supports this interpretation. The *ludi inhonesti* of Edward's proclamations became *jeues importunes* in Richard's Anglo-Norman act, which Middle English translators anglicised as *importune Games* and *plaies uncovenable*. All adjectives had the common meaning *inappropriate*.²¹ In *11 Henry IV c.4* (1409), however, *jeues importunes* was rendered *unthrifty games*, suggesting greater attentiveness to their economic aspect. Henry's act recapitulated the 1388 act's provisions, specifying penalties more precisely. However, it concerned archery and games only. These were no longer an afterthought.²²

¹⁷ CCR, Edward III, vol. XI, pp. 534–35

¹⁸ Strickland and Hardy, *Warbow*, p. 30; R. Ascham, *Toxophilus*, pp. 88–91; J. Davies, "A Combersome Tying Weapon in a Throng of Men", pp. 28–29

¹⁹ *Statutes*, vol. 2, pp. 56–58

²⁰ Mehl, *Des Jeux et des hommes*, p. 164

²¹ *Statutes* vol. 2, p. 57; *AND*, *importun*, sense 2; *MED*, *importune*, sense d; *uncovenable*, sense a

²² *Statutes*, vol. 2, p. 163; *MED*, *unthrifty*, various senses

Thus Edward III's immediate military exigencies evoked a time-based opposition between archery and other sports. When the seigneurial reaction banned subaltern weapons the longbow was excepted for military reasons, bringing games into the statute book on its coat-tails. Common law did not prohibit gambling. It targeted gaming houses as public nuisances: occasioning disorder was a discrete offence.²³ However, once enshrined in statute law the games/archery opposition could mutate in court and Parliament, acquiring social and economic, rather than military, emphases. This would remove it from event history, the preserve of Great Men.

Second Phase: 1477–1503

Further legislation, one hundred years later, formally unlinked archery and other games, recognising them as distinct. The focus was now socio-economic. Acts sought to counter rising bow prices, or banned games to control disorder and impoverishment. This legislation had a number of features. First, it involved new terminology. Having been formally declared illegal games could now be termed unlawful. The name *unlawful games* reached statute law in 1477 (*17 Edw. IV c.5*), translating *disloyalx Juez* (disloyal, unlawful), although local courts had referred to illegal games for some decades.²⁴

Second, the activities targeted and grounds for suppression had shifted. Games were now blamed for poverty and social disorder. While the 1477 act opened by mentioning the defence of the realm, its remainder reflected more parochial anxieties. Rather than practise archery, 'evil disposed persons' 'daily used' a range of unlawful games, impoverishing themselves, ruining others and committing 'many Murders, Robberies and other Felonies most heynous'. Stern penalties were prescribed for gamesters and gaming establishments, the latter indicating outdoor sports were no longer the preeminent concern. The opening of the list of banned games featured several indoor ones: '*Dice, Coits, Tennis ...*'.²⁵ These acts broadly coincided with increasing rates of presentment in local courts for gaming and disorderly behaviour, though they may have represented cause rather than effect.²⁶

²³ P. Robert, 'Origines', pp. 149–50

²⁴ *AND, desleal*, several senses; McIntosh, *Controlling Misbehavior*, p. 101 (note that she translates court documents into English as 'illegal games')

²⁵ *Statutes*, vol. 2, pp. 462–63

²⁶ McIntosh, *Controlling Misbehavior*, pp. 68–69, 96–97

Third, archery was now experiencing genuine difficulties. England's wars permanently depleted Europe's yew stocks as Lombard merchants stripped trees of branches.²⁷ This was driving up prices. To address the 'Great Scarcity of Bow-staves' *12 Edward IV c.2* (1472) required ships carrying goods to England to import four for every ton of merchandise, to bring down their 'excessive Price, whereby the Exercise of Archery is greatly discontinued'.²⁸ This act did not mention games. Yew's scarcity had no immediate military consequences: Edward's 1575 expedition to France involved many archers, fully equipped, while even in the sixteenth century bows cost less than guns or crossbows.²⁹ Still, with practice becoming more expensive people may have done less training.

Fourth, archery and unlawful games dissociated through a dialectical process of claim and counter-claim whereby competing interests petitioned Parliament. Anti-gaming law had arisen from kings' need of trained archers; it now involved new groups fighting over different matters. Perhaps responding to the 1472 act, the 1477 one claimed that unlawful games left people unable to afford bows, an argument most likely advanced by bowyers. Conversely, *22 Edward IV c.4* (1482) blamed bowyers' exorbitant prices, which forced people to embrace other pursuits: 'The King's Subjects perfectly disposed to shoot, be not of Power to buy to them Bows, whereby shooting is greatly diminished and left, and unlawful Games be used, contrary to the Statutes and Ordinances thereupon made.' The act regulated bow prices. In *1 Richard III c.11* (1483) the bowyers countered, accusing a 'seducious confederacy [...] of Lumbards' who imported bowstaves at 'outrageous' prices that bowyers had to transmit to their customers; merchants were ordered to import four free bowstaves with every tun of wine.³⁰ The environment was one of economic lobbying: *22 Edward IV c.4*, for instance, fell between a 'piteous Complaint' by silkworkers against imported silks and a ban on mechanical fulling mills prompted by a plea from feltmakers.³¹ By the end of this sequence of acts import prices were accepted as the main deterrent to purchasing bows.

²⁷ P. Thomas and A. Polwart, '*Taxus baccata* L.', p. 515

²⁸ *Statutes*, vol. 2, p. 432

²⁹ Strickland and Hardy, *Warbow*, p. 381

³⁰ *Statutes*, vol. 2, pp. 462–63 (1477); 472–73 (1482); 494 (1483)

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 472–74

Fifth, new factors emerged. From around 1500 handguns and crossbows were restricted to protect longbows.³² Hereafter, acts propped up archery through price control and gun control while games were banned to suppress disorder. Thus, in 1503 *19 Henry VII* had three distinct clauses: *c.2* abolished import duties on bowstaves, to reduce prices; *c.4* restricted crossbow use, to bolster archery practice; *c.12*, situated among laws tackling criminal and disorderly behaviour, concerned vagabonds but with a section on unlawful games.³³ These changes reflected not just royal wishes but also those of bowyers and of community leaders applying laws locally.

The acts make this clear. *11 Henry VII c.2* (1495: 'On vagabonds & beggars') regulated gambling by subalterns and gaming houses. Significantly, the kinds of game banned had changed from physical, outdoor, summer pursuits to indoor, wagering games. In 1363 all prohibited games but cock-fighting belonged to the former category; diceplay joined it in 1388; by 1503, cards, tables (backgammon) and queckboard (a game like shovel-board) had done likewise. The games now banned, whether sedentary (dice, cards, tables) or physical (tennis, bowls, closshe), were those played in or around taverns, with games of chance regularly heading the lists.³⁴ Henry VII's statutes forbade people to play indoors, permitted apprentices to play for meat and drink (items sold at taverns) and restricted play to the Twelve Days of Christmas, a time associated with dice and cards but when outdoor play, archery included, was less feasible. Conceptually speaking, the term was shapeshifting to reflect peacetime, economic concerns.

By 1500, then, the circumstances that had originated the distinction between archery and *ludi inhonesti* were gone. Edward III's proclamations spoke of archery's decline but referred to a short-term downturn in military readiness. However, by 1470 England's consumption of yew was generating a longer-term problem. Rising prices were exposing kings', bowyers' and archers' conflicting interests. Bowyers' efforts to revive the old opposition of games and archery prompted counter-petitioning that unlinked them. However, if it was now accepted that commercial factors governed archery, unlawful games too were acquiring an economic emphasis. Once banned by statute they became subject to courts and parliaments. Conceptual creep ensued. The royal whole-of-realm focus was ceding to local concerns:

³² R. Payne-Gallwey, *The Book of the Crossbow*, p. 33

³³ *Statutes*, vol. 2, pp. 649–50, 657

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 569 (1495); 657 (1503); J.-M. Mehl, 'Games in their Seasons', pp. 71, 78–81

time wasted playing remained an issue but for reasons of general idleness; the most reprobated games were wagering ones associated with taverns. Games of chance were becoming the archetypal unlawful games, although significantly unlike those first targeted: sedentary, indoor pursuits associated with darkness and winter, they were least likely to impede archery practice.

Henry VIII

Henry VIII resuscitated the opposition of archery and games: *33 Henry VIII c.9* (1541/2) amalgamated much past legislation indiscriminately just as the bow's demise as a military weapon rendered it irrelevant. Crucially, Henry's 1509 accession marked a return to war. Economic imperatives dominated the late fifteenth-century acts, even if at this period conflict was not unknown. Henry, though, was young and wanted to establish his reputation by fighting France, something he began in 1512. He was a keen archer.³⁵ He reportedly took the device of a man drawing a bow, with the motto *Cui adhæreo præest* ('He whom I support will prevail') as France and Spain tried to win his backing around 1520, in allusion to England and its bowmen.³⁶

Military needs regained priority over economic and social considerations: the king required a spike in the number of trained bowmen. *5 Henry VIII c.5* (1511) formed part of a suite of preparations for war: *c.4* set up special privileges for those abroad fighting the King's wars; *c.5* concerned captains who underpaid their soldiers. Besides defending the realm, the act noted, English archers had done 'many notable actes and discomfeturcs of warre', subduing many territories. However, archery 'dayly mynessheth decayth and abateth more and more', owing to high bow prices and the impoverishment caused by unlawful games. Archery practice was again made compulsory while other games were banned. Much of the substance of this act was retained in *33 Henry VIII c.9*, the definitive legislation, enacted ahead of an invasion of Scotland.

The Henrician acts nonetheless centred on money, not time, even though previous legislation seemed to have rejected economic competition. It was wartime again. Trained

³⁵ J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, pp. 21–29; Strickland and Hardy, *Warbow*, pp. 391–92

³⁶ W. Camden, *Remains Concerning Britain*, p. 372

bowmen were needed straightaway. In this context game-playing may genuinely have impinged on necessary practice time. The fact the debunked economic opposition was still cited, however, suggests unlawful games had been reconceptualised in terms of a socio-economic problem to the point that it was hard to see them otherwise. Similarly, *6 Henry VIII c.2* (1514), which confirmed and made perpetual the 1511 act after Henry's European campaign, fell between a sumptuary law governing apparel (*c.1*) and *c.3*, which concerned artificers and labourers.³⁷ All involved social control. The duality reflected anti-gaming laws' double antecedents: the king's wars versus other stakeholders' peacetime concerns. Meantime, other acts restricted crossbows and handguns, also to bolster archery.³⁸

Royal proclamations were less consistent than legislation: they reflected the King's immediate needs. Proclamations ordering the enforcement of statutes sometimes bundled unrelated acts together (regarding guns, games and grain prices, for example) or omitted parts of a single act (addressing games but not archery). Whereas statute preambles explained why legislation was needed proclamations did not necessarily specify what prompted them: the fact something was illegal itself authorised a law's enforcement. However, this more ad hoc regulation charted the fluid situation within which laws operated. Thus a proclamation forbidding 'crossbows and handguns' (1526) was succeeded by a ban on 'handguns and crossbows' (1537); henceforth crossbows, by now obsolete, were not mentioned. A 1540 proclamation limited the 1539 act that authorised handgun practice; peace having returned, a 1546 proclamation again prohibited guns.³⁹ Although proclamations reiterated archery and gaming statutes in 1526 and 1536, with one of 1511 that addressed multiple laws against criminality doing likewise, a 1528 proclamation that reiterated multiple statutes opposed bow practice to guns and crossbows, mentioning games only briefly at the end. A 1538 proclamation concerned games alone; one of 1542 regulated the prices of bows, arrows and armour.⁴⁰ In short, proclamations' selectivity regarding what they enforced reveal associations shifting with the King's requirements. Sometimes questions of price, or competition with guns, predominated over archery's opposition to games.

³⁷ *Statutes*, vol. 3, pp. 123–24

³⁸ *Ibid.*, acts of 1511 (p. 32), 1514 (pp. 132–33), 1523 (pp. 215–16), 1533 (pp. 457–59) and 1541 (pp. 832–35)

³⁹ *TRP*, vol. 1: Proclamation #107 (1526), #171 (1537), #194 (1540) and #271 (1546)

⁴⁰ *TRP*, vol. 1: Proclamation #63 (1511), #108 (1526), #163 (1536), #121 (1528), #183 (1538), #271 (1542)

In 1541/2 the definitive act on the subject, *33 Henry VIII c.9*, 'An Acte for Mayntenance of Artyllarie and debarringe of unlaufull Games', superseded all previous laws on archery or games whilst preserving their substance. This exacerbated the legislation's confused nature.⁴¹ It applied throughout Elizabeth's reign and was the last word on the topic: by the early 1600s the bow was obsolete as a military weapon; meantime, game-playing was becoming accepted.⁴²

The 1541 act was one of several passed in preparation for war with Scotland later that year.⁴³ Games were once more suppressed to halt archery's decline: the act opened with a petition from England's bow- and arrow-makers, restating the case that the 'great ympoverishment' produced by 'customable usage' of unlawful games was partly to blame. It enforced purchase of and practice with bows, regulated maximum prices, ensured bows were available in cheaper woods than yew, governed where bowyers might reside and prohibited exports. It banned gaming establishments and forbade subaltern groups to play 'Tables Tennys Dyce Cardes Bowles Clashe Coytinge Logatinge, or any other unlawfull Game'. All were played in or around taverns; the first five had close associations with gambling, while tables, dice and cards were all (at least partly) games of chance. The act effectively superseded all earlier ones.⁴⁴

It sought to address multiple needs. It reflected Henry's immediate military needs whilst seeking to maintain bowyers' declining trade and keep prices low for their customers. Its focus on gaming houses and subaltern gambling reflected an increasing preoccupation with disorder and poverty.⁴⁵ Catering as it did to diverse interests the act rendered indistinct the nature of the connection between archery and games.

Henry's acts represented the longstanding polarity partly as moral antithesis. Whereas archery was patriotic, courageous and 'to the great honor fame and suertie of this Realme and Subjectes' unlawful games had produced impoverishment and 'manye haynous murders robberies and fellonyes'.⁴⁶ The moral differentiation perhaps reflected the absence of a

⁴¹ Robert, 'Origines', pp. 150–53, takes a somewhat different perspective

⁴² For bows, S. Gunn, 'Archery Practice in Early Tudor England', pp. 68–81; for games: A. Dougall, *The Devil's Book*, pp. 72–81; D. Willen, 'The Case of Thomas Gataker', pp. 727–749

⁴³ S. Lehmborg, *The Later Parliaments of Henry VIII*, pp. 148–50

⁴⁴ *Statutes*, vol. 3, pp. 837–41

⁴⁵ McIntosh, *Controlling Misbehavior*, p. 102

⁴⁶ *Statutes*, vol. 3, p. 838

genuine rationale for opposing the two activities: competition for time could no longer be cited since the archetypal unlawful games were no longer summer sports, while by 1500 it had been accepted that gambling did not underlie bows' unaffordability.

Roger Ascham's *Toxophilus*, written in 1544 ahead of Henry's expedition to Boulogne, went farther. The work was opportunistic: Ascham hoped to recommend himself to the King. In a lengthy contrast he depicted unlawful games and archery as polar opposites: 'ther is scarce so much contrariouesnes, betwixte hotte and colde, vertue and vice, as is betwixte these ii. thinges.'⁴⁷ He treated unlawful games as synonymous with cards and dice: a single, short paragraph covered traditional, physical sports. Archery was invented by Apollo, dicing by the disreputable Thoth. The 'Fosterer vp' of archery was Labour, that of dice and cards 'werisom Ydlenesse'. Each group had tutors: Daylight and Open Place in the case of archery; for dice and cards 'Solitariousenes, whyche lurketh in holes and corners', and Night, 'an vngratiouse couer of noughtynesse'. Archery had as companions Providence, Good Heed Giving, True Meeting and Honest Comparison; games of chance had 'blynde Fortune, stumbling chaunce, spittle lucke, false dealyng, crafty conueyaunce, braynlesse brawlynge, false forswerynge'. Adopting a medical analogy Ascham recommended that, as the 'best medicine' expels a disease by introducing contraries, archery should be practised to displace its opposites.⁴⁸

Fourteenth-century prohibitions had suppressed other sports for their resemblance to archery: they competed for leisure time in a zero-sum game. The fifteenth century considered but rejected the prospect they competed for money. In the sixteenth the legal superstructure seems to have lingered after the base on which it had arisen had been lost — John Northbrooke's 1577 condemnation of dicing, dancing and plays classed as acceptable almost every physical pursuit originally banned — falling back on moral antagonism to justify the opposition.⁴⁹ In part these shifts reflected the reconceptualisation of 'unlawful games', once statute law reified the term, from summer sports to games of chance. Archery's difference from unlawful games was now stressed, not its similarity.

⁴⁷ Ascham, *Toxophilus*, p. 51

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 51–53

⁴⁹ Northbrooke, summarized in J. Rühl, 'Religion and Amusements in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England', p. 149

Besides, by 1541, when *35 Henry VIII c.9* was enacted, the longbow was moribund as a military weapon, rendering legal efforts to prevent archery's decline superfluous. Its demise involved a complex, multifactorial process that remains debated.⁵⁰ By the sixteenth century, however, handguns were plainly superseding longbows. Games were not responsible for this although they perhaps distracted from practice when the king was preparing for war. The military imperatives that had generated the concept 'unlawful games' were weakening even if social motives to police gaming remained.

35 Henry VIII c.9 was the last act of its kind and remained in force during Elizabeth's reign with minimal amendment. It thus pertained in the 1560s as she tried to introduce a game of chance that would defend the realm by arresting a different kind of decay.

Transnational Comparisons

This hostile attitude towards unlawful games perhaps contributed to the Lottery General's failure. Anti-gaming legislation acquired its definitive form, particularly targeting wagering games of chance, well before lotteries reached England. The first recorded lottery took place in Genoa in 1374 around the time England's sovereigns started setting archery against rival games.⁵¹ Other nations, though, behaved differently. A brief recapitulation of their approaches highlights the contingent nature of England's.

Archery's importance led English monarchs to repress anything perceived to threaten it: first summer sports; then gambling games; then other missile weapons. To justify this, archery's decay and the realm's defence were invoked. This reflected early, longbow-based victories in the Hundred Years' War: the bow became ingrained in military identity, archery accepted as 'the feat whereby Englishmen have been most dread and had in estimation with outward princes'.⁵²

France, England's opponent in the war and so under comparable pressures, pursued a different strategy. Just as English attachment to longbows perhaps delayed the embrace of

⁵⁰ G. Phillips, 'Longbow and Hackbutt', pp. 576–93; Davies, "Combersome Tying Weapon", pp. 16–31

⁵¹ 'Évolution des loteries en Europe', schematic diagram in Schädler, *Créateurs de Chances*, front endpaper

⁵² T. Elyot, *The Book Named the Governor*, p. 93; for archery at Crécy, J. Sumption, *The Hundred Years War*, vol. 1, pp. 528–32

handguns France's chivalric ethos balked at the use of missile weapons in combat, which was viewed as dishonourable and unchivalric.⁵³ Nevertheless, as in England, practice with bows and crossbows was made compulsory from 1369 and rival games banned. However (according to chronicler Jean Juvenal des Ursins) the peasantry embraced shooting too enthusiastically, inspiring aristocratic fears of revolt, so the policy of enforcement was discontinued.⁵⁴

Perhaps the French found this easier than the English would have. They had been ambivalent about archers, had deployed them poorly when at all, and so achieved no historic victories with them. England ascribed famous exploits to the bow, which conditioned ongoing dependence even if occasional outbursts of violence seemingly justified French foreboding.⁵⁵ As described above, Richard II's 1388 requirement that subalterns practise shooting appeared in the context of a ban on all other weapons; this echoed French concerns about peasant violence.

German states did the precise opposite of England: to help promote shooting practice (albeit not with longbows) they enlisted every activity English kings banned for interfering with it. Late medieval German towns held shooting fairs to improve their inhabitants' skills. Men came from neighbouring towns to participate in archery contests, which thus promoted friendly interactions between adjacent states whilst honing their citizens' skills in case of war. The fairs appeared in the second half of the fourteenth century as England's anti-gaming regulation commenced.⁵⁶

However, to make the fairs more attractive subsidiary contests took place alongside the shooting. Some of the sports involved — 'jousting, fencing, running, stone throwing and jumping' — had prompted Edward III's anti-gaming proclamations.⁵⁷ By the later fifteenth century, as English prohibition shifted focus from physical pursuits to games of chance, shooting fairs started featuring competitions with cards and dice: Kusudo records these at fairs from 1483, just before English bans began to centre on them. Whereas England

⁵³ Mehl, *Des Jeux et des hommes*, pp. 261–62

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 259–60; Mehl, *Les Jeux au royaume de France*, pp. 389–91; Strickland and Hardy, *Warbow*, pp. 255–57 dispute Ursins's explanation

⁵⁵ Froissart, *Chronicles*, vol. 1, pp. 16–17, 662–64

⁵⁶ Kusudo, 'Shooting Festivals', p. 65

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 66

restricted handguns to protect archery, contests involving muskets were incorporated into fairs' repertoires by the mid-fifteenth century. Lotteries too became an important feature of fairs by 1468, raising money for the various competitions' prizes.⁵⁸ In essence everything the English banned as a threat was enlisted to boost enthusiasm for shooting, with the fairs encouraging practice rather than enforcing it.

Perhaps the Empire's composition of smaller states authorised a different approach, while the region's status as Europe's preeminent card manufacturer conceivably fostered a more relaxed attitude to games of chance.⁵⁹ Ultimately, the shooting contests themselves declined and the fairs' secondary amusements, lotteries included, became the main attractions. However, this happened as German states began employing mercenaries, so their citizens no longer needed proficiency.⁶⁰ That contrasted with English monarchs' efforts to keep longbows viable even as guns superseded them.

Shooting competitions appeared in the Netherlands in the 1320s and became the region's most significant civic occasions: invitations were despatched widely, stressing that the event was to foster peace and amity; other towns' attendance reflected extensive social and commercial networks.⁶¹ By the sixteenth century lotteries seem to have taken over as festivities' main focus, although shooting guilds often still played prominent roles when towns organised lotteries.⁶² The latter were big events: in 1553 Middelburg's sold 200,000 tickets.⁶³ They seem to have been a natural outgrowth of shooting fairs: both were publicised widely to attract participants from neighbouring towns; were licensed by the prince, who granted safe-conducts to persons attending; featured 'expensive tableware' as prizes; and so forth.⁶⁴ As with shooting fairs, other entertainments were organised to make the spectacle more attractive: jousting tournaments; poetry competitions; plays and suchlike.⁶⁵

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 66 (guns), 80–81 (cards, dice and lotteries), 66; for one shooting-fair lottery: Isacson and Koch, 'Los ziehen', pp. 127–151

⁵⁹ Schwartz, *Roll the Bones*, pp. 55–58

⁶⁰ Isacson and Koch, 'Los ziehen', pp. 127–151; Kusudo, 'Shooting Festivals', pp. 82; 86 n. 53

⁶¹ See L. Crombie's articles: 'Representatives of Civic Pride and Cultural Identities', pp. 152–64; 'French and Flemish urban festive networks', pp. 157–175

⁶² Fokker, *Geschiedenis*, pp 16–17 and elsewhere; J. Kromm, 'The Early Modern Lottery in the Netherlands', pp. 52–53; for their decline, P. Janssen, 'De schiet- en loterijprijzen van de Delftse schutters uit 1621 en 1631', p. 187, inc. n. 1

⁶³ Fokker, *Geschiedenis*, p. 27

⁶⁴ Crombie, 'Representatives', pp. 153–54, 160–61

⁶⁵ Kromm, 'Early Modern Lottery', pp. 52–53, 58–59; A. Thijs, 'Les Loteries dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux', pp. 31–33; Huisman and Koppenol, *Daer compt de Lotery*, pp. 52–65

This expressed the Flemish inclination to license rather than suppress. Late medieval Flemish counts sought to profit from gambling rather than ban it. Privately run gaming houses were outlawed but people might pay to play cards, dice or chess at the counts' own establishments.⁶⁶ Their approach to lotteries harmonised with this. For permission to hold one a town applied to the count, who received a portion of the money taken in return for authorising the event (a third, in the case of Sluis's 1445 lottery).⁶⁷

In short, England's approach was not replicated elsewhere. It was not an inexorable consequence of involvement in the Hundred Years' War: the French, ultimately the victors, followed a different route. Nor was it essential to treat archery and other games as rivals. Imperial towns' shooting fairs enlisted them to support archery. Moreover, the festive framework such fairs established allowed formerly subsidiary pastimes such as lotteries to take over as shooting contests declined. Only in 1537, when archery was moribund, did England institute the Guild of St George in imitation of Flemish shooting guilds (and this encouraged handgun and crossbow practice too).⁶⁸

Conclusion

Elizabeth's lottery to finance England's defence reversed two centuries of suppression of games for threatening defence. If Thomas Crompe was the London fletcher of that name his ticket posy perhaps indicated apprehension: guns were already rendering archery redundant; how might the royal change of policy towards gambling affect it? Elizabethan proclamations repromulgated 33 *Henry VIII c.9*, reminding that gaming by servants, apprentices, husbandmen and labourers was banned to stop the 'poore people of this Realme', its potential bowmen, wasting money they needed for bows.⁶⁹ In 1567–69, though, organisers complained about the simpler sort boycotting the lottery. This reflected a significant policy reversal. Bowyers and fletchers had cause to worry.

England's attitude to games was not inevitable. It is sometimes asserted that they entered statute law only because the longbow's military importance, and the consequent need for

⁶⁶ Van Humbeeck, 'Exploitation et repression', pp. 329–38

⁶⁷ M. Zollinger, 'La Loterie, une institution appréciée et contestée', p. 16

⁶⁸ Gunn, 'Archery Practice', p. 75

⁶⁹ *TRP*, vol. 2: #586 (March 1572[?]), p. 359; #587 (March 1572), p. 361; #679 (c. 1585), p. 517

regular training, made play a matter of national security.⁷⁰ Strictly speaking, a contrary desire — to repress subaltern groups in times of peace — was responsible: the general ban on weapons necessarily excepted bows, touching thereby on other games. In other circumstances monarchs might have continued using proclamations like Edward III's to boost the number of skilled bowmen for military campaigns. However, once unlawful games were defined legally the concept could mutate, transferring from summer sports to wagering games of chance. By Elizabeth's accession the binary opposition of archery versus other games was becoming confused, the polarity partly characterised as moral.

This had implications for her lottery's reception. Subjects were now supposed to gamble for essentially the reason they had formerly been expected not to: national defence. This did more than simply provide the unwilling with a ready moral objection to participating. The historic failure to promote archery through shooting fairs meant an institution capable of nurturing lotteries' development was lacking. The Queen's attempt to transplant Flemish-style lotteries into a culture that suppressed, rather than licensed, games of chance was liable to strike difficulties.

⁷⁰ e.g., Robert, '*Origines*', pp. 150–51

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CHAPTER FOUR:

THE EMERGENCE OF MERCANTILE GAMBLING

England's Lottery General was not unique. In the mid-1560s sovereigns across Europe were contemplating state lotteries. Different nations, however, had different cultures; their past exposure to lotteries also varied: both factors were liable to affect their response to state schemes. These evolved from city lotteries, which originated in the fourteenth century but established in certain regions of continental Europe only. This study seeks to situate Elizabeth's scheme in its transnational context, assessing it not as an event whose success was conditioned by domestic circumstances alone but as a failed attempt to transplant a Continental phenomenon. In this it follows Davies's injunction to present English history from 'the standpoint of an outsider looking inwards, rather than that of an insider observing the immediate surroundings'.¹

Lotteries were a mercantile activity, blurring the distinction between gambling and finance, resembling banking, insurance, trade or speculation. The play element was constrained: the organisers were running a business; participants ventured capital with hopes of a return. This was new to England, where gambling's emphasis was play and sociability. People wagered on the outcome of uncertain events — the sex of unborn children, for instance, or whether Elizabeth would marry the Duke of Anjou — but such bets were contracted between individuals.² In contrast, analogous Italian betting on papal elections had long been run by banking houses; wagers on babies' genders might involve financial transactions, determining whether a debt would be cancelled or doubled.³ The English, less financially sophisticated, do not seem to have married gambling with commerce in such ways.

Though merchants might be rich, unlike gentlemen they earned their money through business, which occupied their time. They thus had wealth but limited leisure (in theory at least). Since the time and money available to players conditioned their gambling behaviour (Fig. 4.1) merchants could conceivably have favoured lotteries because participation

¹ N. Davies, *The Isles*, p. xli

² For instances, Stone, *Crisis*, p. 568

³ L. Vaughan Williams and D. Paton, 'Forecasting the Outcome of Closed-Door Decisions', pp. 392–94; J. Shaw, 'Market Ethics and Credit Practices in Sixteenth-Century Tuscany', pp. 245–46

required little time; the similarity to speculation potentially rendered them more palatable than other games.

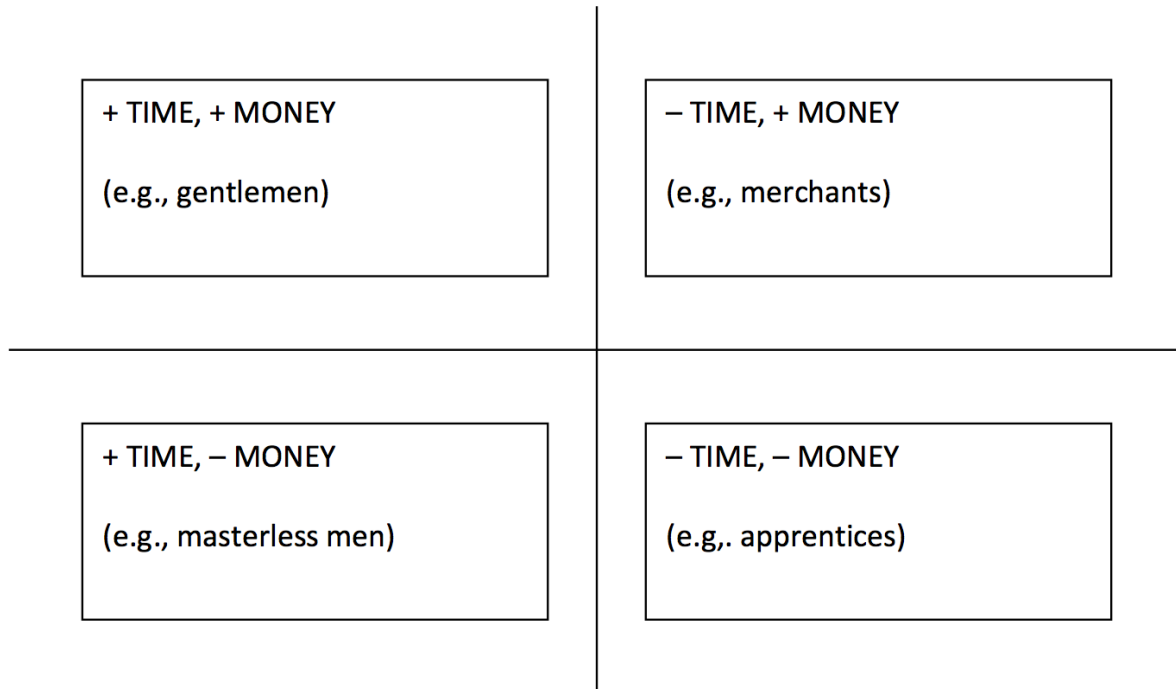


Figure 4.1: A schematic representation of society according to different social groups' possession of time and money, for purposes of illuminating the potential this had to affect gambling behaviour. (Note that the examples of social groups supplied in parentheses are ideal types; they may not reflect accurately the circumstances of all gentlemen, merchants, etc.)

In reality sixteenth-century merchants seem to have gambled heavily at cards, dice, etc.⁴ Francis I justified his 1539 royal lottery on the grounds that it would discourage merchants (among others) from such idle pursuits.⁵ Rabb has argued that recklessness and the 'gambling instinct' drove early European expansion overseas: any association between capitalism and an ascetic Protestant ethic arose later.⁶ Certainly, merchant ships trading into London in 1567–68 included two named the *Sweepstake* and eight called *Fortune*.⁷

This chapter reviews city lotteries' emergence in Italy and the Netherlands and their evolution in the sixteenth century into state lotteries. It also considers states where lotteries did not establish, investigating why this may have been.

⁴ Jeannin, *Merchants of the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 105–06; G. Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, pp. 27–28

⁵ Neurrisse, 'La Blancque', pp. 681–82

⁶ T. Rabb, 'The Expansion of Europe and the Spirit of Capitalism', pp. 677–79

⁷ 'Indices: Persons, places, ships, subjects', in *London Port Books*, pp. 168–95

Medieval Origins

Lotteries, in the term's modern sense, date from the fourteenth century. While there has been past scholarly disagreement as to whether they arose in the Netherlands or Italy the earliest recorded occurred in Genoa in 1374.⁸ (The more famous 'Genoese lottery', however, the original lotto-style system, was devised in the 1600s: medieval schemes were essentially enormous raffles.⁹) Thus, like handguns and playing cards, which both entered Europe in the 1370s, lotteries were contemporaneous with England's first regulation of archery and unlawful games.

From Italy, where Welch says they were infrequent, lotteries spread rapidly to the Netherlands.¹⁰ Early endeavours followed Italian practice, with the main prizes civic offices such as the post of *schroder* (relating to wine imports).¹¹ Bruges held the first in 1440–41, and had run perhaps seventeen by 1474; by 1450 several towns had followed suit, sometimes after asking Bruges, the Low Countries' commercial leader, for advice.¹² This reflected the Flemish custom of actively adopting neighbours' commercial practices.¹³ Nevertheless, outside Bruges lotteries were not especially common until around 1500, when the Regent's government in Brussels began pressing towns in financial difficulties to hold lotteries to pay off debts.¹⁴ As with shooting fairs, communities applied to the Count of Flanders, who formally licensed the event in return for part of the takings (a third in the case of Sluys's 1445 lottery to repair its city walls). This harmonised with late medieval counts' more general attempts to benefit from gambling through licensing.¹⁵ As Bruges ceded commercial preeminence to Antwerp the epicentre of lottery activity moved accordingly.¹⁶

Lotteries were an urban phenomenon. It was not coincidence that they flourished in Europe's most densely populated, financially sophisticated corners: northern Italy, the Netherlands and the trade routes between them through Germany.¹⁷ They originated when

⁸ M. Zollinger, 'Ce "sort ingénieux"', p. 37

⁹ D. Bellhouse, 'The Genoese Lottery', p. 142

¹⁰ Welch, 'Lotteries', p. 82

¹¹ Thijs, 'Loteries', p. 7; Zollinger, 'La Loterie', p. 16

¹² J. Puttevils, 'The Lure of Lady Luck', p. 63–65 (Thijs, 'Loteries', p. 7, estimates the Bruges lotteries at 27)

¹³ Cf. O. Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*

¹⁴ Puttevils, 'Lure', p. 65; Thijs, 'Loteries', pp. 8–10

¹⁵ Van Humbeeck, 'Exploitation et repression', pp. 329–38

¹⁶ Puttevils, 'Lure', p. 63; Gelderblom, *Cities*, pp. 20–33

¹⁷ R. Muchembled, 'La Roue de fortune', p. 27

the practice of drawing lots to allocate civic offices became a betting game. People could pay for tickets linked to the draw, which might win prizes.¹⁸ As lotteries became occasions in their own right they continued to operate at the city level.

They presented several reasons to take part. The prizes directly benefited winners even if involvement on that ground was irrational: for lotteries to be viable most tickets had to lose. However, some would win and some prizes were substantial. For poorer individuals they might be life-changing; they could render young women marriageable, as English posies observed. Such considerations may explain why apprentices and servants were particularly eager participants.

Second, the revenue typically funded good works. The use of lotteries to raise prize-money for shooting contests has been described already. They funded more material enterprises too. When a 1552 fire destroyed its cathedral's stained-glass windows Gouda instituted a lottery to replace them. Amsterdam's 1592 scheme built a lunatic asylum. In 1596 Leiden's financed a hospital. After Spanish attacks on the city destroyed many homes Haarlem's 1606 lottery raised money to construct almshouses for the elderly.¹⁹ The English lottery's focus on harbour renovation conformed to this pattern, though atypically, in that the woodcut on the Chart that announced the scheme did not depict the project for which money was raised.²⁰ Lotteries thus had an economic rationale at the group level even if participation was not wholly rational at the individual level. Publicity for a Milanese lottery of 1448 argued this explicitly: those who won nothing would benefit as members of the community.²¹

Third, the occasion had entertainment value. The draw was suspenseful in itself. Italian lotteries involved speculation in undrawn tickets, whose resale value rose if big prizes had not surfaced as the draw's end neared. The event presented the spectacle of excited winners, tense participants whose tickets remained undrawn and chagrined persons who had resold tickets only to have them gain prizes. One elderly widow died of joy on winning the big

¹⁸ Zollinger, 'Ce "sort ingénieux"', p. 37

¹⁹ Vaandrager, 'Loterijen en glasschenkingen', pp. 146–72; N. Middelkoop, 'Gillis Coignet'; For Leiden: e.g., Huisman and Koppenol, *Daer compt de Lotery*, pp. 35–51; the Haarlem lottery's collectors' books can be viewed online: 'Registers Haarlemse Loterij 1606', at the site *Van papier naar digitaal: een initiatief van Hans den Braber en Herman de Wit ter bevordering van het online brengen van genealogisch bronmateriaal*, <http://www.vpnd.nl/nh/haarlem_lot.html> [accessed 24 March 2017]

²⁰ Dean, 'Elizabeth's Lottery', pp. 593–95

²¹ Zollinger, 'La Loterie', p. 16; Zollinger, 'Ce "sort ingénieux"', pp. 37–39; Welch, 'Lotteries', pp. 80–81

prize in an Italian lottery.²² The reading aloud of ticket posies further enhanced the amusement, offering buyers an opportunity to perform in public, while lotteries often occurred with other entertainments such as shooting contests. Citizens thus had a threefold incentive to back their town's lottery: the prize; the good works to be funded; and amusements associated with the draw. Outsiders were given a pretext to travel to the event, bringing tourist dollars that further benefited the host town.

Good causes were not always enough. Milan's 1448 lottery, for example, was not a success. The response to Jacobean lotteries held to finance New World colonisation has been described as 'apathetic', despite their having been promoted as for 'the honor of our nation, & benefite of English people'. The advantages were perhaps too far-off, temporally and geographically, to offer much incentive.²³ Public works nonetheless helped make schemes palatable, permitting authorities to portray levies as just (and voluntary) taxation whilst helping gamblers rationalise involvement.²⁴ Protestant states perhaps had particular need of reassurance. Later in Elizabeth's reign Puritans who objected to cards and dice condemned those as *lotteries*: such authors stressed they did not oppose lotteries to decide serious matters; however, since God determined all seemingly chance events personally, frivolous randomisation distracted him from weightier things. Lottery organisers needed to demonstrate they were not wasting God's time.

Other incentives had to offset the deterrent created by the low likelihood of winning. Economists find lotteries problematic on these grounds: for participation to appear worthwhile one must become blind to the probabilities. However, just as other forms of gambling do not revolve solely around the monetary stake, sociologists suggest ticket-buying can reflect non-economic impulses: Garvía argues that Spanish ticket-buying syndicates embody group solidarities.²⁵ Dutch lotteries appear to have helped foster unity in the struggle against Spain.

²² Welch, 'Lotteries', p. 71

²³ R. Johnson, 'The Lotteries of the Virginia Company', pp. 262, 265 (citing Edwin Sandys)

²⁴ For individuals: S. Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, pp. 306–07; for the state: E. Isenmann, 'Medieval and Renaissance Theories of State Finance', pp. 31–37; W. Schulze, 'The Emergence and Consolidation of the "Tax State"', pp. 273–76. Note Welch, 'Lotteries', p. 81

²⁵ Garvía, 'Syndication', pp. 603–52

There are, however, indications people did sometimes lose sight of the poor chance of success. In February 1522 Venetian diarist Marin Sanudo reported that a secondhand clothes merchant had introduced 'a new method of commerce' to Venice which was becoming a craze.²⁶ Northern Italy had been the birthplace of city lotteries so Venetians must have heard of them already. Perhaps Sanudo's adjective 'new' reflected novelty of scale. These were private lotteries, shopkeepers raffling off excess wares, and may have seemed novel in the way personal computers did in the 1970s to cultures familiar with mainframes. Sanudo chronicled what resembled a developing bubble: tickets rocketed in price from 20 soldi to a ducat while prizes became more valuable and exotic, moving from carpets and surplus stock to lavish cash prizes, cloth of gold, amber beads, horses, even a lynx. Within a fortnight the Republic suppressed private lotteries to institute its own monopoly. Simultaneously, Flemish enthusiasm led the Regent to ban lotteries held for personal profit as 'usurious' in 1524.²⁷

Evidently lotteries were proliferating and permeating society at multiple levels. There were city lotteries, private lotteries, lotteries of artworks, lots for offices and so forth. This formed part of a broader gaming renaissance in the late Middle Ages. Like lotteries, cards were diffusing through Europe from south to north, while games such as chess and draughts acquired new rules.²⁸ By the 1550s Flanders, rebounding from the 1524 ban, saw numerous lotteries run by shopkeepers, stockbrokers, shooting guilds, chambers of rhetoric and religious fraternities, as well as city corporations.²⁹ The phenomenon was increasingly popular in regions culturally disposed to accept it, even if not all schemes met their fundraising goals.

1560s State Lotteries

By the mid-1560s the state lottery seemed an idea whose time had come. In Flanders, Philip II was upgrading city lotteries to the state level, while sovereigns of states to which lotteries were not native sought to erect similar schemes. The Netherlands was the epicentre of this proliferating interest. Philip's regent, Margaret of Parma, announced a 1566 state lottery

²⁶ Seville, 'Italian Roots', pp. 17–18 (Welch, 'Lotteries', p. 82 translates this as 'a new mode of gaining')

²⁷ Seville, 'Italian Roots', p. 18; Welch, 'Lotteries', pp. 83–85; Thijs, 'Loteries', pp. 8–19

²⁸ T. Depaulis, 'Bingo! A Material History of Modern Gaming', pp. 36–56

²⁹ Thijs, 'Loteries', pp. 8–20

— ‘*une grande et générale loterie*’ — intended to be the most thoroughgoing of its kind.³⁰ The conceptual shift from city to state level was perhaps relatively straightforward in Flanders, where lotteries had naturalised over a century earlier. In 1556 Tomasso Baroncelli, a Florentine resident in Antwerp, offered to organise a state lottery, to pay the Regent’s debts, that would involve the compulsory participation of Flemish towns. War postponed consideration of his plan until 1559, when its object changed: it would now pay Spanish soldiers’ outstanding wages. A 1561 ban on almost all other lotteries, aimed at boosting involvement in two official schemes to finance road-building and the relief of frontier towns, eased its acceptance: the state was again assuming control of lotteries. In 1565, just as Baroncelli’s idea was accepted in principle, fellow-Florentine Giovanni di Santa Croce advanced a better plan that was adopted instead. Both Florentines and the new Regent, Margaret of Parma, then ‘retouched’ Santa Croce’s design so as to profit from it personally (such behaviour perhaps helped inspire cynicism about Elizabeth’s scheme). Santa Croce’s proposal involved two simultaneous lotteries, one ‘secret’ (unpublicised), underwritten by the Estates General and run for the state’s benefit to fortify frontier towns, the other a ‘lottery general’ open to all. The former presumably descended from Baroncelli’s idea of a compulsory levy on towns. In the latter, Spain’s soldiers would relinquish a sixth of the money owed them in return for 500,000 lots, while the public would buy a further 1.5 million lots at two florins each; this would generate two million lots and raise three million florins. Antwerp would guarantee the prizes and be custodian of the money collected. Negotiations with the various stakeholders extended through 1566, after which the scheme fell victim to the Netherlands’ deteriorating political situation.³¹

The venture roused interest elsewhere, however. Two Antwerp merchants, Étienne Perret and Alexander Compagni, stole the lottery’s plans in late 1566 and sold them to Charles IX of France. This may explain Charles’s ambitious 1566 scheme for a four-million franc lottery whose proceeds would be loaned at ten per cent interest to Paris’s then-struggling merchant community, an idea his Council rejected as usurious.³² Meantime the theft was detected, obliging the thieves to flee Antwerp. Étienne Perret, Zollinger has noted, was probably the ‘Frenchman’ Estienne Perrot, whose suggestion about splitting tickets and diminishing prize

³⁰ Zollinger, ‘La Loterie’, p. 18

³¹ This account mostly summarizes Goris’s précis of Van der Essen’s lengthier Dutch account: J.-A. Goris, *Étude sur les colonies marchandes méridionales (portugais, espagnols, italiens) à Anvers de 1488 à 1567*, pp. 401–28; Philip’s licence is reproduced in Fokker, *Geschiedenis*, pp. 248–53

³² Rouault de la Vigne, *La Loterie*, p. 20

values was adopted to address England's difficulty with low sales.³³ Meantime Philip's 1561 ban on other Flemish lotteries, intended to assist his state one, spurred certain Netherlands towns to run city lotteries as the Dutch Revolt began.³⁴ Zollinger briefly mentions a 1567 Spanish lottery; given Philip's involvement with the Flanders one he perhaps hoped to introduce them to Spain.³⁵

It is not certain Philip's plans were sold to Elizabeth, notwithstanding Perret's apparent later intervention in her affairs. When preparations commenced shortly afterward, however, its organisers certainly modelled it on Flemish practice and the earlier scheme doubtless inspired them. The name 'Lotterie Generall' derived from Philip's '*grande et générale loterie*'. Francis I's 1539 lottery had been called the *blancque*, a name based, like the scheme itself, on Italian lotteries: draw officials charged with reading out prize slips called mostly 'Bianca!', after drawing unmarked, non-winning slips.³⁶ England's lottery, like Philip's, emphasised there would be no blanks, rendering such a name unfeasible. Other terms, such as the lottery *chart* and title *collector* bestowed on ticket-sellers, likewise followed Flemish custom. Estienne Perrot's letter to Cecil intimated a second lottery was envisaged; again, this conformed to the Flemish template, which was to have involved a second draw a year later, re-using non-winning tickets from the first. Ticket posies suggest trumpets sounded when prizes were drawn, as in Flanders. The Low Countries' simultaneous 'secret' lottery underwrote the fortification of frontier towns, which perhaps inspired Elizabeth's decision to use her lottery for harbour renovation and defence of the realm.

There are various hints of more direct Flemish involvement. John Johnson, appointed to oversee ticket-selling, informed William More, Surrey's lottery treasurer, that he would shortly visit More's house with 'the Flemyng (whom you knowe)'.³⁷ Since Johnson readily named other persons he dealt with his coyness regarding this man's identity could indicate the latter wished to stay anonymous, perhaps fearing Spain would think him disloyal. More significantly, in March 1566/67, five months before the Lotterie Generall was announced, Elizabeth granted 'Georg Gilpyn and Peter Grimaldy' permission to hold a lottery, the first

³³ Zollinger, 'La Loterie', p. 18

³⁴ Thijs, 'Loteries', p. 63

³⁵ Zollinger, 'La Loterie', p. 19

³⁶ Rouault de la Vigne, *La Loterie*, pp. 16–17

³⁷ Johnson to More, 10 Jul 1568, *SHC*, 6729/7/144j

indication such a thing was meditated.³⁸ Gilpyn was presumably Sir Thomas Gresham's former secretary George Gilpin, by 1567 the Merchant Adventurers' Antwerp secretary and a valued agent and informant of the Queen: in 1561 she had promised Gresham to favour Gilpin 'in any reasonable suit'.³⁹ This suggests Grimaldy was Pedro Grimaldi, of a family of Genoese alum merchants operating in 1550s Antwerp.⁴⁰ In 1559 Baroncelli was urging Antonio de Grimaldi, Genoa's Antwerp consul, to ensure the Genoese community supported his lottery blueprint. English lottery tickets survive for Alexander Grymalde and Peter Grunaldo, both of Antwerp, the latter conceivably Grimaldy.⁴¹ There is no evidence a Gilpyn-Grimaldy lottery took place but their initiative may have galvanised Elizabeth's regime into starting its own.⁴² In 1568 the Privy Council wrote to Antwerp requiring the Merchant Adventurers to purchase lots, despatching Gilpin to superintend the business.⁴³ Moreover, Perrot's proposal to Cecil regarding poor ticket sales was delivered in English, French and Italian copies. The Italian one may indicate Cecil received it through Gilpin and Grimaldi: while French was Perrot's language and English Cecil's there was no obvious need of an Italian translation.⁴⁴ If Philip's stolen plans did reach England the fact Gilpin and Grimaldi raised a lottery with Elizabeth, probably from Antwerp, within months of the theft suggests the route it took.

England's regime certainly measured its lottery against the Flemish one. Urging York to promote the Lottery General in May 1568 Sir Thomas Gargrave accused the English of supporting their monarch more feebly than Philip's subjects did: although begun later Philip's 600,000-ticket scheme ('the some beinge thyrse as great as oures') was 'yn maner fully accomplished' despite offering poorer returns, with 'a greatt parte there [going] to the commodytie of the prynce', whereas Elizabeth's either used the money for the realm's good or returned it as prizes.⁴⁵

³⁸ W. Cecil, 'Notes of Queen Elizabeth's Reign by the Lord Treasurer Burleigh', in Murdin, *State Papers*, vol. 2, p. 763

³⁹ *DNB*, 'Gilpin, George (d. 1602)'

⁴⁰ Thijs, 'Loteries', p. 41 n. 12; D. Harreld, *High Germans In The Low Countries*, p. 176

⁴¹ Goris, *Étude*, pp. 410–11 n.1; tickets 373726 (Grymalde) and 188787 (Grunaldo)

⁴² Ewen, *Lotteries and Sweepstakes*, p. 34

⁴³ Pembroke, Leicester and Cecil to Antwerp's Merchant Adventurers (draft), 30 Aug 1568, *TNA*, SP 12/47/48, f. 97

⁴⁴ Perrot to Cecil, 3 Dec 1568, *TNA*, SP 12/48/51, f. 121

⁴⁵ Gargrave, 'Articles', p. 137

This was misleading. With the Dutch Revolt underway a lottery to finance armies and fortifications perhaps did serve Philip's interests as against those of his subjects. However, unless Gargrave meant the 'private' lottery held alongside Philip's lottery general, which involved no public sales, his figures were inaccurate. Philip's lottery was anything but 'fully accomplished'. In September 1567 Gerard Gramaye, professional lottery organiser and Antwerp's former treasurer, replaced Santa Croce as superintendant. Philip, however, delayed sending the money necessary to underwrite the scheme, while the new regent, Alva, distrusted the organisers. Alva insisted Gramaye pay Spain's soldiers himself, which helped bankrupt him early in the 1570s. Meantime, in November 1567 the unpaid troops sacked Antwerp, accelerating the Dutch Revolt and forcing Philip to ship the Genoese gold for paying their wages that Elizabeth impounded. In 1572 Gramaye held a small draw of the 80,000 lots sold thus far (of which 35,000 had been taken by himself).⁴⁶ He revived the lottery in 1578 after release from debtors' prison. However, scholars differ as to whether a draw eventuated: Van der Essen affirmed it did, although distribution of prizes took until 1591; others have asserted otherwise; the latest study states simply that Gramaye's various post-prison schemes for state lotteries came to nothing.⁴⁷ Whatever happened, the facts hardly square with Gargrave's claim the venture succeeded.

Nonetheless, as can be seen, in the 1560s lotteries were both becoming larger-scale operations and expanding beyond their traditional territorial range. Europe's national economies were increasingly interlinked: they tended to develop the same problems around the same times. Sovereigns needed more money to meet the cost of burgeoning bureaucracies, courts and armies, so had to tax more.⁴⁸ They plainly appreciated lotteries' fiscal potential even when the subjects they ruled were unfamiliar with them.

France and England

The fact France and England were less urbanised and commercially developed than Italy or the Netherlands probably explains why lotteries had not established there before the 1500s:

⁴⁶ Puttevils, 'Lure', pp. 69–70; Thijs, 'Loteries', pp. 22–23

⁴⁷ Thijs, 'Loteries', p. 23; L. Van der Essen, 'De "Groote en generale staatsloterij" der Nederlanden', pp. 331–32; Puttevils, 'Lure', p. 70

⁴⁸ M. Braddick, *The Nerves of State*, pp. 12–16; C. Webber and A. Wildavsky, *A History of Taxation and Expenditure in the Western World*, p. 229–30; Schulze, 'Emergence', pp. 261–2, 268–70; R. Braun, 'Taxation, Sociopolitical Structure and State-Building', pp. 260–62

the necessary preconditions were lacking. This contrasted with the popular enthusiasm for private lotteries that prompted Venetian and Flemish authorities to ban them in the 1520s.

Elizabeth's scheme followed a similar trajectory to France's earlier royal lottery. In 1539 Francis I instituted the *Blancque* in major cities after encountering lotteries and grasping their fiscal potential while campaigning in Italy. Italians in Catherine de Medici's retinue, come to Paris in 1533, had recently introduced smaller-scale ones with some success; others had perhaps diffused from French-speaking Burgundian towns, some later acquired by France (e.g., Lille and St Omer); authorities seem already to have begun prohibiting private ones.⁴⁹ Francis's scheme was oriented primarily, though not exclusively, towards the rich. However, tickets were so expensive nobody wanted them. A 1541 proclamation lowered their price to make them more attractive. Nonetheless, it is not certain the scheme proceeded to a draw. However, it caused the social elites who were ultimately compelled to buy most tickets to obstruct royal lotteries for the next hundred years. Before Charles IX's Council rejected his 1566 lottery Paris's Parlement had annulled the privilege he granted in 1563 for a more modest scheme whose main prize was a gold watch. Henri IV encountered comparable difficulties in the 1590s.⁵⁰

Although Francis's scheme was perhaps poorly designed other deterrent factors may have operated. Lotteries could be incorporated into Italian urban society, which revolved around commercial speculation, without undue emphasis on sin; this did not hold so true for France.⁵¹ One culture's characteristics can assist or inhibit the uptake of elements from another. Wachtel argues that Spain's sixteenth-century conquest of the Inca and Mexica (Aztec) empires was facilitated by the fact both societies had strongly hierarchical structures, like Spain itself: Spain's king was therefore accepted reasonably readily atop the social pyramid in place of the indigenous ruler. However, the territories of neighbouring, nomadic peoples whose social structures were less compatible could finally only be acquired by extermination. The same incompatibility had earlier stopped the Mexica themselves absorbing these neighbours. Broers has employed comparable reasoning to explain the differential acceptance of French revolutionary reforms in different parts of Napoleon's empire: it depended not just on length of exposure to French rule but also on the extent to

⁴⁹ Neurrisse, 'La Blancque', pp. 681–82; Morin and Dufresne, *La Roue de la Fortune*, pp. 144–46; Rouault de la Vigne, *La Loterie*, pp. 13–14

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 19–24; Neurrisse, 'La Blancque', pp. 681–82

⁵¹ Muchembled, 'La Roue de fortune', pp. 35, 40

which the indigenous culture was preadapted to receive them.⁵² While these cases involved culture imposed by conquest the spread of lotteries is amenable to analysis along similar lines. The Low Countries' rapid embrace of lotteries after their appearance in Italy resembles a case of positive acculturation: both nations were commercially-minded so the phenomenon could be easily transplanted. Elsewhere, state lotteries were imposed from above, not initiated at the popular level, so might be instituted where society was unreceptive.

Unlike the situation in Flanders, lotteries in the 1560s were 'straunge to the people of Engl[ande]' according to organisers and former London mayors William Garrard and Thomas Offley.⁵³ There is no evidence they had yet naturalised. The word was not in regular use before 1567: the *Oxford English Dictionary's* earliest instance is cited from the Lottery Chart itself; early uses often denoted randomisation more generally. Later Elizabethan tracts against 'lotteries' referred to cards, dice and tables. The fact certain ticket posies expressed moral reservations about Elizabeth's scheme suggests that had smaller-scale lotteries already existed condemnations of them would survive. Late in Elizabeth's reign literary allusions implied growing familiarity with lotteries and suggest small, private lotteries were taking hold. Chapman's 1599 play *An Humorous Daye's Mirth* ended with a small lottery arranged as amusement; this strongly resembled one held in 1601 to entertain Elizabeth.⁵⁴ In these cases players did not devise posies for tickets subsequently matched with prize slips: they drew from a receptacle slips on which the organiser had inscribed a posy and a prize. The riddle of the caskets in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* (c.1596), called by Portia 'the lott'ry of my destiny', was organised similarly: each casket held a prize and a scroll with a rhyme about the suitor who chose it.⁵⁵ Allusions to actual lotteries only became frequent after James I's accession.⁵⁶

This does not imply no earlier effort to introduce them. In 1516, shortly before Venice's lottery craze, London's mayor licensed three men to hold 'a game called the lotte' that

⁵² N. Wachtel, 'L'Acculturation', pp. 124–46; M. Broers, 'Napoleon, Charlemagne, and Lotharingia', pp. 135–54

⁵³ Garrard and Offley to Cecil, 14 Jul 1568, *TNA*, SP 12/47/13, f. 28

⁵⁴ G. Chapman, *An Humorous Day's Mirth* (*Modern*), ed. E. Lowe, <http://digitalrenaissance.uvic.ca/doc/AHDM_M/complete/>, scene 14; John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 19 Nov 1602, enclosure 59.1 ('The Lottery'), *CSP Domestic, Elizabeth: 1601–1605; and Addenda 1547–1565*, p. 264; Nichols, *Progresses and Processions*, vol. 3, pp. 570–75

⁵⁵ Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, II, i, 15 (also I, iii, 28–30)

⁵⁶ e.g., Gawdy, *Letters*, p. 154; for the word's early senses: *OED*, 'Lottery'

involved posies, perhaps copied from Flanders.⁵⁷ This cannot have prospered: English contemporaries, unlike Venetians, did not report its popularity; bans on unlawful games ignored it; the absence of subsequent condemnation suggests it did not take.

Early Stuart lotteries too had mixed success. Private schemes were increasingly licensed. Jacobean lotteries were held to support Virginia's colonisation, with travelling 'running' ones, resembling that of Chapman's play, better received than a 'standing' one like Elizabeth's.⁵⁸ Under Charles I a lottery to fund an aqueduct for London was apparently popular although construction of the work never began.⁵⁹ Lotteries did not establish in England till the Restoration and were still characterised as foreign in the 1690s.⁶⁰

By then England had outstripped the Dutch as a commercial power. The cultural gap between the nations had apparently narrowed to the point that a foreign phenomenon could leap it. Jardine has argued that the Glorious Revolution is remembered as a triumph of democracy, not a Dutch invasion, because by 1688 England had spent a century ransacking Dutch culture, rendering the nations similar enough for political union to be no longer unthinkable. Her thesis has not been accepted without reservations.⁶¹ However, even if it imperfectly explains the Glorious Revolution's success her argument may illuminate the Lottery's failure.

In 1567–69 England's assimilation of Dutch ideas and practices was in its infancy, in part because the rebellion against Spain was just beginning: it was the Dutch Republic's phenomenal success in ensuing decades that prompted emulation. At this point the gulf between England and the Low Countries perhaps impeded acceptance of Dutch commercial culture. Mid-sixteenth-century England was 'an underdeveloped country [...] by the economic standards of the time'. Its merchants had not assimilated Continental advances in trade and finance, while foreign merchants controlled much of its commerce.⁶² Sir Thomas Gresham's 1566–68 construction of the Royal Exchange, modelled on Antwerp's bourse, for instance, coincided with the lottery: the Flemish mason he imported to oversee the project

⁵⁷ 'The game of lotts', 21 May 1516, LMA, COL/CC/01/01/011, X109/053, f. 253^r

⁵⁸ Johnson, 'Lotteries of the Virginia Company', pp. 259–92; Johnson, 'The "Running Lotteries" of the Virginia Company', pp. 156–65

⁵⁹ Welch, 'Lotteries', pp. 81, 97; Ewen, *Lotteries and Sweepstakes*, pp. 89–92

⁶⁰ A. Murphy, 'Lotteries in the 1690s', pp. 228

⁶¹ Jardine, *Going Dutch*; T. Claydon, 'Review: "Going Dutch"', pp. 820–21

⁶² T. Rabb, *Enterprise and Empire*, p. 1

purchased a ticket.⁶³ The Exchange provided a dedicated space where merchants could transact deals, instead of in the street: in 1561 Richard Clough had expressed amazement, 'considering what a city London is [...] that in so many years they have not found the means to make a Bourse but must walk in the rain, when it raineth, more liker pedlars than merchants'. Nonetheless, achieving this seemingly self-evident benefit had taken decades, owing to resistance and inability to see the common good.⁶⁴

Another example was lottery surveyor John Johnson. It has not previously been realised Johnson was the former merchant of the Staple at Calais whose papers have been subject to past scholarship.⁶⁵ A Cecil client, he was engaged to oversee ticket-selling once it was recognised the scheme was in difficulties. Around 1570 he began strenuously advocating the wholesale replication of Flemish mercantile practice at Ipswich, Suffolk. Johnson's 'Antwerp in Ipswich' project urged that England profit from the Netherlands' turmoil by claiming Antwerp's position as 'the great storehouse of the substaunce of Europe'.⁶⁶ This was visionary: Amsterdam would soon astonish Europe by doing what Johnson was suggesting. In 1570 Antwerp had just republished its 'Customs', governing mercantile practices; these were subsequently adopted across Europe.⁶⁷ However, London's merchants vigorously opposed Johnson's idea and he refused to modify it in the face of their hostility; consequently, though Elizabeth's government toyed for years with the proposal it ultimately abandoned in the late 1570s (around the time Amsterdam joined the Dutch rebels, enabling Antwerp's merchants to relocate there instead). There was comparable resistance to other schemes he championed, including one of 1559 that Elizabeth should assume control of the wool staple and relocate it to England following the loss of Calais.⁶⁸ England's response to the Crown's efforts to import a Flemish system of voluntary taxation needs to be understood against this backdrop of mercantile unreceptiveness to measures apparently in English interests.

⁶³ Ticket 367325 (van Paeschen); A. Saunders, 'The Building of the Exchange', p. 37

⁶⁴ Clough, cited in C. MacFarlane, *The Life of Sir Thomas Gresham*, p. 115; J. Imray, 'The Origins of the Royal Exchange', pp. 20–35

⁶⁵ B. Winchester, 'The Johnson Letters, 1542–1552', unpublished PhD thesis; Winchester, *Tudor Family Portrait*; D. Oldroyd, 'John Johnson's Letters', pp. 57–72; both men resided at West Wickham parsonage: Winchester, *Tudor Family Portrait*, pp. 309–10; Johnson to William More, 21 Aug 1568, SHC, 6729/7/144m

⁶⁶ Johnson and Christopher Goodwyn to the Privy Council, 'Ipswich out of England; or, Andwerpe in England', [20 Jun?] 1572, TNA, SP 12/88/22, ff. 53–71 (54^r for citation)

⁶⁷ Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*, pp. 133–39

⁶⁸ Winchester, *Tudor Family Portrait*, pp. 307–16; Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*, pp. 159–63

Men such as Gresham, Johnson and Gilpin were unusually well attuned to Flemish culture. Johnson had lived in Calais and known Antwerp. Gresham (for whom 28 lottery tickets survive, with one for his wife) was the Crown's agent in the Low Countries from 1551–64, charged with eliminating its debt to the Antwerp bourse. His former secretary Gilpin was the Merchant Adventurers' Antwerp secretary; a translator from Dutch, he has been described as more acculturated than contemporaries to the Netherlands.⁶⁹

England-based merchants appear to have been less keen, despite the City of London's co-sponsoring the lottery with Elizabeth. London's Merchant Adventurers seem to have been more favourable towards Gresham's Exchange than the City in general, while even they exhibited some hostility to English merchants based abroad.⁷⁰ The mayor and aldermen subscribed for a thousand tickets in 1567 after being directed to.⁷¹ However, support for the Queen's initiative was subdued. Only three individuals who were aldermen between 1520 and 1603 purchased extant tickets. One, Roger Martin, probably did so because he was mayor in 1568; another, goldsmith Richard Martin (no relation) only became alderman later. Few individuals who donated money in 1566 for the building of the Royal Exchange took surviving tickets.⁷² This suggests neither leading nor rising men were greatly enthusiastic. Roger Martin's eleven purchased in his capacity as warden of the Mercers' Company compares with two he took privately (and five in his wife's name).

No ticket survives for 1567 mayor Christopher Draper. On 13 September 1567 Draper issued a proclamation to address poor sales owing to 'certaine doubtes since the publication of the sayde Lotterie'. This noted that, though the 'wiser sort' would need no reassurance, 'to the satisfaction of the simpler sorte' the Queen had guaranteed in her lottery Chart that all terms and conditions set out would be honoured 'from poynt to poynt inviolably'. Draper repeated Elizabeth's promise but, crucially, without personal endorsement. He stated that 'according to the articles of hir Majesties order [...] every person shalbe duly aunswered accordyng to the tenour of hir highnesse sayde proclamation': in effect this declared that the

⁶⁹ *DNB*, 'Gilpin, George'

⁷⁰ Imray, 'Origins', pp. 25–26; Sutton, *The Mercery of London*, p. 426

⁷¹ William More [?], Memorandum, n.d., *SHC*, 6729/7/144c; Herbert, *The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London*, vol. 1, p. 153; Sutton, *Mercery*, p. 482

⁷² Details of alderman from D. Hickman, 'The Religious Allegiance of London's Ruling Elite, 1520–1603', unpublished PhD thesis, Appendices 1–4; for Royal Exchange subscribers: 'A Booke Concernynge the Newe Burse Intended', pp. 416–26

Queen had said herself she could be trusted.⁷³ This was conceivably a tactic of City officials required to defend the indefensible. In the 1480s, when the Duke of Buckingham demanded that London's mayor and recorder second his justification of Richard III's usurpation of the throne, 'by qualifying his language [the recorder] indicated that everything should be taken as the duke's words and not as his own'.⁷⁴ Draper seems to have done something similar, suggesting he possibly shared the public scepticism.

Merchants were possibly averse to involvement because they foresaw the Queen would have to break promises.⁷⁵ Their broader resistance to foreign practices suggests this was not the whole explanation, though: those lacking personal experience of Flemish methods were perhaps poorly placed to appreciate them. Towns in the Netherlands actively adapted their customs and institutions to make them more appealing to foreign traders but even there there was geographic variation in economic sophistication.⁷⁶

Exposure to foreign ways may have predisposed certain Englishmen to accept mercantile gambling. It would be oversimplifying, however, to suggest this was the only variable affecting readiness to participate. One of the three Elizabethan aldermen whose lottery tickets survive, goldsmith Richard Martin (1533/4–1617), never lived outside England. Martin nevertheless plainly had an entrepreneurial spirit: in 1568 he was a founder member of the Society of Mineral and Battery Works; he was heavily involved in the Levant, Russia and Turkey Companies; he was also a moneylender. The numbers printed on his six tickets suggest he bought them alongside salter William Gibbons, whose tickets bear similar numbers; in 1583 Martin arranged England's earliest recorded life insurance policy for Gibbons. These activities all involved speculation. Although Martin went on to serve as Mayor in 1589 and was perhaps the most influential alderman of his day his risk-taking approach may have been overly venturesome: in 1602 he was declared bankrupt.⁷⁷

Martin and his wife were prominent Puritans.⁷⁸ Whether piety deterred him from cards and dice is unknowable; clearly it did not impede lottery participation. He used two posies on

⁷³ Ewen, *Lotteries and Sweepstakes*, pp. 40–41

⁷⁴ T. More, 'Historia Richardi Tertii: Text and Translation', trans. D. Kinney, p. 471

⁷⁵ Cf. the thesis of D. North and B. Weingast, 'Constitutions and Commitment', pp. 803–32

⁷⁶ C. Lesger, *The Rise of the Amsterdam Market and Information Exchange*, pp. 17–61

⁷⁷ *DNB*, 'Martin, Sir Richard (1533/4–1617)'

⁷⁸ *DNB*, 'Martin [née Eccleston], Dorcas, Lady Martin (1536/7–1599)'

his tickets, both expressing a providential view of chance: 'As God doth rule in every thing, I am content with his appoynting' (two tickets); 'As I depende on Gods providence & will, let come what may I am content still' (four tickets). This suggests he purchased two blocs of thirty. Special incentives were offered for persons who bought thirty tickets with a single posy: doing so was most likely to result in 3–4 survivals, which accords with Martin's extant tickets. Another posy exists in the name of his infant son. This degree of participation suggests he was more enthusiastic about the lottery than urging or loyalty required.

His participation may also have been atypically voluntary. Martin only later became an alderman (1578), mint official (1572) and goldsmith to the Queen, any of which might have created pressure to take part. Nor did he necessarily buy in his capacity as a member of the Goldsmiths' Company. London's livery companies were formally urged to participate. Some, such as the Haberdashers, bought tickets as a corporation. Although the Goldsmiths did not, sequences of lots bearing consecutive ticket numbers, all taken by goldsmiths, imply the Company's wardens persuaded members to buy individually at some guild assembly. (The Grocers' Company combined both approaches.⁷⁹) Compared with those of other goldsmiths a fair number of Martin's tickets survive. However, they occur distinct from these numerical sequences, always associated with tickets for Gibbons and sadler Richard Adams. This suggests he bought tickets in a different context, possibly before November 1567, when livery companies were instructed to take part. Martin's providential outlook and general readiness to engage in speculative behaviour suggest familiarity with foreign practices was not the sole factor that influenced merchants to favour lotteries.

Conclusion

Some time prior to 1581 utopian writer Thomas Lupton proposed to Elizabeth a national insurance scheme. Similar to the lottery, this would finance repairs to England's coastal defences. Just as the wealthy bought most lottery tickets Lupton's project, never implemented, envisaged social elites bankrolling the support of the needy. Comparing the two schemes might be rewarding: insurance and mercantile gambling had parallels. In general, though, Lupton's writings expressed 'moralistic nationalism and abhorrence of a

⁷⁹ Herbert, *Twelve Great Livery Companies*, vol. 1, p. 153; the Goldsmiths were later the most reluctant corporation to assist Jacobean lotteries (perhaps as they were often pawnbrokers?): T. O'Brien, 'The London Livery Companies and the Virginia Company', pp. 142–43, 152

money economy'. His financially unsophisticated outlook might offer insights into England's unreceptiveness to Elizabeth's lottery.⁸⁰

This concludes a trio of chapters on aspects of English gambling (legal, socio-cultural and economic) that involved different subsets of society. Laws suppressed subaltern gambling in the name of national defence, targeting games of chance in particular, something liable to complicate a lottery's reception. Lotteries poorly served the social function of gambling among elites, with the older men under greatest pressure to purchase tickets the least active gamblers. Although the lottery constituted mercantile gambling even merchants seem not to have been uniformly enthusiastic.

Early lotteries were characteristic of Europe's most populous, urbanised, commercial regions. To succeed they needed a dense population with some financial acumen. As a result, the Netherlands, northern Italy and Germany were early centres of lottery activity. In the 1560s England, like France, had not yet crossed the necessary thresholds for lottery acceptance. It was just embarking on the pillaging of Dutch culture that would culminate in the Glorious Revolution; aspects of Flemish commerce seem to have remained alien. Lottery surveyor Johnson provides a fortuitous illustration. His vigorous arguments that Elizabeth should profit from Spain's sack of Antwerp by erecting a new Antwerp in England were farsighted but vehemently resisted by fellow merchants. Conversely, Johnson, Gresham and Gilpin, who had lived on the Continent, saw the wisdom of adopting foreign practices. That kind of flexibility had aided the rise of cities in the Low Countries. Not everyone was so keen on innovation, however. Once Spain recaptured Antwerp in 1585 its traders were driven to Amsterdam: this was in part because London merchants 'actively tried to exclude newcomers'; they also tended to distrust Englishmen based abroad.⁸¹

By the mid-1560s monarchs in western Europe were recognising lotteries' value for fiscal purposes but this did not mean their subjects, liable to be taxed, were equally enthusiastic. Given that England's merchants opposed Flemish commercial practices in general they were unlikely to embrace newfangled modes of taxation. There is no reason to imagine non-merchants were more eager. If England's traditional repression of gambling perhaps erected barriers to accepting lotteries the lack of commercial sophistication even among merchants

⁸⁰ *DNB*, 'Lupton, Thomas (fl. 1572–1584)'

⁸¹ Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*, pp. 1–4; Sutton, *Mercery*, p. 426

was probably also significant. There was no foundation of understanding upon which to build.

This may signify an absence of acculturation. The lack of a lottery tradition no doubt made introducing Elizabeth's lottery harder but this itself was probably symptomatic of an unpropitious environment. Not until the English had absorbed Dutch culture to the point at which they could accept a Dutchman as king could they stomach lotteries too.

PART II:

Introducing the Lottery

CHAPTER FIVE:

IMPLEMENTATION

— Ticket 48,151: *Perturiun [...] ontes*. p Edmund Poley of Grayes Inne.

Edmund Poley's fragmentary ticket appears to quote a well-known line from Horace: *Parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus* (*Ars Poetica*, l. 139: 'The mountains are in labour; a ridiculous mouse will be born').¹ Buyers from the Inns of Court frequently used posies to display wit. Poley evidently aimed at this, although his meaning is less clear.

Ticket posies regularly gave only part of a citation, leaving readers to supply the remainder and uncover the point: in this case the ridiculous outcome of the mountains' effort. The forum at which it was originally intended every posy's message should be delivered was the public reading in London, when each ticket would be drawn and read aloud directly before being matched to a prize. If Poley wrote for that moment he perhaps alluded to the large, spinning lottery 'wheel' from which a prize slip, probably bearing a derisory sum, would imminently be extracted. Conversely, his message may have been geared to the point of sale. That involved a different arena and a different audience. Gentlemen were increasingly pressed to buy tickets in public to encourage others. Many posies seem designed to be heard around the ticket-seller's booth. If Poley's was, he perhaps referred to the lottery's organisation: although Elizabeth's regime was moving heaven and earth to make people buy tickets the revenue raised would be laughably small. He may have intended both meanings at once. Whatever the case, his choice looks satirical.

This chapter narrates the scheme's plan and organisation, its progress, impact and consequences, and investigates what Elizabeth's regime hoped to achieve and the extent to which it was successful. Studies of European lotteries sometimes mention this one in passing as a 'relative failure' that sold fewer tickets than anticipated.² Popular histories of English lotteries have glossed over it on this account.³ Dean has lately examined it thoroughly, presenting it as a case study of the early modern state's limited ability to impose its will.⁴

¹ Horace, *A Literal Translation of Horace's Art of Poetry with Explanatory Notes*, p. 13

² Zollinger, 'La Loterie', p. 18; Welch, 'Lotteries', p. 72

³ Ewen, *Lotteries and Sweepstakes*, pp. 34–63; Ashton, *English Lotteries*, pp. 4–24

⁴ Dean, 'Elizabeth's Lottery', pp. 587–611

This investigation seeks to complement Dean's work, exploring the interplay between the organisers and a populace unwilling to take part. It also provides the fuller narrative account of the enterprise needed to contextualise later chapters. Although Elizabeth's government imported and imposed the lottery's rules, its cultural element, like the money, was furnished by her subjects. This took the form of commentary, in posies and in public opinion. It will be argued that the failure was more than 'relative' and not just economic. It represented a political and public relations débâcle.

As with better documented Dutch lotteries there are gaps in what is known about how the lottery was implemented. Ideally, an account of the scheme's history would precede any assessment of the extent and nature of its success. However, the interaction between organisers and opponents renders this problematic. The declared purpose for which the money was being raised was doubted from the start, resulting in poor participation and seditious rumours. These prophecies that the Queen would not abide by her commitments arguably became self-fulfilling: she was obliged to adopt drastic measures to overcome low ticket sales; doing so entailed abandoning most of her original guarantees, which probably reinforced the initial scepticism. Importantly, this meant the scheme altered as it faltered, complicating attempts to examine its history and success independently. Although the *how* of failure is described here, certain fundamental reasons *why* are deferred until the next chapter.

The Lottery Chart

Announcing 'a verie rich Lotterie Generall, without any blancks', the so-called lottery Chart appeared in August 1567. Elizabeth's previous financial expedients had left the English suspicious of her motives.⁵ The 1566 subsidy was still being gathered: though she had volunteered to forgo a third of it, it was not fully collected until 1572. This meant the lottery took place alongside a contentious pre-existing levy. The Queen perhaps intended it to replace the relinquished part of the subsidy.⁶

⁵ Dean, 'Elizabeth's Lottery', pp. 589–90

⁶ Dietz, *English Public Finance*, vol. 2, pp. 22–24; its contentiousness is debated: Graves, *Elizabethan Parliaments*, pp. 69–72; Alsop questions the traditional view, 'Reinterpreting the Elizabethan Commons', pp. 217–30

The Chart described an ambitious undertaking. 'The number of Lots shall be four hundreth thousand, and no more'.⁷ Tickets would cost ten shillings, meaning the lottery would raise £200,000; every one would win something. As well as in London tickets would be sold in sixteen towns: York, Norwich, Exeter, Lincoln, Coventry, Southampton, Hull, Newcastle, Chester, Ipswich, Salisbury, Oxford, Cambridge and Shrewsbury, as well as Dublin and Waterford in Ireland. There seems to have been no idea at this point of selling them elsewhere.

Sales would commence on 24 August and continue to 1 May 1568 in London. Elsewhere they would close before 15 April, to give ticket collectors time to forward their books to London ahead of the draw, which would begin on 25 June. It was clearly hoped, however, that most tickets would sell in the first three months. A range of carrot-and-stick incentives set out to encourage this. Recipients of the largest prizes would find them 'abated' by up to five per cent if the winning ticket had not been purchased within three months as part of a bloc of at least thirty using the same posy. Conversely, winners who had bought thirty in the first three months would be eligible for a lifetime annuity if they failed to win back a third of the money expended. Immunity from arrest for all but the most serious offences was granted to persons coming into town to buy tickets in the first few weeks of sales, or visiting London for the draw. This was calculated to attract debtors hoping to win some prize without being arrested by creditors; Continental lotteries offered similar safe conducts.⁸ The provision also resembled the immunity granted to members of Parliament and their servants.

Like Continental lotteries the scheme justified itself by financing community projects. The money would assist with the 'reparation of the havens and strength of the Realme, and [...] other publique good workes'. The Chart did not feature an image of these public works (although it had a woodcut of the prizes); in this it differed from Continental equivalents. Instead there was a picture of the judgment of Solomon, perhaps intended to signify Elizabeth's godly wisdom in holding the lottery.⁹

⁷ Lottery Chart

⁸ Zollinger, 'La Loterie', p. 19

⁹ Dean, 'Elizabeth's Lottery', pp. 594–98

The prizes comprised both cash and kind: 'plate gilte and white'; 'good tapissarie meete for hangings'; 'good linen cloth'. There would be 29,501 prizes altogether, totalling £60,379 12s. The other 370,499 tickets would be granted a 'default' prize (the refund of a quarter their cost) for a further £46,312 7s. 6d. The total outlay would be £106,691 19s. 6d (Figs 1.1 and 5.1). Subtracted from the £200,000 the scheme meant to raise this would leave £93,308 6d., a substantial sum that compared favourably with recent subsidies and levies.

There were further expenses, however. Aside from 'welcomes' (totalling £100) for the first three winning lots drawn, there would be several prizes granted under special circumstances, most notably if, during the draw, three or more tickets with one buyer turned up consecutively. In fact, none of these was especially likely. The extant tickets record nobody but the Queen receiving prizes for three successive tickets: over five per cent of tickets were in her name, a much greater proportion than anybody else's. Because every ticket won back at least a quarter its value the likelihood of Elizabeth's paying lifetime annuities to people who bought thirty without recouping a third of their money was low: one only needed to win £1 5s. to exceed this threshold. However, there were other costs not specified in the Chart. Persons coordinating ticket-selling in the counties, for example, were told they could retain sixpence of every pound collected to pay the 'inferior collectors' and the carriers employed to transport the money to London. They could keep a further fifty shillings for every £500 raised.¹⁰

Participants were instructed to supply their tickets with a 'devise, prose or poesie'.¹¹ These were required to obtain certain benefits and special prizes. Conversely, supplying one's name, though usual, was not obligatory. Participation in Italian lotteries was typically anonymous, using posies instead of names. Dutch buyers could provide either or both; eminent persons often identified themselves only with initials.¹²

The lottery also reproduced elements of continental lottery design intended to guard against fraud. Even in those parts of Europe where lotteries were popular, concerns about corruption were widespread. There was anxiety rich participants would bribe lottery officials to award them the big prizes, also that ticket sellers would oversell tickets,

¹⁰ Bray, 'Account of the Lottery of 1567', pp. 84–85

¹¹ Lottery Chart

¹² Welch, 'Lotteries', p. 103; de Boer and Bostoën, 'Sorte non sorte', pp. 225–26; certain Italian competitions still require entrants to use anonymous posies (my thanks to Ivan Fowler for this information)

discarding some and pocketing the money given for them. Lottery design consequently sought to maximise transparency in various ways, to prevent fraud and reassure potential buyers. This was why the Chart specified in advance the precise numbers of tickets to be sold and of prizes on offer, and stated that tickets would cost ‘tenne shillings sterling onely, and no more’.¹³ Every ticket was read out in public so participants could attend the reading and verify their tickets had all been drawn. In Continental lotteries, the persons chosen to pull slips from the lottery wheels were often children or blind men, who were supposedly incorruptible. Later English lotteries adopted the same procedure. There are no sources to indicate whether this happened in 1569 but it likely did; nor is there evidence of fraud, although the surviving sources are not of a kind liable to record it. Various posies, however, testified anxiety about corruption.

In some respects the scheme appeared overconfident. The sale of 400,000 tickets in cities across England was ambitious when lotteries were unfamiliar. At ten shillings, tickets were expensive. In 1568, the workmen, journeymen or hired servants of a London goldsmith were entitled to 6s. a week, a carpenter’s apprentice who had served three years to 5s., and watermen to 3s., while common labourers earned 9d. per day. Beyond London, wages were lower: in Exeter in 1566 no ‘mean servant’ between the ages of sixteen and twenty could be paid more than 20s. a year and no female servant under sixteen was to be paid at all, except in food and necessities.¹⁴ The guarantee everyone would win inflated the ticket price, in order that 2s. 6d. could be returned on every lot. This rendered tickets less affordable and, since it meant 400,000 prizes had to be distributed, threatened logistical difficulties. The period’s transport and communications were not so efficient that so complex an enterprise could be undertaken without difficulties. Under these circumstances certain commitments, among them the assurance that every prize would be awarded the day after it was drawn and the guarantee of ten per cent interest on winnings if the draw were postponed, were foolhardy.

¹³ Lottery Chart

¹⁴ *TRP*, vol. 2: #551, ‘Regulating London Wages’ (London, 6 July 1568), p. 295; #544, ‘Regulating Exeter Wages’ (London, June 1566), p. 284

NO. OF PRIZES	PRIZE VALUE	TOTAL VALUE
1st great prize	£5000	£5000
2nd great prize	£3500	£3500
3rd great prize	£3000	£3000
4th great prize	£2000	£2000
5th great prize	£1500	£1500
6th great prize	£1000	£1000
7th great prize	£700	£700
8th great prize	£500	£500
9th great prize	£400	£400
10th great prize	£300	£300
11th great prize	£250	£250
12th great prize	£200	£200
13th great prize	£140	£140
12 prizes	£100	£1200
24 prizes	£50	£1200
60 prizes	£24 10s.	£1470
90 prizes	£22 10s.	£2025
114 prizes	£18	£2052
120 prizes	£12 10s.	£1500
150 prizes	£8	£1200
200 prizes	£6 10s.	£1300
300 prizes	£4 10s.	£1350
500 prizes	£3 10s.	£1750
500 prizes	50s.	£1250
2000 prizes	40s.	£4000
6000 prizes	25s.	£7500
10,000 prizes	15s.	£7500
9418 prizes	14s.	£6592 12s.
Total prize values:		£60379 12s.
370499 'default' prizes	2s. 6d.	£46312 7s. 6d.
TOTAL		£106691 19s. 6d.

Figure 5.1: Prizes offered in the lottery (from the Lottery Chart)

Nonetheless, the Chart gave no indication problems were anticipated. Elizabeth's motives for holding the lottery would later come into question, eliciting more defensive assertions of her sincerity. The broadsheet's promise, however, that Queen and City of London would 'observe all the articles and conditions [it] contained [...] from point to point inviolably' seems formulaic.

Ticket Sales: Resistance and Response

Difficulties swiftly became apparent. The Queen's good faith was doubted; this, in turn, led potential buyers to boycott the scheme. Three stratagems were adopted to boost sales: insistence on Elizabeth's honest dealing; broadening of the project's scope; intensified pressure to take part.

Exactly a week after sales opened Elizabeth signed circular letters that implied problems had arisen. These were directed to 'principal Gentlemen' in each county, appointing them the shire's treasurers, requiring them to nominate suitable 'inferior collectors' and supplying numbered ticket books for recording purchases, with stamped counterfoils ('Billetes') to give buyers.¹⁵ These letters must have been drafted earlier; circular letters were only dated once scribes finished transcription and all copies were ready for despatch.¹⁶

The letters' tone was defensive: 'You may be well assured, that ev[er]y p[er]son shalbe duelie answered of that w^{ch} you shall cause to be paid into the Chamber of London accordinge as is promised and contained in the Cart printed.' The money raised was for 'good and publique use beneficiall for o^r Realme and subjects' and any 'malicious or suspicious persons' who insinuated it was gathered for other reasons should be warned and, if they persisted, 'apprehended, used, and punished as p[er]sons chargeable wth slanderous reportes according to the lawes of o^r Realme.' It was evidently rumoured that the money would go neither towards prizes nor public works.

¹⁵ Elizabeth I, circular letter to lottery treasurers, 31 Aug 1567; the damaged copy addressed to William More and reproduced by Bray ('Account', pp. 84–85) has disappeared; an undamaged example sent to John Spencer of Althorpe was auctioned in 2010: Daily Mail Reporter, 'It Coule Be Ye! First Lottery Was Held 450 Years Ago... with a £5,000 Jackpot', *Daily Mail UK*, 10 June 2010, <<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1285543/Britains-lottery-held-450-years-ago--5-000-jackpot.html>> [accessed 3 August 2017]

¹⁶ G. Elton, *Policy and Police*, p. 240 n.3

Such rumours depressed sales. On 13 September Mayor Christopher Draper issued his proclamation 'to avoyde certaine doubttes since the publication of the sayde Lotterie, secretly moved concernyng the aunsweryng thereof'. The 'wiser sort' would need no reassurance but, 'to the satisfaction of the simpler sorte', the Mayor declared that all participants would be 'duly aunswered' and that Elizabeth and the City of London would observe all the lottery's terms 'inviolably'.¹⁷ It has been suggested already that the wording implied the Mayor had doubts himself. Perhaps responding to the slow sales, the proclamation foreshadowed a postponement of the draw: there would be no deferral beyond the scheduled date (25 June 1568) 'without very greate and urgent cause' and certainly not beyond 2 February 1568/9.¹⁸

The sales period's recurring motifs were visible already. No example of the 'slandorous reportes' survives but letters and proclamations made clear they persisted. A clarification of the lottery's original terms (3 Jan 1568) reflected suspicions these had been trickily drafted so Elizabeth could avoid handing the prizes over. Following 'certain doubts or faults' arising from alleged printers' errors, the Chart's description of the advantages for those 'gain[ing] the best, second, *and* third great prizes' was amended to 'the best, second, *or* third great prizes': one did not have to win all three to qualify. The benefits for persons buying '30 lots *and* upward' were similarly corrected to '30 lots *or* upward'. People were afraid they might buy thirty, then discover they needed 'over thirty'. After other, similar clarifications, the proclamation referred those with 'any other scruple, suspition, doubt, fault, or mislyking' to their local lottery treasurers.¹⁹ The organisers felt suspicion was actively fomented. Robert Dudley and William Cecil, writing to regional officials (22 Jul 1568), attributed the low sales partly to the 'sinester disswasions of some not well disposed persons'. Lottery surveyor John Johnson wrote to William More (10 July) that the people, 'full of doute and specially of th'end, did drawe backe, and [...] for no perswation wold adventure any thing.' To reassure them, his letter enclosed two proclamations, one (which does not survive) explaining how the money would be used.²⁰ The proclamation that finally

¹⁷ Mayoral proclamation, 13 Sep 1567, in Ewen, *Lotteries and Sweepstakes*, pp. 40–41

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 41

¹⁹ *TRP*, vol. 2: #549, 'Deferring Lottery Date' (3 Jan 1568), pp. 292–93

²⁰ Privy Council circular letter, 22 Jul 1568, SHC, 6729/7/144l; John Johnson to William More, 10 Jul 1568, SHC, 6729/7/144j

announced the reduction of prize values (9 Jan 1569) attributed the low sales that necessitated this to 'some mistrust or doubtfull interpretation of the proceedings'.²¹

No ticket posy openly alleged the Queen's bad faith. Anybody doing so might have been punished like the spreaders of rumours. Besides, since Elizabeth's regime oversaw the ticket-selling, draw and printing of prize lists it could expunge anything offensive. Some posies, though, may have done so obliquely. Many tickets bore variants on 'My trust is in God' or 'In God is al my trust'. These common inscriptions from posy rings were possibly less innocent when used in a climate of distrust.²² Gentlemen were being pressed to declare faith in the lottery. Some did so through posies. 'This is faire play', asserted the Bishop of St David's. Christopher Cross of Preston, Lancashire, stated, drily, 'I trust their faith stedfastly.' Roger Andrew (Great Torrington, Devon) was more dubious: 'I trust in God, all is well.' 'Be doubtful', argued John Edwards (Bridgewater, Somerset).²³ Some buyers perhaps emphasised trust in God to insinuate distrust of the Queen: 'In God alone, is our trust' remarked Nicholas Dendy of Ewhurst, Surrey.²⁴ Two posies for Cuxton parish, Kent, stated 'Yet we mistrust not God one whit, but some good chaunce to us may hit.' The wording suggested a preceding couplet, expressing distrust of somebody else, that does not survive, either because it was redacted or because the parish framed the posy to imply its existence unstated. Given the prevalent doubt, the lottery's organisers were the likely focus for distrust.²⁵

Richard Sweet's posy was perhaps similar: 'If God do send any good fortune at last, the Lions paw wil hold it fast.'²⁶ Sweet bought on behalf of Exeter's Merchant Adventurers. Like those of two other men who did so his posy referenced the Company's coat of arms, which included a lion's paw.²⁷ However, the lion was also a royal emblem and featured as such on the lottery Chart. Ballads on the 1569 Northern Rising characterised Elizabeth as the Lion.²⁸ Given the doubt prizes would be forthcoming, Sweet's choice of words looks ambiguous: while potentially insinuating Elizabeth would not release the prizes it enabled

²¹ *TRP*, vol. 2: #557: 'Announcing Reduced Lottery Prizes' (9 Jan 1569), p. 306

²² Tickets 289760, 175395, 221910 and others; for rings, J. Evans, *English Posies and Posy Rings*, p. 58

²³ Tickets 208764 (Davies), 259027 (Cross), 220345 (Andrew) and 132490 (Edwards)

²⁴ Ticket 243317

²⁵ Tickets 359899 and 359900

²⁶ Ticket 289085 and two others

²⁷ *An Elizabethan Guild of the City of Exeter*, ed. W. Cotton, pp. 109–10

²⁸ E. Wilson-Lee, 'The Bull and the Moon', p. 233

Sweet to deny this if challenged. Texts in subversive genres characteristically left themselves room for disavowal.²⁹

Despite efforts to combat scepticism, participation remained poor. In May 1568 Thomas Gargrave, deputy President of the Council of the North, informed York's Mayor and Aldermen that ticket sales were 'not so duely executed, as was looked for, belyke of som dy[s]credyte thereyn, which is thoughte may much touche her Majestie in honour'.³⁰ On 22 July Robert Dudley and William Cecil noted 'ther doth want a great nombre of the said lotts not yet present'.³¹ On 9 January 1569, the eve of the draw, it was proclaimed that sold tickets still amounted to only one 'twelfth part of the whole mass first by the said chart appointed'.³² The Chart's announcement of 400,000 tickets at ten shillings each assumed sales would generate £200,000. The prizes came to £107,000, or £60,379 12s. if the 'default' prizes were not considered. Sales of one twelfth of the tickets implied revenue of less than £16,667.

The More family manuscripts document ticket-selling tribulations in Surrey. Lottery treasurer William More had told the men he appointed collectors (ticket-sellers) to furnish monthly reports. On 18 December 1567 George Evelyn in Kingston had 'recevyd no monye' and saw no prospect of any. William Hammond in Guildford (20 Dec) likewise had nothing and foresaw nothing; he surmised people were buying tickets in London. Robert Moys, reporting nothing from Croydon (3 Jan 1568), had the same impression. Guildford had still contributed nothing on 23 February but Hammond reported plans to raise a collection there. On 8 April Evelyn's first contribution (£5 10s.) arrived as he wrote to report no sales. This was a week before ticket-selling outside London was scheduled to conclude (15 Apr). After the deadline was deferred to September, lottery surveyor John Johnson complained to More (21 Aug) that Evelyn had sold only fifty lots in Kingston, while Moys had sold five altogether in Croydon and Reigate. On 15 September, five days before the final deadline (outside London), east Surrey's takings remained 'veary slender'.³³ A barely decipherable

²⁹ Cf. J. Walter, "The Pooremans Joy and the Gentlemans Plague", p. 51; there seems no comparative overview of subversive written genres in early modern England

³⁰ Gargrave, 'Articles', p. 136

³¹ Privy Council circular letter, 22 Jul 1568, SHC, 6729/7/144l

³² *TRP*, vol. 2: #557, 'Announcing Reduced Lottery Prizes' (9 Jan 1569), pp. 306–07

³³ Evelyn to More, 18 Dec 1567, SHC: 6729/7/144s1; Hammond to More, 20 Dec 1567, 6729/7/144g; Moys to More via Mr Austen, 3 Jan 1568, 6729/7/144e; Hammond to More, 23 Feb 1568, 6729/7/144f; Evelyn to More, 8 Apr 1568, 6729/7/144s2; Johnson to More, 21 Aug 1568, 6729/7/144m; Johnson to More, 15 Sep 1568, 6729/7/144o

docket from William Garrard seems to record having received £4 9s. from More on 7 May 1568 and £9 15s. on 8 October, for a disappointing £14 4s., though this may be Hammond's contribution only.³⁴ Small wonder that the following day (9 Oct) Garrard despatched a letter castigating More for his slackness.³⁵

London buying perhaps partly explained Surrey's low sales. Surrey residents bought 62 surviving tickets of which 23 may have been bought in London. Archbishop Parker's steward, 'Master Thomas Colby of Lambeth', apparently purchased twelve through Gray's Inn, where a namesake was the Inn's treasurer; if Parker who, unlike other bishops, did not participate, disapproved the scheme Colby was perhaps choosing to buy discreetly. The numbers of another Lambeth ticket and one from nearby Norwood likewise situated them among sequences of London tickets, as did three from Sir Francis Carew of Beddington, near Croydon, Surrey's sheriff in 1567–68. The ticket numbers leave unclear where another five were bought. The remainder, however, fell among sequences of tickets from Surrey locations, so presumably sold locally. In fact, London's proximity may have ensured ticket-selling was better organised than elsewhere. Numerically speaking, Surrey's 62 tickets compare fairly well with more distant shires; almost none survive from England's northernmost counties. Figure 5.2 ranks counties by the number of surviving tickets per thousand head of population. This gives an idea of the scheme's relative popularity in different regions. The table also indicates each county's share of the surviving tickets compared with its proportion of the population (in 1600): these should be broadly similar. While sixteenth-century population estimates, especially for counties, must be approached with caution some trends are evident. Neighbouring counties behaved analogously: fewest tickets sold in the northernmost ones, for example, whereas Cornwall, Devon, Dorset and Hampshire showed comparable levels of enthusiasm. Overall Surrey performed reasonably well.³⁶

³⁴ Garrard, receipt for monies, [7 May and 8 Oct 1568], SHC, LM1505

³⁵ Garrard, Offley and Tamworth to More, 9 Oct 1567, SHC, 6729/7/144q

³⁶ Population estimates from S. Broadberry and others, *British Economic Growth, 1270–1870*, pp. 23–24

COUNTY	Population (1600)	% of total popn	No. of extant tickets	% of total tickets	% tickets – % popn	Ticket survivals / 1000 individuals
CUMBERLAND	75687	1.84	1	0.03	-1.81	0.01
NORTHUMBERLAND	72923	1.77	6	0.17	-1.60	0.08
WESTMORLAND	42199	1.03	5	0.14	-0.89	0.12
DURHAM	76483	1.86	10	0.28	-1.58	0.13
LANCASHIRE	181622	4.41	30	0.84	-3.57	0.17
CHESHIRE	73896	1.8	14	0.39	-1.41	0.19
LEICESTERSHIRE	63140	1.53	16	0.45	-1.08	0.25
HERTFORDSHIRE	58104	1.41	16	0.45	-0.96	0.28
STAFFORDSHIRE	77559	1.88	26	0.73	-1.15	0.34
SUFFOLK	138295	3.36	47	1.32	-2.04	0.34
SOMERSET	168984	4.11	63	1.76	-2.35	0.37
NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	78148	1.9	31	0.87	-1.03	0.40
LINCOLNSHIRE	173199	4.21	69	1.93	-2.28	0.40
WILTSHIRE	115163	2.8	51	1.43	-1.37	0.44
BEDFORDSHIRE	43059	1.05	19	0.53	-0.52	0.44
DERBYSHIRE	69791	1.7	33	0.92	-0.78	0.47
YORKSHIRE	365615	8.89	184	5.15	-3.74	0.50
ESSEX	154882	3.76	80	2.24	-1.52	0.52
CAMBRIDGESHIRE	72492	1.76	38	1.06	-0.70	0.52
SHROPSHIRE	78958	1.92	42	1.18	-0.74	0.53
WARWICKSHIRE	65455	1.59	43	1.20	-0.39	0.66
HEREFORDSHIRE	62054	1.51	42	1.18	-0.33	0.68
SURREY	84804	2.06	62	1.74	-0.32	0.73
SUSSEX	102003	2.48	77	2.16	-0.32	0.75
NORFOLK	171163	4.16	134	3.75	-0.41	0.78
HUNTINGDONSHIRE	27627	0.67	22	0.62	-0.05	0.80
KENT	151713	3.69	125	3.50	-0.19	0.82
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	91075	2.21	76	2.13	-0.08	0.83
WORCESTERSHIRE	65614	1.59	57	1.60	0.01	0.87
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE	56059	1.36	56	1.57	0.21	1.00
DORSET	74961	1.82	75	2.10	0.28	1.00
DEVON	258587	6.28	270	7.56	1.28	1.04
HAMPSHIRE	104197	2.53	115	3.22	0.69	1.10
CORNWALL	102892	2.5	116	3.25	0.75	1.13
RUTLAND	11371	0.28	13	0.36	0.08	1.14
BERKSHIRE	56889	1.38	69	1.93	0.55	1.21
OXFORDSHIRE	66909	1.63	88	2.46	0.83	1.32
GLOUCESTERSHIRE	101256	2.46	153	4.28	1.82	1.51
MIDDLESEX	280063	6.81	1200	33.60	26.79	4.28
— Yorkshire: East Riding	66520	1.62	52	1.45	-0.17	0.78
— Yorkshire: North Riding	101596	2.47	28	0.78	-1.69	0.28
— Yorkshire: West Riding	197498	4.8	62	1.73	-3.07	0.31

Figure 5.2: Numbers of extant tickets and rates of ticket survival in different counties, based on population estimates for England in 1600 (derived from Broadberry and others, British Economic Growth)

The organisers' first attempt to assuage doubts and boost participation involved asserting Elizabeth's 'sincere will and meaning'. Her circular letters of 31 August 1567 insisted participants would without fail be 'duelie answered as their adventures shall happen w[th]out eythe[r] dought or delaye'. The mayor's proclamation (13 Sep) repeated the promise to adhere inviolably to all conditions. Gargrave's letter to York's corporation, as the original deadline passed with most tickets unsold, still contended the lottery would be 'duely and truely executed [...] without fraude or disceyte'.³⁷

When assurances proved unavailing more drastic measures were adopted to raise sales that, though not effective, were not well received. These entailed abandoning those commitments the Queen had just declared would be kept unfailingly. Doing otherwise was not an option since the sums guaranteed as prizes outweighed so significantly the sum raised. The lottery's reach was expanded, both chronologically (by prolongation of the sales period) and socially and geographically (by broadening the catchment from which participants were drawn). Meantime, pressure to participate intensified. The letters of 31 August had stated that people were to buy tickets 'of their ow[n] free disposition'.³⁸ Involvement became steadily less voluntary.

Ticket sales had been scheduled to finish on 1 May 1568, with the draw starting on 25 June. This timeframe was gradually abandoned. The Lord Mayor's proclamation (13 Sep 1567) hinted at possible postponement, asserting the reading would nonetheless begin by 2 February 1569. In mid-April, however, William More was still being told to bring the money paid him to London in the first week of Easter Term, which began on 3 May that year.³⁹ No surviving proclamation extended the dates, even after the deadline passed, though one may have been lost: according to one issued on 13 July several earlier proclamations had foreshadowed deferral. The July proclamation ruled it out. Elizabeth had been 'newly informed' that her subjects 'desire[d] very much to haue the daye of the reading with speede'. Therefore, 'of her naturall accustomed grace and benignitie', she

³⁷ *TRP*, vol. 2: #552: 'Advancing Lottery Date to 3 November' (13 Jul 1568), p. 295; Elizabeth I, cited in Bray, 'Account', p. 84; Mayoral proclamation (13 Sep 1567), in Ewen, *Lotteries and Sweepstakes*, p. 41; Gargrave, 'Articles', p. 136

³⁸ Elizabeth I, in Bray, 'Account', p. 84

³⁹ William Garrard to More, 14 Apr 1568, SHC, 6729/7/144i; Cheney, *Handbook of Dates*, pp. 98–99, 210

advanced it to 3 November. Ticket sales would cease on 30 September in London and 20 September elsewhere. The proclamation also extended the advantages for participants who bought thirty or more lots. These had been paired with a penalty: persons who bought fewer tickets or did not do so early had their prizes reduced. On 3 January 1568 the three-month deadline had been extended to 24 March. It was now made indefinite. With the original deadline postponed and people buying under pressure it was unfeasible to maintain penalties for failing to meet a date already passed.⁴⁰

Elizabeth's backdown suggests mounting discontent, as do certain ticket posies (e.g., 'Beginne in Gods name').⁴¹ However, if the 400,000 tickets could not be sold over a longer period they had to be sold more quickly. The organisers therefore broadened the scheme's scope. The lottery Chart had spoken only of ticket-selling in certain major towns. Safe-conducts were granted to these places; persons buying forty or more lots there could pay for half in ready money, leaving a bond for the remainder with the town's lottery commissioner.⁴² The letters a week later (31 Aug) to 'principal gentlemen of the counties' seem to have expanded operations. Each county's sheriff had been sent the Chart for display in the county's principal town. Now justices such as More received copies and were instructed to appoint collectors.⁴³

Surviving records leave it uncertain whether this constituted expansion of the scheme. Nothing in the Chart suggested collections in smaller towns, such as Kingston, Croydon or Guildford, were envisaged but they may have been. The limited source material regarding the lottery's organisation precludes certainty. The original target demographic is unclear, perhaps reflecting confusion on the part of the scheme's devisers. The high ticket price suggested a focus on the wealthy, consistent with a city emphasis, but early concerns about non-participation by subalterns contradicted this.⁴⁴ More's correspondence indicates his collectors did not initially seek people out or set up public stalls: they waited to be approached. Their sense participants might be buying in London reflects this passivity, also an awareness the Chart only mentioned principal towns. Local collectors were possibly added to the original plan later for the convenience of buyers reluctant to travel.

⁴⁰ *TRP*, vol. 2: #552: 'Advancing Lottery Date to 3 November' (13 Jul 1568), pp. 294–95

⁴¹ Ticket 177995

⁴² Lottery Chart

⁴³ Bray, 'Account', p. 84

⁴⁴ Mayoral proclamation, 13 Sep 1567, in Ewen, *Lotteries and Sweepstakes*, p. 41

Operations certainly extended subsequently into rural areas. An early memorandum of More's noted that communities near London had bought tickets 'in companyes', parishioners contributing 'more or lesse according to ther haviours and power [...] [using one] posye in the name of the hole p[ar]lishe'.⁴⁵ While More's record suggests this was considered praiseworthy but had not been anticipated, by early April 1568 surveyor John Johnson was encouraging leading men from parishes around Kingston to persuade neighbours to form syndicates.⁴⁶ York's Mayor and Aldermen were soon doing likewise.⁴⁷ When Surrey's notables failed to act Johnson forwarded More precepts for enforcing parish collections (10 Jul), expressing hopes that 'there shall not one parish escape but they shall bring in some money into the lots'. He later noted that these precepts had improved sales in Kent.⁴⁸

Johnson's view of their efficacy seems accurate: 38 of Kent's 125 tickets were bought by 'the parish of...', as were 40 of 115 in Hampshire (30 and 35 per cent respectively); a list of contributions towards a ticket for the tithing of Crondall, Hampshire, survives (Fig. 7.6). The fourth county Johnson superintended was Sussex, where 19 per cent of 77 tickets identified the buyer as a parish. No Surrey ticket did so, although Thomas Rabis of Malden's posy ('The parishe is to poore, it can venture no more') implied he bought for the community, while other buyers whose posies spoke of 'us' probably did too.⁴⁹

However, some parish posies, like Cuxton's, suggested duress: 'As we like of this, it shalbe seene heereafter' (Acrise, Kent); 'Saint Laurence is an angry Saint' (Saint Laurence, Ramsgate); 'The riche ruleth the poore, and the borrower is servant to the lender' (Bromley, Kent); 'Blankes be not good' (Fyfield, Hampshire); 'Beware of had I wist' (Eastry, Kent), a proverbial warning against gambling.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ William More, memorandum n.d., SHC, 6729/7/144c; HMC, *Seventh Report*, Part I dates this speculatively as late 1567 (p. 619) but Garrard and Offley's letter to More of 6 Jan 1568 (SHC, 6729/7/144h) says that the bearer had further instructions: this was probably More's record of these

⁴⁶ Evelyn to More, 8 Apr 1568, SHC, 6729/7/144s2

⁴⁷ Gargrave, 'Articles' (and preceding remarks), pp. 136–37

⁴⁸ Johnson to More, 10 Jul 1568, SHC, 6729/7/144j; 21 Aug 1568, 6729/7/144m

⁴⁹ Ticket 161445

⁵⁰ Tickets 213477 (Acrise), 159853 (Ramsgate), 81258 (Bromley), 70233 (Fyfield), 359134 (Eastry)

Other corporate entities were targeted. More's memorandum about parish syndicates stated also that London's Mayor and Aldermen had publicly subscribed for a thousand lots, followed by various livery companies. In November 1567 the new mayor, Roger Martin, received a letter 'in comendacion of the lotterie' from the Privy Council, which prompted him to send precepts to the livery companies requiring their Wardens to 'call all the companie together, and exhorte the same to adventure some reasonable sum toward the preferment of the same lotterie'. Martin himself also subscribed for tickets in his capacity as Warden of the Mercers. The Grocers' Company bought forty lots as a body, urging individual members to 'put in somewhat as to themselves should prove good'.⁵¹

Many bodies were slow to respond. Elizabeth wrote to Ireland's Lord Justices on 18 January 1567/68: she was sending Laurence Hussey to examine collectors' books and discuss with them how participation might be improved, as the scheme 'had not been so well supported as was anticipated'. It was probably around this time that John Johnson was engaged in the same capacity. Ireland's Justices confirmed Hussey's arrival in March and later commended his diligence.⁵² Oxford raised £30 11s. 8d. through a levy on its various wards (1 Apr) and a later syndicate collection 'in everye parishe of divers parsons, aswell howsholders as servauntes' (date unknown).⁵³ Since the original sales deadline was May Day, the city acted late. Other corporations delayed longer. New Romney resolved to buy tickets on 9 June, Winchester on 30 July, confining itself to spending £3 and matching the sum individual citizens subscribed, to a maximum of 10s. altogether (the price of one ticket).⁵⁴ Leicester corporation passed a Lottery Act on 11 August: it would buy ten lots from the town stock; any winnings would return to the town; losses must be reimbursed by the Twenty-Four and Forty-Eight. Exeter's Merchant Adventurers bought 96 tickets on 9 September, eleven days before the final deadline.⁵⁵ Sequences of tickets from Gray's Inn and Lincoln's Inn suggest they bought under direction: tickets taken on behalf of the Inn are accompanied by others from individual fellows, some of whose posies (like Poley's) seem unenthusiastic.

⁵¹ More, memorandum, SHC, 6729/7/144c; Herbert, *Twelve Great Livery Companies*, vol. 1, pp. 152–53; Sutton, *Mercery*, pp. 482, 542–43 (for Martin)

⁵² *CPR Ireland*, vol. 1, p. 511 (Elizabeth to Doctor Weston and William Fitz-Williams, 18 Jan 1567/68); *CSP Ireland*, p. 368 (Irish Privy Council to Elizabeth, 23 Mar 1567/68); p. 398 (Irish Privy Council to Cecil, Dec 1568)

⁵³ *Selections from the Records of the City of Oxford*, ed. W. Turner, pp. 320–23

⁵⁴ Ewen, *Lotteries and Sweepstakes*, p. 49

⁵⁵ *Records of the Borough of Leicester*, vol. 3, ed. M. Bateson, W. Stevenson and J. Stocks, pp. 123–24; *Elizabethan Guild*, ed. Cotton, pp. 109–10

Extending the lottery's reach into every parish entailed expansion along the social spectrum. Syndicates involved poorer buyers: Johnson's precepts specified that collections were to target 'aswell Servauntes as all others'; Oxford's second collection certainly did so.⁵⁶ However, local notables too became involved, since they were required to mobilise neighbours. The Chart's emphasis on major towns suggested merchants were the main focus, so rural elites may not have been foreseen as customers. However, society's vertical stratification meant that, once applied, pressure was exerted downward through community leaders. The instructions debated at York (3 May 1568) required all justices and officers to 'call one or ij honest persons of every towneshippe nyghe unto theme' and convince these individuals to purchase tickets themselves and to oversee syndicate buying. To encourage buyers further 'the Justics and gentlemen should also themselves lyberally put there money into the lotterye before the people'.⁵⁷ William More's letters preserve a descriptive account of a similar operation: More nominated gentlemen as collectors; surveyors such as Johnson were appointed at the national level; Johnson exhorted parish notables to involve neighbours; constables reported who was complying and who was not.⁵⁸ This increasing use of elites and office-holders to police sales was coupled with the expectation they themselves would buy by way of example. In consequence, attention shifted both down and up the social scale.

Johnson's demand that constables investigate how actively gentlemen assisted the lottery reflects a third strategy. Greater pressure was applied to potential buyers, to notables and to officials. The circular letters of 31 August 1567 spoke of persons participating of their 'owne free disposition', perhaps to differentiate the lottery from formal levies.⁵⁹ As voluntary buying proved insufficient coercion emerged. Gargrave warned York that Elizabeth might lawfully levy money by subsidies or forced loans 'yf this devyse should fayle'. He noted that it was 'thought mete' that Justices should organise communal purchases and buy tickets publicly. The people were to be told that Elizabeth trusted her subjects would participate

⁵⁶ Johnson, draft precept, [10 Jul 1568], SHC, 6729/7/144k; *Selections from the Records of the City of Oxford*, pp. 322–23

⁵⁷ Gargrave, 'Articles', p. 137

⁵⁸ William Tyrell to More, 11 Oct 1567, SHC, 6729/7/144d; Privy Council circular letter, 22 Jul 1568, 6729/7/144l; Evelyn to More, 8 Apr 1568, 6729/7/144s2; Johnson to More, draft precept, [10 Jul 1568], 6729/7/144k; Dean, 'Elizabeth's Lottery', pp. 600–02

⁵⁹ Elizabeth I, in Bray, 'Account', p. 84

as dutifully as Philip II's Flemish subjects, who had been substantially more supportive of the concurrent Netherlands lottery.⁶⁰ A warning note was being sounded.

An increasingly strong line was adopted. In April Johnson had urged Surrey gentlemen to promote the lottery; the draft precept he sent More in July had a harder tone. More was to distribute copies to the constables, 'command[ing]' them to visit every parish in their hundred to enquire how the 'principall men [had] used ther p[er]swations and collections'. These men had been informed of the lottery's benefits and promised to 'sygnyfye the same to ther neighbour'es', by urging and example, and to make collections, delivering the money by a date now passed. 'No soche number of lotts [...] as was loked for' had been generated. The Constables must 'make certificat in wryting' of each parish's situation and order gentlemen who had been unwilling or ineffectual to present themselves for 'good admonition' before More, the lottery treasurer.⁶¹ Individuals who had not done as 'instructed' must start a collection, to be delivered by 10 September. Constables and notables were warned not to fail, at their 'uttermost perylle'. Johnson told More that in some counties negligent officials had not even tried to mobilise these parish leaders: the Council was writing to rebuke those responsible. Johnson also complained repeatedly of the slackness of collectors; Robert Moys, in particular, was alleging illness and personal affairs to excuse himself.⁶² Until sales closed, collectors were ordered to man ticket stalls on market days in the marketplaces of towns in their districts. If the circular letter appointing More treasurer had foreseen people participating of their own volition and recommended punishing only those who slandered the scheme local gentlemen now stood to be penalised for slowness in pushing people to buy.

More's correspondence presents a snapshot for Surrey that may be unrepresentative. Every county seems to have behaved differently. His preservation of a record of Surrey ticket-selling could reflect better organisation there.⁶³ John Johnson too, the former Calais wool merchant, now lottery surveyor for Surrey, Sussex, Hampshire and Kent, was possibly atypical. Barbara Winchester, his biographer, repeatedly emphasises that his abrasive manner alienated people. She attributes the 1551 failure of the family business to the

⁶⁰ Gargrave, 'Articles', pp. 136–37

⁶¹ Johnson to More, 10 Jul 1568, SHC, 6729/7/144j; Johnson, draft precept, [10 Jul 1568], 6729/7/144k

⁶² Johnson to More, 10 Jul 1568, SHC, 6729/7/144j; Johnson to More, 21 Aug 1568, 6729/7/144m; Johnson to More, 8 Sep 1568, 6729/7/144n; Johnson to More, 15 Sep 1568, 6729/7/144o

⁶³ cf. Johnson's commendation, Johnson to More, 10 Jul 1568, SHC, 6729/7/144j

unhappy coincidence of economic crisis with the death from sweating sickness of his 'far more subtle and tactful' brother Otwell.⁶⁴ Prior to bankruptcy, Johnson had leased the manor of Glapthorn, Northamptonshire, from Lord Cromwell, where he had been unpopular: a tenacious bailiff on Cromwell's behalf; an energetic Puritan in a Catholic community; at odds with the local vicar over tithe payments.⁶⁵ Resentment had provoked local riots in 1548 over changes to religion. After the rioters were gaoled Otwell predicted the 'continuance of their evil against you alway hereafter'.⁶⁶ Whether Johnson ever promoted the lottery in Glapthorn is uncertain. When reappointed surveyor in July he told More that surveyors' numbers been increased to twenty; his letter implied he had previously overseen more counties than his current four. Certainly, a ticket survives for John Cook, his successor as Cromwell's bailiff and tenant, featuring a strongly negative posy. If Johnson revisited Glapthorn over the lottery he may have contributed to Cook's hostility. In 1561, when the Bishop of Rochester granted Johnson the lease and presentation of the parsonage of West Wickham, Kent, Johnson immediately fell out with the Catholic parson there.⁶⁷ It is possible, therefore, that his somewhat harsh approach in Surrey reflected personal character rather than what was happening throughout England. He stated himself that parish syndicates had initially only been organised where he superintended.⁶⁸

Nevertheless, pressure was evidently intensified everywhere. Johnson noted that the Privy Council was reproving lax officials. His letter of reappointment stated explicitly that he had its backing to investigate past negligence: 'to understande in whome the former defaulte and lacke have bene, and the cawses therof'; to examine Collectors' accounts and 'take further ordre for [...] speedier collection'. He was not acting solely on his own initiative but according to 'certeyne instructions assigned for the better service therin to be done'. Officers such as More were 'required' to assist him.⁶⁹ Maybe surveyors elsewhere handled matters more tactfully but coercion was plainly sanctioned.

Accompanying pressure to buy tickets came emphasis on loyalty. Gargrave's letter to York had remarked that low sales and suspicion touched the Queen's honour; it compared poorly

⁶⁴ Winchester, *Tudor Family Portrait*, p. 202

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 194–98

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 202

⁶⁷ Winchester, *Tudor Family Portrait*, pp. 309–10

⁶⁸ Johnson to More, 10 Jul 1568, SHC, 6729/7/144j

⁶⁹ Privy Council circular letter, 22 July 1568, SHC, 6729/7/144l

with the response to Philip II's lottery. This was not merely a question of relative royal prestige. Because low sales threatened to force modifications to the scheme, Elizabeth's initial assurances no commitment would be broken risked reinforcing doubts about her good faith. Adequate sales were needed to sidestep this embarrassment. Meantime, Mary Stewart's arrival perhaps added impetus to the interest in how actively gentlemen were supporting the lottery and whether poor sales reflected negligence or 'sinister dissuasions'.⁷⁰ These factors had the potential to turn participation into a touchstone of loyalty. Some participants used their posies to assert trust and goodwill in the Queen and lottery. This seems to have been expected, perhaps directed. Others, though, did the opposite.

The posies' original purpose was to provide entertainment when the tickets were drawn at the reading of the lottery. This derived from Continental practice.⁷¹ However, their function seems to have evolved. Even if many were non-specific, or else applicable in either situation, like Edmund Poley's, some made no sense outside the context of the draw while others plainly targeted the point of sale. 'Helpe handes, we have no landes' declared Robert Thorold of Gray's Inn, second son of a second marriage.⁷² London stapler John Hutton's posy ran: 'Sith God doth give, though nought I crave, unfold, let see what hap I have.'⁷³ These were obviously devised for the reading. However, Robert Bonion's 'Here is my tene Shillings' and Marie Bentham of Eccleshall's 'This do I nowe lende' were meant to be heard as the ticket was purchased.⁷⁴

The focus on the point of sale may have reflected the shift in emphasis towards subaltern buyers in rural parishes. Various posies expressed a sense of local identity; subalterns, unlikely to attend the London draw, perhaps sometimes directed their message to local audiences rather than a wider 'imagined community'.⁷⁵ However, it seems likely the directive that parish leaders involve neighbours, and buy tickets as an example, was a factor too.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ de Boer, 'Lotteries and Lottery Rhymes', pp. 66–67

⁷² Ticket 48211; *DNB*, 'Thorold family (*per. c.* 1492–1717)'; *The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn, 1521–1889*, ed. J. Foster, p. 26

⁷³ Ticket 124631

⁷⁴ Ticket 141720 (Bonion); Ticket 63510 (Bentham)

⁷⁵ For a discussion of local identity, Dean, 'Locality and Self', pp. 207–27

While nothing survives telling gentlemen outright to use supportive posies this absence of proof may not be meaningful. Much information in the period was disseminated orally.⁷⁶ The lottery provides plentiful evidence of off-the-record communication. Garrard and Offley's letter to More of 6 January 1567/68 noted: 'we have delyvered to this bearer certayne instructions to be comunycated unto yow for your better p[ro]ceding'. More's undated memorandum about London purchases by the Mayor and parish syndicates perhaps recorded what this bearer told him.⁷⁷ Similarly, Laurence Hussey, despatched to Ireland by the Council to examine collectors' books and 'confer' with the Lords Justices travelled with instructions; Johnson did likewise when appointed surveyor. Reporting progress to Cecil, Garrard and Offley said they would let their colleague John Tamworth 'declare further as he understandethe' how matters stood.⁷⁸ They expressed concern that the Justices of Assize had not been told to 'comende the matter in theire circuities' before they departed. Having Assize judges further some undertaking already publicised, by speaking to provincial notables, was standard practice.⁷⁹ Under these circumstances the absence of proof local elites were instructed to express loyal sentiments on tickets may not be significant: the posies themselves indicate they did so, with or without formal direction.

Thus, some urged people to take part while others stressed the buyer's loyalty, goodwill or trust. A few ordered participation. Negative tickets counselled people to distrust or avoid the scheme. All messages were intended for delivery as tickets sold. Most commonly, posies urging that people buy expressed sentiments such as 'Nothing venture, nothing win', although some were more inventive (Fig. 5.3). Thomas Edmunds of Plymouth ('This lotterie liberall, wil be beneficiall') was an interested party. The farmer of the town's customs, he was obliged to help maintain its sea defences, a responsibility he sought to evade. Edmunds perhaps hoped lottery-financed repairs would render his contribution unnecessary.⁸⁰ Thomas Cole, Archdeacon of Essex, directly addressed disinclination: 'Though paying be no sport at all, yet sport thereby may hap to fall.' Cole, a radical Protestant and champion of predestination, was an unlikely advocate of gambling but was a client of the Earl of Leicester; he perhaps promoted the lottery on that account.⁸¹

⁷⁶ N. Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms*, pp. 113, 122–23; cf. also C. Wickham, 'Gossip and Resistance among the Medieval Peasantry', pp. 16–18

⁷⁷ Garrard and Offley to More, 6 Jan 1568, SHC, 6729/7/144h; More, memorandum, n.d., 6729/7/144c

⁷⁸ Garrard and Offley to Cecil, 14 Jul 1568, TNA, SP 12/47/13; Hasler, 'TAMWORTH, John'

⁷⁹ Elton, *Policy and Police*, p. 217

⁸⁰ Ticket 201996; R. Worth, *History of Plymouth from the Earliest Period to the Present Time*, pp. 321, 408–09

⁸¹ *DNB*, 'Cole, Thomas (c.1520–1571)'; for predestination cf. Dean, 'Elizabeth's Lottery', p. 608

TICKET NO.	TICKET DETAILS	NOTES
58778	He that nothing ventureth, nothing gaineth. Edmund Bulkeley, grennant in the countie of Anglesley.	Son of Sir Richard, of Gronant, (High Sheriff of Anglesey in 1557)
100416	Nothing venture, nothyng get, go ryall, and mo fellowes set. John Somer. Hampton Courte.	Clerk of the Signet; a ryall (10s.) was the price of a ticket
209738	Something venture, something have. Per Robert Redferne, Whitston.	Likely the yeoman of Haresfield, Whitstone hundred, Gloucs.
120068	The knowen losse, breedeth hope of gayne. p Garrard Chester.	Probably business partners William Garrard (lottery organiser) and William Chester
30782	Never ryde, never fall. p John Garrard of Southwolde.	
20104	Win a goose, or lose a fether. John Andrew Hertf.	Possibly the gent of Libury Hall, Little Munden
187075	Be not dismayde, till fortune be assayde. P Rob. Bownd of Compton, Chamberlayne. Wiltish.	Yeoman
49023	Sith the adventure of a little maye gaine a man muche, to venture that little why should a man grutch? Ed. Bishop of Laton stone.	Leytonstone, Essex: probable occupant of Theydon manor
40916	<i>Spem pretij emere aliquando prodest.</i> p Moyses Finche. Eastwell. Kent.	Strong Puritan Moyle Finch (adapting Terence): 'One should sometimes be prepared to purchase hope for a price'
147112	In his witts he is not sound, that hazardeth not a pennie for a pound. p Nicholas Atkinson. Ickham.	Ickham, Kent (?)
340394	Fie on the penny, that loseth a pounce. p Thomas Phelps. Evell.	Yeovil, Somerset: MP, formerly in Catherine Parr's household

Figure 5.3: Examples of tickets that urged others to participate

Other buyers tried to allay suspicions about the scheme, either by means of reassurance or by declaring their own trust (Fig. 5.4).

TICKET NO.	TICKET DETAILS	NOTES
151179	Doubt no doublesse. By Thomas Dingley. Egloskerry parish.	Probably Thos Dingle, yeoman, of Egloskerry, Cornwall (d. 1625), or a relative
12262	Do well and doubt not. p Richardum Dutton de Chester.	Mayor in 1567–68; perhaps buying in that capacity
38884	<i>Sans mal penwer.</i> p John Zouche Knight of Codner.	Of Codnor; 1561 sheriff of Derbyshire. Garter allusion: 'Without thinking ill of it'
132107	I hope and trust. p Robert Dowding of the parish of great Kington.	Kington Magna, Dorset; perhaps the yeoman whose will dates from 6 May 1597
155765	I trust well. p Jo. Marlow of the parish of Kingwood.	King's College Cambs farmed out the rectory of Ringwood, Hants to him
127626	The faythfull promise verily, encourageth me to this Lotterie. Christopher Some. Norwich.	Sheriff of Norwich in 1563 & 1569; Mayor in 1574, 1580 & 1594

Figure 5.4: Examples of posies that sought to reassure potential buyers

Others asserted general goodwill (Fig. 5.5). Some perhaps reflected Mary Stewart's arrival in England, a politically unsettling event. Cork alderman William Galway took care to specify which Queen he meant: 'Whether I win or lose, God save Queene Elizabeth from hir foes.' A few posies positively commanded loyalty. 'Obey thy prince' instructed Waterford merchant William Lenard.⁸² By obedience, ticket-buying was probably partly meant. John Lambert of Calton, Yorkshire ('Leade thy life in loyalte'), son of the late vice-chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, came from a rising family.⁸³ In contrast, Sir John Arundell of Lanherne, Cornwall, a staunch Catholic whose father had been imprisoned for allegedly assisting 1549's Prayer-Book Rebellion, may have chosen a severely loyal posy to demonstrate his allegiance: 'Feare God, obey the Queene, and serve thy country' was a common injunction at this period. Arundell, whose loyalty was not questioned during the Northern Rising, ran into difficulties from the later 1570s as his attempts to reconcile religious with political fidelity proved unsustainable.⁸⁴

⁸² Tickets 350404 (Galway) and 363252 (Lenard)

⁸³ Ticket 2691; D. Farr, 'The Shaping of John Lambert's Allegiance and the Outbreak of the Civil War', p. 249

⁸⁴ Ticket 232362; *DNB*, 'Arundell family (per. 1435–1590)'; Fleming, *Graffiti*, p. 62, for the fact the saying was common

TICKET NO.	TICKET DETAILS	NOTES
246069	If I had as I have not, I wold lay in more for my part. John Bromel. London.	
256763	I put in this lot with good intent, what ever God sends I am content. W. Depos.	Ticket 256741 for the same individual gives the name Dios
111701	Whether I have it or have it not, I lay in my money with all my heart. Simon Hare. London.	
325894	My portion smal with willing minde, I offer here as subject kinde. Mary Fitzwilliams, daughter of &c. Milton.	Of Milton, Northants. Daughter of Sir William Fitzwilliam, Lord Justice of Ireland
83192	As to my prince I beare fayth and love, so have I put in my lot, as doth behove. p John Bridgies de Chelmsforde.	Colchester grocer and gent. Also used the posy 'I am contented to take great payne, to put in my lot to have some gayne'
14870	God save our Queene, I care not whether I lose or win. P Richard Chabnour Clark de Norton.	From Norton Canon, Heref., where the family were local gentry (though Chabnour was not vicar in 1567)
280022	To the prince good will I beare, and put in money to this Affaire. p Rich. Grigge. Burges Teuxburie.	Burgess and parish notable
176179	God save my soveraigne and all hir well willers. John Plonket knight of Dunshangle. Irelande.	Sir John Plunkett of Dunshaughlin (d. 1582)
106934	God save the Queene. p E. Ball. East Cherelton.	Charlton Adam (East Charlton), Somerset; possibly Edward Ball, miller at West Charlton (Charlton Mackrell)

Figure 5.5: Examples of posies that expressed goodwill and loyalty

Many of these messages targeted the moment of purchase specifically. Gentlemen had been instructed to buy tickets publicly to encourage others. They appear to have used their posies to persuade. Others, though, were less compliant. Their posies counselled against participation. Instead, some stressed the low likelihood of winning, while others questioned the scheme's good faith (Fig. 5.6).

TICKET NO.	TICKET DETAILS	NOTES
161831	Many shall lose, and few shall winne. p W.Lee of east Clandon. Surrey.	
282893	From suretie to uncertaintie. Charles Chichester of Oxforde.	Graduate of Hart Hall, Oxford (16 Nov, 1568); son of Protestant Sir John of Youlston, Devon.
270346	He that coveteth all to have, doth oftentimes his stocke not save. George. Harker. London.	
10681	Wisedome liketh not chaunce. p Sir Thomas Wroth, Knight of Enfield.	A strongly Protestant former courtier
214065	Beware wiles, p John Miles of Coventry. Draper.	Sheriff 1572; Mayor 1580; d. 1597
164394	Trie ere ye trust. By John Basket of Wight. [Gent of Apse Manor, Newchurch parish]	Cf. poem in Thomas Proctor's <i>Gorgeous Gallery</i> (1578): 'Try ere thou trust unto a fawning freend' who asks to borrow money
199580	Per Hugh Griffeth Ap Evon of Carmarthen. Try, and then trust.	
197286	Trie and then trust. p Rouland Jennings of Fowey.	Possibly the subsequent occupant of nearby 'Tregarrick', Pelynt parish, Cornwall
132490	Be doubtful. John Edwards of Bridgewater.	Bridgwater, Somerset: Mayor 1563, 1572, etc.; MP 1563, 1571, 1572
259444	In trust is treason. Per Henri Delves. [Among Cheshire ticket sequence]	Perhaps the Doddington esquire described in 1580 as 'weak' in religion
161575	To save you from losses, take hede of your purses. John Marter. Great Dokeham.	Among Surrey tickets: JM of Great Bookham a churchwarden under Edward VI

Figure 5.6: Examples of posies that cast doubt on the scheme or questioned its good faith

Certain posies appear to have reacted against pressure to exhibit favourable sentiments. 'Perfect unitie is voyde of wicked flatterie' declared John Hungerford of Down Ampney, Gloucestershire; Robert Monne of Lyme Regis, observed 'I favor as I finde'; Robert Leche, Chancellor of Chester diocese, stated 'I love as I like'.⁸⁵ Leche was also rural Dean of Malpas, probably responsible for the deanery's negative posy, drawn from *Cato's Distichs*: '*Utere quae sitis modice, cum sumptus abunda, Labitur exiguo, quod partum est tempore longo*' (trans: 'Spend sparingly thy gains: with wasting vain Soon wealth is lost that took long time to gain').⁸⁶ This could have been aimed either at potential ticket-buyers or at the Queen.

⁸⁵ Ticket 209630 (Hungerford); Ticket 170982 (Monne); Ticket 290452 (Leche)

⁸⁶ Ticket 364204; *Cato's Distichs*, II, 17; *The Distichs of Cato*, trans. W. Chase, p. 27

'The crowe is white', used by 'Ric. Garvington' of Bere Ferrers (Richard Cervington, esquire, d. 1574) abbreviated the proverb 'If the master say the crow is white the servant must not say 'tis black'.⁸⁷ This indicated silent disagreement despite compliance: Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* reported the constable of St Bride's telling Catholic inquisitors 'By the mass, if you say the crow is white, I will say so too'.⁸⁸ It seems plausible Garvington protested against pressure to declare faith in the lottery. If so, John Cook (John Johnson's successor in Glaphorn manor) refused. Although his posy 'The Crowfoot is black' modified the saying, insisting the crow was black, by altering *crow* to *crowfoot* (a form of buttercup) he left himself room to deny doing so.⁸⁹ These instances of apparent reaction against pressure to support the scheme suggest their more loyal and positive equivalents responded to the same pressure.

The lottery appears to have constituted a wicked problem, any solution to which presented new difficulties. The Chart had announced an ambitious scheme that left no room for things to go wrong: it required an exact number of tickets to sell and guaranteed a set value of prizes in return. It did not allow for distrust and boycott. Elizabeth's first response, to assert vehemently the scheme's good faith, may have been counterproductive, since when it achieved nothing she had to renege on the commitments just guaranteed. Postponing the draw to create extra time to sell tickets created discontent. It potentially provoked both those who hoped to escape involvement altogether and those who had bought tickets already, whose chance of prizes stood to be diluted. Extending the geographic range into the less fertile territory outside England's larger towns may likewise have antagonised rural groups. The more coercive approach seems to have irritated a public already mistrustful and uncooperative. Meantime, the organisers expressed frustration at the slackness of officials and local notables.

Collapse: The Close of Sales and the Draw

These tensions played out in the lottery's later stages. Although popular unrest obliged the Queen to advance and specify the dates when sales closed (30 Sep) and the draw opened (3 Nov) the imperative to sell 400,000 tickets remained. It was therefore necessary to sell them

⁸⁷ Ticket 134537; Tilley, *Proverbs*, p. 131

⁸⁸ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. 8, p. 530

⁸⁹ Ticket 283746; for a comparable use of the proverb, E. Honigmann, *Shakespeare: The 'Lost Years'*, p. 13

more quickly. From early July, when the deadline for sales was fixed, new urgency can be observed. The number of surveyors overseeing the process was increased to twenty 'because of the shortenes of tyme'. Johnson, previously a surveyor, was reappointed in July to ensure 'speedier collection', to determine who was to blame for the 'former defaulte and lacke [...] and the cawses therof', and to scrutinize collectors' accounts.⁹⁰ The latter may indicate the Privy Council shared the popular fears ticket-sellers were embezzling money. Johnson had been a celebrated bookkeeper before his bankruptcy, with friends forwarding him their accounts for auditing.⁹¹

Johnson sent William More his precepts, intended to compel 'principall men' to ensure subalterns in their parishes participated.⁹² Johnson's later letters suggest More, perhaps choosing not to antagonise neighbours, did not distribute them.⁹³ This could explain the sparser evidence of Surrey syndicates compared with other counties Johnson superintended.

Pressure continued to the end. On 20 September, the sales deadline, More's friend Thomas Browne of Beckworth Castle sent him seven lots from Dorking; taken with one sent previously, Brown 'fans[ed]' More would 'thinke we deal lyberally'.⁹⁴ Last-minute purchases by entities such as Exeter's Merchant Adventurers may indicate such groups had unsuccessfully sought to shirk involvement.

Once the deadline passed, preparations began for the draw on 3 November. Further problems arose. A proclamation of 2 November postponed the date to 10 January 1569, angrily blaming negligent collectors 'in sundry Shires of the Realme' who had 'forborne to make due returne of the whole bookes'. This left no time for the transcription of purchase details onto lottery slips. They were ordered to forward them by 30 November 'at their peryls'.⁹⁵ In fact Johnson had repeatedly advised collectors to keep their books open after sales finished, backdating purchases to ensure they remained valid.⁹⁶ Presumably this was being done: the borough of Wells resolved to buy tickets on 15 October, weeks after the

⁹⁰ Johnson to More, 10 Jul 1568, SHC, 6729/7/144j; Privy Council circular letter, 22 Jul 1568, 6729/7/144l

⁹¹ Winchester, *Tudor Family Portrait*, pp. 229–32

⁹² Johnson to More, draft precept, [10 Jul 1568], SHC, 6729/7/144k

⁹³ Johnson to More, 21 Aug 1568, SHC, 6729/7/144m; 8 Sep 1568, 6729/7/144n; 15 Sep 1568, 6729/7/144o

⁹⁴ Thomas Browne to William More, 20 Sep 1568, SHC, 6729/7/144p

⁹⁵ *TRP*, vol. 2: #554, 'Postponing Lottery Date to 10 January 1569' (2 Nov 1568), p. 298

⁹⁶ Johnson to More, 8 Sep 1568, SHC, 6729/7/144n; 15 Sep 1568, 6729/7/144o

deadline.⁹⁷ There were conflicting imperatives. The need to maximise ticket sales interfered with preparations for the reading.

This proclamation involved characteristic blame-shifting. The earlier one of 3 January had attributed ambiguities in the lottery Chart to printer's errors. When extending the three-month period during which early buyers received advantages it explained that ticket-selling had been delayed because certain designated collectors had turned out to be sick or dead. Since treasurers such as More had only been directed to choose collectors a week after sales opened this was disingenuous (although one of More's choices had declined using the dubious excuse he was 'unlerned' and so ill from colic and painful urination he could not sit up in bed and expected to die).⁹⁸ The November proclamation seems to have behaved similarly.

Nonetheless, real exasperation was evident behind the formulaic threat of 'perils'. Garrard, Offley and Tamworth wrote on 9 October from London to demand More deliver all relevant 'bookes, bills and wrytinges' to the Lottery House, Cheapside, without delay. Although Elizabeth's proclamation 'extant in prynt' of 13 July had advanced the draw date to 3 November, 'we fynde souche lacke in youe and some others as is sufficient to disapoynt the Quenes maiestie of her said good meanings'. More was warned not to fail, at his peril, 'as youe tender herin the hono^r of the Quenes ma^{tie}'. He contacted his collectors, expressing surprise they had not submitted their books already.⁹⁹ As Garrard *et al.* observed, Elizabeth's honour was in question. She had expressly undertaken not to delay the draw to 2 February 1569; it would now start only fractionally earlier.

The era's transport and communications limitations must be remembered.¹⁰⁰ Although it was noticed immediately that participation was low it is unclear when those in charge grasped how few tickets had finally sold. Individual collectors may not have realised sales were universally bad; some perhaps kept selling after the deadline through fear their own efforts had been unusually poor. Equally, the complaint that collectors had not returned

⁹⁷ Ewen, *Lotteries and Sweepstakes*, p. 50

⁹⁸ *TRP*, vol. 2: #549, 'Deferring Lottery Date' (3 Jan 1568), pp. 291–93; Tyrell to More, 11 Oct 1567, SHC, 6729/7/144d

⁹⁹ Garrard, Offley and Tamworth to More, 9 Oct 1568, SHC, 6729/7/144q; More to his collectors, draft, 13 Oct 1568, 6729/7/144r

¹⁰⁰ For the state of land travel, W. Jackman, *The Development of Transportation in Modern England*, pp.48–51

their ‘whole bookes’ could indicate that the Privy Council imagined most tickets had sold, with officials just dilatory in returning the books, when in fact collectors were forwarding books whose tickets had sold whilst retaining the rest in hopes of selling their tickets too. Elizabeth’s justification for again postponing the draw (that ‘the readyng of the sayde Lottery, can not without preiudice of many of her hyghnes subiectes aduenturers therein, presently proceede’) presupposed that the outstanding books contained details of tickets actually purchased that would miss the draw.¹⁰¹ In fact, their ticket sequences were probably mostly blank.

After 30 November, when the books arrived, the organisers could appreciate the scale of the problem. Despite their efforts less than one twelfth of tickets had sold. The prize values therefore greatly outstripped the income generated. On 9 January 1568/69, the eve of the draw, it was announced that the original plan could not proceed. All prizes were therefore reduced to one twelfth their value while every ticket was split to yield twelve daughter tickets.¹⁰² Surviving tickets with numbers above 376,726 are mostly the Queen’s, presumably assigned to raise the total to 400,000. (It is possible she did not pay for these.)

The modification that brought the scheme’s income and expenses back into balance was suggested to Cecil on 3 December by Estienne Perrot, the probable thief of Philip II’s lottery plans. Perrot wrote from London, offering Cecil the services of his son, the letter’s bearer. His covering letter (damaged) suggests he played some role in the lottery’s implementation: he appears to ask Cecil to have aldermen William Garrard and Thomas Offley pay him the ‘dixiesme denier’ (ten per cent) of what had been collected, conceivably evidence he had indeed sold Elizabeth Philip’s plans. The letter also reported that a ‘milort Stuuart’, who had adventured a thousand lots, was trying to extricate himself from the purchase on the basis he could not afford it. No tickets survive for this individual, who was perhaps Scotland’s regent James Stewart, Earl of Moray, presently attending the commission sitting at Westminster into Mary Stewart.¹⁰³ The following day (4 Dec), Cecil’s diary, which had recorded in March 1566/67 Elizabeth’s grant of a licence to Gilpin and Grimaldi, noted: ‘A Lottery in London. Commissaryes, Alderman Garrett, Mr Offley, Mr. —.’ The unnamed

¹⁰¹ *TRP*, vol. 2: #554, ‘Postponing Lottery Date to 10 January 1569’ (2 Nov 1568), p. 298

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, #557, ‘Announcing Reduced Lottery Prizes’ (9 Jan 1569), pp. 306–07

¹⁰³ Perrot to Cecil, 3 Dec 1568, TNA, SP 12/48/51, f.121

third party may have been Perrot: the blank recalls Johnson's failure to name the Fleming he took to meet More.¹⁰⁴

Perrot may have been familiar with Flemish solutions to insufficient sales: Antwerp's 1561–62 lotteries to finance the repair of frontier fortifications had been less successful than hoped.¹⁰⁵ He described how to proceed if half or one quarter the anticipated tickets sold. While he probably chose these fractions for simplification's sake he was presumably also ignorant of the true situation. The organisers faced a significant shortfall, compared with expectations. They had engaged to return £107,000 in prizes, leaving £93,000 profit. They ultimately raised under £16,700 and, even after reducing the prize values, disbursed maybe £8900. That left £7800, approximately £85,000 less than predicted.

On 19 November, shortly before Perrot wrote (3 Dec) and as collectors' books reached London (by 30 Nov), three Spanish ships carrying £85,000 sent to pay the Duke of Alva's troops in the Netherlands took shelter in English harbours from storms and pirates. Elizabeth undertook to convey this gold to Alva and as late as 11 December the Spanish Ambassador believed she would. However, by 19 December she seems to have decided to confiscate it, after receiving advice that until it reached Antwerp it belonged to the Genoese merchants lending it to Philip. Elizabeth renegotiated the loan as one to herself, bringing England and Spain briefly close to war.¹⁰⁶

The act was risky and has puzzled scholars.¹⁰⁷ 'Certainly' remarks Read (observing in passing that Elizabeth was embracing 'doubtful devices' such as lotteries to raise money) 'she was in a very receptive mood toward £85,000 in ready money, wherever it came from.'¹⁰⁸ However, the sum's direct equivalence to the lottery's shortfall, which the Privy Council was discovering as Spain's ships materialised, potentially influenced her decision. The fact the lottery was to fund defence works conceivably made the act feel particularly fitting. Cecil had lately been (incorrectly) assured Alva meant to invade and make Mary Stewart England's queen; Spain's soldiers' back-pay replaced the missing revenue.¹⁰⁹ Indeed,

¹⁰⁴ Cecil, 'Notes of Queen Elizabeth's Reign', in Murdin, *State Papers*, vol. 2, pp. 763, 766

¹⁰⁵ Thijs, 'Loteries', p. 21

¹⁰⁶ Read, 'Pay-Ships', pp. 443–64

¹⁰⁷ Cf. E. Kouri, *England and the Attempts to Form a Protestant Alliance in the Late 1560s*, pp. 67–75; MacCaffrey, *Shaping*, pp. 189–93

¹⁰⁸ Read, 'Pay-Ships', pp. 447

¹⁰⁹ W. Maltby, *Alba*, pp. 190–91

Philip's own lottery was intended to address the problem of his troops' wages. Alford argues persuasively, whilst acknowledging the absence of direct evidence, that the gold's impoundment reflected both pragmatic and providentialist thinking on Cecil's part.¹¹⁰ The context of the lottery supports this interpretation: the money must have seemed both heaven-sent and highly convenient. If it was implicated, though, it inflamed tensions internationally, not just domestically.

Perrot's proposal was the only way to address the problem 'truely, indifferently and ratably'.¹¹¹ Diminishing the prizes, however, risked confirming fears they would not be handed over. Soon after the reading began the French Ambassador noted (24 Jan 1568/69) that people were grumbling about their shrunken prizes; he remarked that the reduction lent substance to rumours Elizabeth meant to withdraw £100,000 of lottery money to bankroll foreign armies. His report that she had sent Henry Killigrew to negotiate this with other Protestant powers was accurate, although these talks proved fruitless.¹¹²

In fact, it seems doubtful money was appropriated. That would presuppose the government claimed fraudulently that only a twelfth of tickets had sold, then retained the money given for the other eleven twelfths. Doing so would have been foolish given the level of suspicion and discontent. Besides, the organisers' private letters testified dismay about poor sales. Moreover, the ticket data argue against fraud. Every ticket was split into twelve to achieve 400,000, with roughly one per cent surviving; therefore, provided the number of tickets someone purchased is known one can multiply it by twelve and divide by one hundred to calculate the number that should survive. Though variation must be expected the predicted and observed figures should differ substantially only if the government's claim were false.

When it is known how many lots a corporate body (or person buying on one's behalf) subscribed for, though, the surviving tickets usually correspond broadly to what would be expected (Fig. 5.7). Individual buyers rarely specified how many tickets they took, or else purchased too few to permit meaningful analysis. Nonetheless, somebody using the initials O.D. took 49 lots altogether using various posies. Buyers of numerous tickets were best advised to purchase blocs of thirty, each with one posy: this maximized one's chance of an

¹¹⁰ Alford, *Polity*, pp. 184–89

¹¹¹ *TRP*, vol. 2: #557, 'Announcing Reduced Lottery Prizes' (9 Jan 1569), p. 306

¹¹² Fénelon, *Correspondance diplomatique*, vol. 1, pp. 154–55; A. Miller, *Sir Henry Killigrew*, pp. 101–02

annuity if a set failed to win back a third its cost. Whether O.D. did this is unknowable but his extant tickets suggest so. Statistically speaking, thirty tickets would most likely produce 3–4 survivals. O.D.’s eleven posies have from one to nine tickets each but seven fall within the 2–5 range. Such results accord with the organisers’ claim being truthful.

PURCHASER	TICKETS TAKEN	PREDICTED SURVIVALS	OBSERVED SURVIVALS	SOURCE
Drapers Company	108	13	17	<i>History of the Worshipful Company of the Drapers of London</i> , p. 138
Merchant Taylors	101	12	10	<i>Memorials of the Guild of Merchant Taylors</i> , vol 1, p. 229
Mercers Company	100	12	11	Sutton, <i>Mercery</i> , p. 482
Exeter Merchants	96	12	8	<i>An Elizabethan Guild of the City of Exeter</i> , pp. 109–10
Thomas Betts (for Yarmouth)	47	6	5	Manship, <i>History of Great Yarmouth</i> , pp. 287–88
Grocers' Company	40	5	6	<i>Some Account of the Worshipful Company of Grocers</i> , p. 74
City of York	40	5	4	<i>York Civic Records VI</i> , p. 130
John Gostling (Yarmouth)	34	4	7	Manship, as above
Thomas Williams (for Oxford)	30	4	6	<i>Selections from the Records of the City of Oxford</i> , pp. 322–23
William Levins (Oxford)	30	4	2	<i>Oxford</i> , as above
Rafe Willowes (Yarmouth)	15	2	5	Manship, as above

Table 5.7: Cases when the number of tickets purchased by an entity, or individual on behalf of an entity, is known: a comparison of predicted with observed survivals

The exception is the big instance. London’s mayor and aldermen bought one thousand tickets.¹¹³ That should have produced 120 survivals; instead there are 62. Too many tickets are involved for the disparity to be accidental, indicating half cannot have reached the draw. Perhaps, since the City co-sponsored the event, Elizabeth felt entitled to seize its money. However, an innocent explanation remains possible. The lottery’s terms permitted persons purchasing over forty tickets to pay for half in cash and sign a bond for the remainder.¹¹⁴ It is possible the City did so, then, recognising perhaps that the scheme was miscarrying, opted not to pay for the rest, leading half its tickets to be excluded. Whatever happened, the pattern of survival seems unrepresentative.

¹¹³ More, memorandum, n.d., SHC, 6729/7/144c

¹¹⁴ Lottery Chart

The reading was scheduled to begin on 10 January 1568/69 but chronicles record it running day and night from 11 January to 6 May.¹¹⁵ Elizabeth delivered her verdict on Mary Stewart's complicity in her husband's murder on the tenth, perhaps delaying matters. However, there may have been some more trivial setback: in 1563 Parliament, due to open on 11 January, had been prorogued a day through bad weather.¹¹⁶

Winning tickets' details were printed in batches that each covered roughly ten days' draws; two incomplete sets survive from February and March. The guarantee that participants would receive prizes within a day of winning was another broken promise. The money paid for tickets was slow to reach London. The £435 11s. and 8d. paid for Irish tickets was received in June 1569, after the draw had finished; in August More was instructed to keep money paid for Surrey tickets for disbursement there, instead of forwarding it to London (if Perrot was entitled to a proportion of the money raised this may have been to keep it out of his hands).¹¹⁷ In 1571–72 Leicester corporation received £2 1s. 11d. in prize money from Sir George Turpin, lottery commissioner, having resolved in September 1570 to demand it.¹¹⁸ London livery companies were still awaiting prizes in 1578, when the Drapers considered approaching the Lord Mayor about the matter.¹¹⁹

The Queen had now jettisoned almost all her unbreakable commitments. The delay in returning prizes must have reinforced popular cynicism (and there is no certainty all were ultimately delivered). Likewise, the massive reduction in prize values, even if unavoidable, presumably confirmed suspicions winnings would be withheld. A 1608 tract noted that 'when poor prizes were drawn' the 'common burden of that song' had been the proverbial 'Twopence halfpenny'. As Dean remarks, this demonstrated the lottery was 'not a happy memory'.¹²⁰ It confirms, though, that the 'default prize' of two shillings sixpence assured to non-winning lots was awarded: reduced to one twelfth this became twopence halfpenny. Whether the promised annuities eventuated, however, is unclear and seems doubtful. Nor is it known what became of the undertaking to pay interest on ticket payments should the

¹¹⁵ J. Stow, *A Summarye of the Chronicles of Englande* (London, [1570]), STC (2nd ed.) / 23322, fol. 412v; Holinshed, vol. 4, p. 234

¹¹⁶ Neale, *Elizabeth I and her Parliaments*, vol. 1, p. 92

¹¹⁷ 'Account of warrants issued for payments in sundry departments of government, from October 1569 to July 1570', [July, 1570], *CSP Domestic, Elizabeth: Addenda 1566–1579*, p. 309; Garrard to More, 12 Aug 1569, SHC, 6729/7/144v

¹¹⁸ *Records of the Borough of Leicester*, vol. 3, pp. 131, 137

¹¹⁹ Johnson, *History of the Worshipful Company of the Drapers*, pp. 138–39

¹²⁰ Anon. [attrib. to T. Dekker], 'The Great Frost', p. 93; Dean, 'Elizabeth's Lottery', pp. 609–10

draw be postponed. That was probably abandoned after the date was set back significantly. The reading, deferred until discontent forced a change of plan, was then rescheduled close to the date rejected. Meantime the assurance participation would be voluntary had been eroded. Elizabeth's early attempts to counter scepticism by asserting that all the Chart's terms would be kept inviolably were themselves broken promises.

This helps explain the 'very slacke' ticket sales for the 1585–86 lottery, attributed to the 'hard opinion and distruste' provoked by the earlier one.¹²¹ 'Rules the sovereign can readily revise differ significantly in their implications', remark North and Weingast, '[...] from exactly the same rules when not subject to revision', making the point that after the Glorious Revolution the Crown became more creditworthy through being politically bound by Parliament to honour its promises.¹²² The Queen's abandonment of her commitments, though perhaps forced upon her, left her next lottery vulnerable to boycott.

J. Aldaye's Letter

There was another promise: the safe-conduct extended to persons visiting town to buy tickets or attend the reading. Towards the end of the draw J. Aldaye contacted Cecil. On entering London for the occasion, 'hoping to have ben in suertie, under her *Maties* protection, by *vertue* of the *proclamacion* of the lottery', he had been arrested 'for a *certayne* debt' and imprisoned in the Counter. When he produced in court the lottery Chart and his tickets the officers disregarded Elizabeth's guarantee and made a 'scoffe of the matter'.¹²³ Perhaps Aldaye hoped to shame Cecil into freeing him by highlighting another breach of faith.

Matters were less straightforward, however. Aldaye's main object in writing was to propose himself as a prison spy. Farnandina de Javula, a sailor from Alva's treasure ships, had arrived in the Counter after being arrested conveying letters across the Channel. Aldaye had befriended him and obtained the letters, which he enclosed, offering to report anything more he might learn.

¹²¹ Privy Council to Lord Mayor of London, 26 July 1585, in *Memorials of the Guild of Merchant Taylors*, p. 141

¹²² D. North and B. Weingast, 'Constitutions and Commitment', p. 803

¹²³ J. Aldaye to Cecil, 1 Apr 1569, TNA, SP 12/49/80, f.187

Who was Aldaye? A navigator named James Alday who had informed on fellow-pirates to Cecil ten years earlier looks a plausible candidate: a disreputable 'Dartmouth skipper', between pirate and privateer, he was periodically in debt and worked as a 'government spy upon other loose characters'. Moreover, a ticket survives for a James Alday.¹²⁴ James's earlier letters to Cecil, though, do not match J. Aldaye's handwriting.¹²⁵ Instead, it seems Aldaye was John Alday, bookseller, committed to the Counter six months earlier on Cecil's express command for printing a pamphlet about the Duke of Alva. John's shop was around the corner from the prison.¹²⁶ This prompts questions about his claim to be a debtor visiting London for the lottery.

Moreover, the letter precisely resembled one William Herle sent Cecil from the Marshalsea in 1571, likewise offering to spy.¹²⁷ Herle's target was Charles Bailly, a courier involved in the Ridolfi Plot. A sequence of letters survives: Cecil and Herle prepared in advance for Bailly's arrest; when Bailly reached prison Herle contacted Cecil, ostensibly unprompted, to alert him to a suspicious character and volunteer Herle's services; subsequent letters reported what he learned.¹²⁸ Adams has concluded that Herle's letter was spurious, devised for a 'more public readership' than his other reports and designed to obscure Cecil's own role in initiating Bailly's monitoring.¹²⁹ Aldaye's letter's similarity to Herle's suggests it was perhaps confected too.

This may explain the story about the lottery. Aldaye conceivably needed a cover. The pamphlet that saw him arrested was virulently anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic.¹³⁰ Published in French (28 Sep 1568), it was probably propaganda for smuggling into the Netherlands: on 11 September William of Orange had led Protestant armies across the Rhine to confront Alva. After release from prison Alday's publications continued anti-Catholic (e.g., the satire *Beware the Cat* in 1570); his apprentice Anthony Munday left him to enter Rome's English

¹²⁴ J. Williamson, *Sir John Hawkins*, pp. 36–37; ticket 261667

¹²⁵ James Aldaye to William Cecil, 25 Jun 1559 (two letters), TNA, SP 12/4/64; SP 12/4/65

¹²⁶ *DNB*, 'Alde, John (b. in or before 1531, d. 1584)'; for his arrest: Roger Martin to William Cecil, 15 Oct 1568, TNA, SP 12/48/17; for his shop, H. Plomer, 'The Long Shop in the Poultry', pp. 72–76

¹²⁷ R. Adams, "'The Service I am Here for'", pp. 217–38; also Adams, 'A Spy on the Payroll?', pp. 266–80

¹²⁸ The letters can be found online: W. Herle, *Letters of William Herle Project*, Edition 2 (March 2006), ed. R. Adams, AHRC Centre for Editing Lives and Letters <<http://www.livesandletters.ac.uk/herle/about.html>> [accessed 17 Aug 2017]; William Herle to William Cecil, 4 April 1571 (preparing for Bailly's arrival), Transcript ID: HRL/002/HTML/004; Herle to Cecil, 10 April 1571 (reporting Bailly's arrival), Transcript ID: HRL/002/HTML/221; and others

¹²⁹ Adams, "'Service'", pp. 223–24

¹³⁰ The letter notifying Cecil of Alday's arrest enclosed a copy: *Copie des pointz ov articles arrestes par le duc d'Albe et son nouveau cōseil de douze* (London, 1568), TNA, SP 12/48/17i, ff. 35–38

Seminary, to write an exposé of the institution. (While it has been argued Munday was Catholic and genuinely intended at first to train as a priest that suggestion reflected the belief Alday had been jailed for a pro-Catholic work and later converted Munday.¹³¹) That background was unlikely to recommend Aldaye to Alva's courier. Unfair imprisonment over the lottery, though, would establish his disaffection with Elizabeth's regime. Moreover, the letter's use of the non-specific initial 'J.' perhaps helped Cecil create the impression it came from his previous source, the habitual debtor James.

This incident forms a coda to the lottery. Even if concocted, Aldaye's letter underscored the magnitude of the public relations failure: Cecil himself perhaps ultimately exploited cynicism about the Queen's broken promises. Moreover, Aldaye's account was plausible. Elizabeth could not override the law and offer indemnity from arrest. The court's officers he depicted scoffing at 'the Quenes *Maties* prerogative in the case, as nothing saying yt was a lawe made synce the last *parlament*' were correct.¹³² The 1539 act that gave royal proclamations the force of statute (31 Henry VIII c.8) had been repealed in 1547.¹³³ The lottery's Chart could not abrogate London's laws; the Queen's safeguard had been one that could never be kept.

This refocuses attention on the lottery's overreach. The aim of selling 400,000 highly-priced tickets across England, where lotteries were unfamiliar, was ambitious, especially since this involved non-compulsory taxation. The scheme was accompanied by extravagant promises of interest, annuities and the speedy paying-out of winnings. The assurance there would be no blanks — that every ticket would win something — was overblown: people undoubtedly noticed that ninety per cent of prizes were less than the cost of a ticket. The undertaking was absurdly optimistic with no anticipation of problems. Elizabeth's proffered safe-conduct was consistent with this overall approach. That difficulties and resistance should have been encountered was perhaps unsurprising.

¹³¹ DNB, 'Munday, Anthony (bap. 1560, d. 1633)'; C. Turner Wright, ('Young Anthony Mundy Again', pp. 154–55) first made this case; modern scholars are more tentative, although D. Hamilton favours Munday's Catholicism (*Anthony Munday and the Catholics, 1560–1633*); for a more sceptical overview of the scholarship, B. Lockey, *Early Modern Catholics, Royalists, and Cosmopolitans*, pp. 98–100

¹³² Aldaye to Cecil, 1 April 1569, TNA, SP 12/49/80 f. 187^r

¹³³ G. Elton, 'Henry VIII's Act of Proclamations', pp. 208–22

Conclusion

A week before the draw ended, 'Stephen Perrett, strangur', wrote to Leicester and Cecil, proposing 'inventions' regarding the lottery that would extinguish the Queen's debts and allow her 'every yeare to have a good and convenient proffit of [her subjects] not *with* constraint but with their good wille and right good contentement'. His demands in return included four per cent of all money raised, the same terms as were offered to the organiser of Philip II's lottery. Part of his plan involved abolishing subsidies and fifteenths and also 'unsatiable and importable usury'. He wrote from London, stating that he had consulted 'diverse wyse persones [in England] almoost these twoo yeares past': in short, from around the time the lottery was announced. This degree of involvement with the scheme supports the possibility he sold England the Flemish plans. Unfortunately, Perrett's letter did not detail his inventions; he demanded written assurances his interests would be protected before he showed them. Leicester and Cecil gave the necessary safeguards and undertook to notify the Queen but no evidence of the designs remains. As Elizabeth did not institute regular lotteries, while subsidies, fifteenths and usury continued unchecked, presumably the offer was declined.¹³⁴

The lottery's fate bore out Edmund Poley's prediction. Elizabeth's regime moved mountains to make it succeed but obtained only a ridiculous mouse. Whether this fraction of the anticipated revenue went ultimately to repair the havens and defend the realm is unclear. It was perhaps consumed shortly after the draw in suppressing the Northern Rising. The *Treatise of Treasons* later bracketed the lottery with collections to rebuild St Paul's steeple, alleging both gathered money to support religious wars abroad rather than for their stated purpose.¹³⁵

This was more than mere economic failure, though. Political capital was squandered just as it was needed: a pretender to Elizabeth's throne entered England as tickets sold. In fact, although as a tax the lottery failed its failure should be taken in perspective. Not every Continental lottery achieved its aims, nor did all English revenue-raising exercises. Besides, Spain's gold was a windfall to offset the poor takings. By the late 1560s, however, England

¹³⁴ Stephen Perrett to Leicester and Cecil, 4 May 1569, Lansdowne MS 11/13/13, ff. 41–44; Van der Essen, "'Groote en generale staatsloterij'", p. 328

¹³⁵ *Treatise of Treasons*, ff. 100^r–101^v

was developing social tensions. The lottery's lukewarm reception perhaps reflected these strains but the scheme conceivably exacerbated them too. Certainly, Elizabeth could have done without the ill-will some posies manifested.

Instead of adhering to the plan outlined in the Chart but simply raising less money, the scheme evolved through an interplay between promotion and resistance. Dean speaks of a new 'infrastructure' of surveyors, etc., being erected to address low sales.¹³⁶ However, the resort to coercion was counterproductive: it further alienated a doubtful and unwilling public; the broken promises tarnished Elizabeth's honour; it failed ultimately to generate adequate sales. The push to have elites promote the scheme backfired, aggravating some into discouraging people. Assembling parish syndicates conceivably generated negative consensus, just as the French Revolution began with the bringing together of parishes to compile grievance lists.¹³⁷ Some notables' preparedness to object perhaps constituted what Wickham has called the 'slippage of consent' observable when a ruler's accepted hegemony is suddenly in question.¹³⁸

Governing the course of events was the tension between commitments hardwired into the scheme from the start and the immovable object of popular reluctance to take part. Resistance was not anticipated and never overcome. Essentially, Queen and Council tried to transplant a foreign phenomenon without reflecting that it might not prosper in native soil. Previous chapters have explored potential deep-seated barriers to the introduction of lotteries to England. Dean has identified several proximal factors, such as distrust engendered by Elizabeth's earlier financial expedients. If these passive structures hindered the lottery's acceptance at the start, the posies provide evidence that more active, political disaffection was evoked by the effort to impose it and make it work.

¹³⁶ Dean, 'Elizabeth's Lottery', p. 600

¹³⁷ J. Markoff, 'Peasant Grievances and Peasant Insurrection', p. 445

¹³⁸ Wickham, 'Gossip and Resistance', p. 20

CHAPTER SIX:

LOSSES IN TRANSLATION

This chapter addresses the lottery as a failure of translation, not implementation. Although several of the issues discussed operated prior to the lottery's arrival in England these are best considered after describing its introduction. The scheme offered to the English differed in key respects from Continental models. First, foreign lotteries inhabited a festive environment; this made participation worthwhile even if prizes were rare. In adopting the lottery as a concept England's governors detached it from these associated amusements, importing it by itself. Second, early modern city lotteries offered other attractions than the prizes: they funded communal good works while the reading entertained. In expanding from city to state level, however, the scheme refracted and attenuated these benefits. The draw was confined to London; the repair of the harbours assisted coastal communities. Many people therefore had no direct incentive to take part. Third, the timeframe originally laid out in the lottery Chart was designed to take advantage of various annual cycles: seasonal, agricultural, festive or gambling. As the dates were progressively set back the scheme fell out of kilter with these cycles. This too rendered it less attractive. These changes meant England's lottery differed from its Continental precursors, with implications for its reception. It was not solely that the English were poorly preadapted for lotteries: they were offered one stripped of the traditional rationale.

Reduction to an Economic Transaction

The Lottery General was modelled on Flemish and other Continental lotteries. These, however, occurred during fairs that compensated participants for their likely loss of money. England's took place in isolation; it involved only the unprofitable economic transaction. Lotteries were often the centrepiece of festivities in the Netherlands, while German shooting fairs used them to raise prize-money for their various contests. Thus Heidelberg's 1490 fair had competitions in gambling, ninepins and blindfold pig-chasing in addition to shooting itself, while in 1496 Rottweil's involved running, throwing and jumping contests.¹ Lotteries played supportive roles on these occasions but sometimes raised more money than their fair's

¹ Kusudo, 'Open Shooting Festivals', p. 80

total expenses: fewer shooters than anticipated attended Zürich's 1504 fair though chronicles proclaimed it a great success; 25,000 persons, however, bought lottery tickets.² The 1596 Leiden lottery, orchestrated by town secretary Jan van Hout, featured a lottery play, *De Loterijspel*, written by himself, a five-day poetry competition between rival towns' *rederijkerskamers* (chambers of rhetoric), and assorted other attractions.³ The scheme's lottery chart (*Loterijkaart*) was an elaborate work designed by the town's mayor, a leading artist.⁴ In general, Dutch and Flemish lotteries involved 'often theatrical collateral events' designed to rouse enthusiasm and attract people from elsewhere: plays were typical; there might be jousting; marksmen's guilds played prominent roles and different towns' rhetoricians performed.⁵

Cities staging lotteries used heavy publicity to attract foreigners.⁶ Eighty per cent of Zürich's participants were outsiders.⁷ This suggests the importance of advertising but also indicates the necessity of attractions to entice visitors. The associated shows and contests justified lotteries in other than purely economic senses. For visitors a ticket purchase perhaps functioned like the entry fee to a theme park. It provided an excuse to travel.

Lottery participation, like gambling more generally, is irrational from a narrowly economic standpoint. For the organisers to profit, each lot's chance of winning must be so remote the buyer's probable loss outweighs the possible gain. Hence the longstanding view of state lotteries as 'a tax upon unfortunate self-conceited fools'. To develop enthusiasm ticket-buyers must become blind to their prospects.⁸ Early modern lotteries offer instances of this. Diarist Marin Sanudo's depiction of Venice's 1522 lottery craze can be understood as charting the onset of blindness: ticket prices rose as prizes became increasingly exotic.⁹ The keenest lottery participants were often groups least able to afford tickets; modern research too finds the poor disproportionately likely to support lotteries.¹⁰ Hope perhaps trumped commonsense because of the life-changing possibilities on offer.

² *Ibid.*, p. 81; Isacson and Koch, 'Los ziehen', p. 130

³ Huisman and Koppenol, *Daer compt de Lotery*, p. 45; Kromm, 'Early Modern Lottery', p. 58

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 57

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 57–59; Thijs, 'Loteries', pp. 10–12; Fokker, *Geschiedenis*, pp. 16–17; de Boer, 'Lotteries and Lottery Rhymes', pp. 64–66

⁶ Thijs, 'Loteries', pp. 25–27

⁷ Isacson and Koch, 'Los ziehen', p. 137

⁸ W. Petty, cited in R. Brenner and G. Brenner, *Gambling and Speculation*, p. 11

⁹ Welch, 'Lotteries', pp. 82–84

¹⁰ Cf. Johnson, 'Lotteries of the Virginia Company', p. 266; for modern schemes, C. Clotfelter and P. Cooke, *Selling Hope*, pp. 75–77

As noted already, however, gambling may satisfy non-monetary needs that compensate for the loss of capital. These make it less irrational than it looks.¹¹ Although few socio-cultural studies of gambling focus specifically on lotteries one argues that Spanish syndicate buying has historically served to express social hierarchies and solidarities.¹² Three generalisations about Continental lotteries seem pertinent. First, they had a socio-cultural element as well as an economic one. Second, these evolved in tandem: participants never had to accept lotteries purely as taxation. Third, England's lottery was implemented as a voluntary levy without reproducing this cultural aspect.

Continental lotteries were constituents of larger wholes. Their role in medieval German shooting fairs was ancillary, necessary to the fairs' success. This gave an extra justification for purchasing tickets. The fairs themselves had a complex function. Shooting contests brought competitors from nearby towns together to hone their skills, fostering harmonious relations whilst assuring mutual destruction should conflict eventuate. Lotteries, shooting and other competitions generated a festive atmosphere. Ticket-buyers not only bought a chance at a prize, they contributed to the whole occasion's success and underpinned a broader military strategy.

Lotteries became a key form of urban festivity in the Netherlands too. They were widely publicised in surrounding regions, with other entertainments devised to draw people into the host city. Ticket-buying offered outsiders a pretext to come sample these other attractions; the influx of foreign money gave citizens reason to support schemes. The good works financed were another incentive, assisting even those who won no prize. Some directly assisted everyone, for example repairs to city walls. Even primarily charitable building projects might benefit all; hospitals, for example, provided lodging to travellers.¹³ Charity also promoted social cohesion. Dutch lotteries proliferated from the 1560s, in part to address social problems provoked by war with Spain. Certain posies suggest these lotteries fostered political unity and common purpose.¹⁴ Haarlem's 1609 lottery funded the

¹¹ Geertz, 'Deep Play', pp. 412–53; Munting and Miers offer, respectively, a narrowly economic and a broader perspective on gambling: Munting, *Economic and Social History*, pp. 1–5; Miers, *Regulating Commercial Gambling*, pp. 1–9

¹² Garvía, 'Syndication', pp. 603–52

¹³ Kromm, 'Early Modern Lottery', p. 55

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 52; de Boer, 'Lotteries and Lottery Rhymes', p. 70; de Boer and Bostoen, 'Sorte non sorte', p. 234

building of houses for elderly citizens left homeless by a 1576 attack on the city. The city's formal neighbourhood associations, structures that functioned like extended families, bought tickets as syndicates.¹⁵ Such purchases affirmed communal bonds, patriotic solidarity and charitable duty.

Aside from this wider festive context, with events unrelated to the lottery per se, the publicity for the occasion and the reading combined charity with entertainment. Kromm describes how the amusements associated with these appeals often had a theatrical, carnivalesque element and presented those afflicted persons for whose benefit money was raised as caricatures or grotesques.¹⁶

German and Netherlands lotteries, therefore, served defined social purposes which the populace accepted. Ticket-buyers may not have thought primarily of the prize. Roger Munting observes that many people do not see raffles as gambling, something he attributes to their small scale.¹⁷ However, this could also reflect raffles' often charitable aims and informal selling networks. People buy tickets to support a good cause, through friendship for the seller, without greatly expecting to win. Bostoen suggests that participants in Leiden's 1596 lottery, which financed the consolidation of a convent into a sickhouse, held similar views: they felt they were donating money. The poor odds of winning (400 to one against, as opposed to thirteen to one in England's lottery) perhaps rendered people likelier to conceptualise their purchase as charitable giving.¹⁸ In such cases the rationality of participation should be assessed on grounds other than expectation of profit. It may not have signified blindness to the chances so much as that the economic transaction was swathed in other considerations to the point of becoming invisible. The inhabitants of Bakenesserstraat, like other neighbourhoods, entered Haarlem's lottery as a street collective. 'Sheer madness it is not' asserted the posy on their 67 tickets.¹⁹

These lotteries had no need to justify participation in economic terms: their festive contexts made the case. Germany's first recorded shooting fairs were in 1367 (Frankfort) and 1370 (Augsburg), a few years before Europe's earliest lotteries. In the Low Countries they began

¹⁵ M. Prak, *The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 162

¹⁶ Kromm, 'Early Modern Lottery', pp. 51–62

¹⁷ Munting, *Economic and Social History*, pp. 3–4

¹⁸ Bostoen, "'Adieu, mijn geld!'", pp. 34–35

¹⁹ Prak, *Dutch Republic*, pp. 161–62

in 1328 (Oudenaarde), with fairs held in part to re-establish inter-urban communications following periods of conflict. These fairs centred on shooting guilds, which had an important 'socio-devotional' role in civic life, closely resembled lottery festivities, and provided a readymade atmosphere of gala and contest within which lotteries might develop.²⁰

England's Lottery General, however, imported Flemish lottery design without the festive envelope surrounding continental schemes; with no cultural counterweight to give it a net sense there was only the unrewarding economic transaction. The Lottery Chart confined itself to naming the terms, prizes and work to be funded. Later the promoters' emphasis shifted towards duty, obedience and care for the Queen's reputation. Although the Chart specified that the reading would begin on 25 June, during England's annual midsummer festivities, it drew no attention to these.²¹ No lottery-specific attractions seem ever to have been contemplated, while the date later shifted. Advertising within England was perfunctory while there seems to have been none elsewhere. The Chart was provided initially only to the major towns named in it; only a week after it opened were further copies sent to county treasurers. Although proclamations, letters and officials exhorted people to take part, their urging was somewhat half-hearted: low interest was later attributed partly to 'slacknes almost in all that have had d[ealings?] therein'.²² A last-moment direction that Antwerp's Merchant Adventurers should purchase tickets appears to have been the first of its kind: it was confined to English expatriates and an order, not an advertisement.²³ Consequently, almost no foreigners participated unless resident in London. This contrasted strongly with the situation elsewhere, where outsiders were solicited and considered crucial to the success of ventures.²⁴

No effort was made to replicate the ambiance that had evolved with continental lotteries and made them palatable. Whereas Dutch *loterijkaarten* combined charitable purpose and entertainment, sometimes featuring grotesque depictions of the afflicted persons the lottery assisted, the Chart avoided any picture of the work being financed, instead using an image

²⁰ Kusudo, 'Open Shooting Festivals', p. 83 n. 2; L. Crombie, 'French and Flemish urban festive networks', pp. 157–75; Crombie, 'Representatives', pp. 152–64

²¹ Lottery Chart

²² William Garrard and Thomas Offley to Cecil, 14 Jul 1568, TNA, SP 12/47/13, f.28^r; cf. also Garrard, Offley and John Tamworth to William More, 9 Oct 1568, SHC, 6729/7/144q

²³ Pembroke, Leicester and Cecil to Antwerp Merchant Adventurers (draft), 30 Aug 1568, TNA, SP 12/47/48, f. 97

²⁴ Cf. Schwartz, *Roll the Bones*, pp. 86–87

that insinuated Elizabeth's Solomon-like wisdom in holding the scheme.²⁵ The festive aspect was de-emphasized in favour of a coldly fiscal approach.

This gave the English no reason to forget their interests. Several buyers used a proverbial couplet, possibly ballad-derived, that implied they would rather have kept their money: 'One bird in the hand, is worth two in the wood, if we have the great lot, it will doe us good.'²⁶ The verse, which the Merchant Tailors re-used in the 1586 lottery, has been characterised as sarcastic.²⁷ Such posies suggest not just that the authors took part under duress but that they foresaw no non-monetary compensation for the waste of their money. The chart asserted everyone would win something but the chance a ticket would break even was 13.6 to one against. Hamon Upton of Wainfleet St Mary grasped this: 'It is thirten to one, I get none'.²⁸ John Chapman of Ware, Hertfordshire, cited the same ratio: 'I thanke God, I have lived all my life, I have had thirtene children and but one wife.'²⁹ This too perhaps alluded (obliquely) to the odds: the pedigree John supplied the 1572 herald's visitation mentioned only two sons, aged twelve and nine, which may indicate his claim was not literally true.³⁰ In 1577 he was an obstinate recusant; Upton, meanwhile, belonged to a cluster of Lincolnshire families connected with the Knights of Malta: in the late 1530s his brother Nicholas was part of the Order's anti-Henrician faction.³¹ While concerns about the dim prospect of winning were widely shared, staunch Catholics conceivably had particular motives to manifest discontent with Elizabeth's lottery.

Not every posy was negative. It has been suggested already that gentlemen who promoted the scheme did so under orders: Thomas Phelps, for instance, whose son prosecuted Guy Fawkes, urged loyally 'Fie on the penny, that loseth a pounce.' Other posies, conversely, were actively hopeful: 'For want of money we do not marie, if God send us we no longer tary. p T.M.C.'; 'Once in a good Farme I did remaine, and now I am a pore widow to my paine, God send me a good lot to helpe me to a good Farme againe. per Christian Mitchel

²⁵ Kromm, 'Early Modern Lottery', pp. 55–57; Dean, 'Elizabeth's Lottery', pp. 593–98

²⁶ Tickets 66209 and others (William Albany, for Merchant Taylors) and 63737 (William Jaye)

²⁷ *Memorials of the Guild of Merchant Taylors*, vol. 1, pp. 229–30; Herbert, *Twelve Great Livery Companies*, vol. 1, p. 154

²⁸ Ticket 103565

²⁹ Ticket 246191

³⁰ *Visitation*, Hertfordshire: 1572 and 1634, p. 4

³¹ For Chapman: P. Ryan (ed.), 'Diocesan Returns of Recusants for England and Wales, 1577', pp. 47, 51; for Upton: G. O'Malley, *The Knights Hospitaller of the English Langue 1460–1565*, pp. 35–36, 292

widow de Bere. Regis.' Such buyers were perhaps blinded by optimism.³² Nevertheless, the poor sales overall suggest many potential participants were not. One reason was possibly the organisers' failure to sugar the pill by supplying amusements like those seen elsewhere.

Expansion from City to State Level

The Lottery General involved a shift from city to state level that may also have diminished enthusiasm. The benefits of city lotteries have been described: there was the chance of a prize, remote but potentially life-changing; the scheme raised money for public works that benefited everyone; the reading, with its posies, ensured entertainment and suspense. This, with associated amusements, gave non-citizens an excuse to visit, while the influx of strangers benefited locals: Middelburg's 1553 lottery sold nearly 200,000 tickets of which one third were taken in Antwerp.³³ Outsiders made up 80 per cent of the 25,000 participants in the lottery associated with Zürich's 1504 shooting fair; the town's five thousand residents probably welcomed their attendance.³⁴

Expansion to state level, however, meant these intrinsic benefits were diluted. City lotteries assisted towns in several ways simultaneously because cities' limited sizes concentrated all the benefits in one spot. England, however, was a kingdom. Although tickets sold throughout the realm the reading was in London. The original intent was that people would attend the draw to receive their winnings, entailing travel and accommodation costs for non-Londoners who were not guaranteed prizes. It was ultimately decreed that prizes should be dispensed where the relevant tickets were purchased, to reduce buyers' expenses.³⁵

There were limits to how far people would come to visit even a popular event with additional entertainments. Antwerp's strong investment in Middelburg's lottery reflected the cities' closeness (around 90 km apart) and connection by water. External participation in Zürich's successful scheme correlated clearly with distance from the city: two thirds of the 20,000 outsiders who bought tickets lived within 50 kilometres; 86 per cent of buyers from villages came from within 30 km (a day's journey). Beyond this distance participation dropped

³² Tickets 340394 (Phelps), 55973 (T.M.C.) and 213973 (Mitchel)

³³ Fokker, *Geschiedenis*, p. 27

³⁴ Isacson and Koch, 'Los ziehen', p. 135

³⁵ William Garrard to William More, 12 Aug 1569, SHC, 6729/7/144v

steeply, while outside 100 km almost all buyers were from major cities. This distribution pattern closely paralleled that of immigration.³⁶ Zürich's participants came to a shooting fair as well as a lottery, so political and military considerations too presumably influenced attendance; nonetheless, geographic considerations must have affected England's lottery, which involved fewer attractions and farther travel. The subaltern groups in rural villages towards whom the emphasis shifted were less able to come to London. In consequence the scheme's national scale probably rendered the draw less enticing.

The public works it funded were likewise unevenly distributed. The lottery financed the 'reparation of the havens and strength of the Realme', taxing all England to fund coastal defence in time of peace. It superficially resembled Charles I's levy of ship money on inland towns.³⁷ The silting of England's medieval harbours was a matter of long-standing concern. William Cecil was exploring measures to improve coastal defences in the 1560s, given the prospect of war with France.³⁸ The ports themselves were alarmed. Great Yarmouth considered the problem an existential threat, commissioning a 'Book of the Decay of the Town' in 1566 and employing an experienced Dutchman to find a solution, then in 1567 approaching the Queen for relief, after exhausting its treasury addressing the problem.³⁹ The situation was similar in the Cinque Ports. Many were despaired of at this period. A commission of 1576 concluded that while Dover's and (perhaps) Rye's harbours could be salvaged, Winchelsea and Camber were beyond recovery. By 1600 Dover was England's only surviving port between London and Portsmouth.⁴⁰

Identity being understood more locally than nowadays, however, inland communities possibly saw ports as somebody else's problem.⁴¹ The 1497 Cornish Rebellion arose through Cornishmen's refusal to pay for Henry VII's wars in Scotland: 'The whole problem of the north seemed much too remote to them,' notes Fletcher. Thomas Flamank of Bodmin, one of its leaders, argued that 'subsidies were not to be granted [...] for wars of Scotland' and that 'all was quiet and war was made but a pretence to poll and pill the people'.⁴² The lottery

³⁶ Isacson and Koch, 'Los ziehen', pp. 140–45

³⁷ Lottery Chart; Dean, 'Elizabeth's Lottery', pp. 590; for ship money: H. Langelüddecke, "'I Finde All Men & my Officers All Soe Unwilling'", pp. 509–42

³⁸ Dean, 'Elizabeth's Lottery', pp. 589–90

³⁹ Manship, *Great Yarmouth*, pp. 90–95 (and accompanying notes); R. Tittler, 'The English Fishing Industry in the Sixteenth Century', pp. 54–56

⁴⁰ E. Ash, "'A Perfect and an Absolute Work'", pp. 244–46

⁴¹ For local identity in regard to the lottery, Dean, 'Locality and Self', pp. 207–27

⁴² Citations from A. Fletcher, *Tudor Rebellions*, 1st edn, pp. 14–15

seems to have evoked comparable parochialism and distrust. Jacobean lotteries instituted to finance the colonisation of Virginia encountered similar difficulties. Despite prescient accounts of the advantages colonies would deliver, the public's response was 'apathetic': English citizens were not interested in benefits geographically removed and chronologically deferred.⁴³

In reality the situation was less straightforward. If geographic situation conditioned enthusiasm for the lottery, other variables, such as the degree of pressure the Crown could exert, did likewise, making it difficult to correlate proximity to the coast clearly with the number of tickets bought. In some respects sentiment can more easily be gauged from the ticket posies.

The Cinque Ports and affiliated towns were a case in point. These might have been expected to support the lottery strongly as they had been England's most important harbours but were now among its most decayed. They did not exhibit straightforward enthusiasm, though. More generally, Kent and Sussex showed lower participation than the south-western counties (Fig. 5.2). The response of individual ports accords with this. A few were enthusiastic; some seemingly took part under protest; for others there are no extant tickets, suggesting they bought none or few.

In part this could reflect varying circumstances. The absence of extant tickets from Dover may indicate its inhabitants were less desperate: its comparatively healthy harbour was later rescued. Winchelsea, however, was already moribund and perhaps felt participation not worthwhile.⁴⁴ Hastings was more positive. Richard Liffe, bailiff in 1567 and 1568, bought six tickets in London: 'From Hastings we come, God send us good speede, never a poore Fisher towne in Englande of the great lot hath more neede.'⁴⁵ The London purchase (indicated by the tickets' numbers) may indicate Liffe travelled early to buy tickets before they were available outside major towns. This posy pressed a double claim, imploring God to award a prize whilst drawing the Queen's attention to the harbour's need of repair money. Rye's ticket was similar: 'God helpe the poore towne of Rie.' Its 1568 mayor also bought

⁴³ Johnson, 'Lotteries of the Virginia Company', p. 265

⁴⁴ For Winchelsea: Ash, "'A Perfect and an Absolute Work'", p. 246, n. 15

⁴⁵ Ticket 64935 (and five others); 'Bailiffs and Mayors' listed in W. Moss, *The History and Antiquities of the Town and Port of Hastings*, p. 135

three for himself. The 1576 commission concluded Rye's situation could be reversible.⁴⁶ These towns perhaps hoped they might still benefit from repairs, when Winchelsea or New Romney despaired. Tickets from Lydd on Sea ('Loke Lid luckie lots', from John Berry, bailiff and jurat) and Faversham ('Be fortunate to Feversham': Robert Fagge, mayor 1570), subsidiaries of New Romney and Dover respectively, also seem positive.⁴⁷

Four individuals from Sandwich took tickets, as did one from nearby Ash, three from Fordwich, a 'limb' of the town, and one from Ramsgate, another limb. Edward Hales, esquire, bailiff of Tenterden in 1567 and 1568, bought four tickets. Tenterden, a shipbuilding centre and another limb, was becoming landlocked, giving its inhabitants an interest in the lottery's outcome. Hales possibly had personal motives for showing support. He came from a family of royal officials, while his kinsman John was presently under house arrest after offending Elizabeth by writing a book that favoured Catherine Grey's claim to the succession.⁴⁸

However, only one of Sandwich's own posies looks straightforwardly positive. 'A lustie lot for Linche. p Thom. Linche of Sandwich' probably involved Thomas Lynch of Staple, just outside the town, who in 1588 subscribed £50 towards England's defence.⁴⁹ John Clark's ticket expressed doubt ('Is all cleere?'); he was perhaps the individual prosecuted in 1560 after drawing a dagger on the town's treasurer, who was collecting a local tax.⁵⁰ Brewer Thomas Parker, a leading citizen, stressed greed ('I putte in to prevaile'); this, like other, similar assertions, perhaps hinted he was not actuated by goodwill.⁵¹ Henry Butler professed indifference ('Be as God will').⁵² These men were typically jurats or otherwise local notables. Their lack of visible enthusiasm may indicate purchase under duress: John Johnson alleged his coercive precepts had boosted Kent sales.⁵³ The posy of Calvinist

⁴⁶ Tickets 181628 (Rye) and 181751 (mayor John Dunning, with two other tickets); Ash, "A Perfect and an Absolute Work", p. 246, n. 15

⁴⁷ Tickets 40736 (Berry) and 40536 (Fagge)

⁴⁸ Ticket 40884 and others; for Edward: A. Taylor (ed.), 'The Municipal Records of Tenterden: Part I', p. 297; for John: Bindoff, 'HALES, John II'; *DNB*, 'Hales, John (1516?–1572)'

⁴⁹ Ticket 229441; *The Names of those Persons who Subscribed towards the Defence of this Country at the Time of the Spanish Armada, 1588*, ed. T. Noble, p. 32; for the family: *Visitation, Kent*, part 2: 1574 and 1592, p. 6; cf. Bindoff, 'LINCH, Simon'

⁵⁰ Ticket 181960; K. Jones, *Gender and Petty Crime in Late Medieval England*, p. 70

⁵¹ Ticket 339437; H. Clarke and others, *Sandwich, The 'Completest Medieval Town in England'*, pp. 236, 245 and 248; mentioned periodically in *A Calendar of the White and Black Books of the Cinque Ports 1452–1955*, ed. F. Hull, e.g., pp. 269, 285

⁵² Ticket 229216; cf. *Calendar of the White and Black Books*, p. 273

⁵³ Johnson to William More, 21 Aug 1568, SHC, 6729/7/144m

translator John Brooke of Ash-next-Sandwich was more positive. So were three from Fordwich, especially that of regular mayor Valentine Norton: 'The favour of the Queene in this worlde I crave, and after my death heaven I may have'.⁵⁴ Conversely, St Laurence, Ramsgate, remarked 'Saint Laurence is an angry Saint': Laurence, almost the sole saint mentioned in surviving posies, was typically associated with discontented messages.⁵⁵

Beneath individual towns' circumstances, however, lay corporate considerations. Although they had no document to substantiate it the Cinque Ports claimed to be exempt from taxation. Perpetual disputes with the Exchequer had resulted.⁵⁶ Since the lottery strongly resembled a tax it is possible they feared participation would set a dangerous precedent. In short, it seems likely multiple sentiments were in tension, producing different results in different towns: hope of money to arrest decline; apathy in the case of moribund harbours; the prevalent distrust of the scheme; a wish to resist fiscal encroachment; resentment at coercion to participate. Potential harbour repair was only one ingredient.

Equivalent particularist concerns seem to have operated elsewhere. Some towns apparently hoped to profit by the Cinque Ports' decline. In Hampshire, Dorset, Devon and Cornwall more tickets per head of population sold than in Kent and Sussex (Fig. 5.2). William Mallock of Axmouth, Devon, whose family were port officials in Dorset, put in a claim for lottery funds: 'Axmouth for a haven is a fyt place, and a haven it may be if it please the Queenes grace'. 'In ancient times' Axmouth had been a harbour; Mallock's wish to revive its status anticipated the unsuccessful efforts of another family, the Erles, in the early seventeenth century.⁵⁷

Similarly, Richard Singleton of Truro, Cornwall, used the posy 'Falmouth doth decay, God sende it good luck this day'. He was perhaps related to George Singleton, the Truro mayor who lodged a Star Chamber action against Falmouth fishery in 1580.⁵⁸ Falmouth harbour

⁵⁴ Tickets 255805 (Brooke) and 181837 (Norton); *DNB*, 'Brooke, John (d. 1582)'; 'Mayors of Fordwich' (list) in K. McIntosh, (ed.), *Fordwich*, pp. 182–83

⁵⁵ Ticket 159853 (Ramsgate)

⁵⁶ F. Hull, 'Introduction' to *A Calendar of the White and Black Books*, pp. xxvi–vii; pp. 405–6 for assertions of this (1614)

⁵⁷ Tickets 201680 and 85573; for the Mallock family: W. Yonge, *Diary of Walter Yonge, Esq.*, ed. by G. Roberts, pp. xxix; for Mallock's father, Bindoff, 'MALLOCK (MANNOCK), John'; Hasler, 'MALLOCK, John'; for Axmouth and the Erles: Lysons, *Magna Britannia VI: Devonshire*, part 2, pp. 25–26

⁵⁸ Tickets 179526 and 298349; The National Archives Website: Discovery: STAC 5 S5/26, Richard Singleton, Mayor and Corporation of Truroe v John Carmynowe, George Carmynowe, Oliver Carmynowe,

had been notable since the Middle Ages but, excepting the Killigrew family's manor of Arwenack to which it was attached, had only a single nearby house. Modern Falmouth dates from the seventeenth century, when the Killigrews converted the harbour into a town. In 1613 Truro unsuccessfully petitioned James I to stop that happening, on the grounds it would harm its own interests.⁵⁹ Truro residents evidently wanted Falmouth to prosper while its trade flowed through them, employing the discourse of decay to urge the harbour's title to lottery money, but opposed its further development for fear of Truro's own decay.

Mixed motives probably operated elsewhere too. Six prominent citizens, one the mayor, of Barnstaple, another declining harbour, bought thirty tickets, most with positive or hopeful messages.⁶⁰ However, this conceivably reflected the urging of the town's recorder Sir John Chichester, 'active in local administration' and intimate with Privy Councillor the Earl of Bedford: seven tickets survive for scholar Clement Burton, Chichester's 'servante and secretaire'.⁶¹ Conversely, Abbotsbury's seven tickets were bought by John Young, a royal official perhaps obliged to lend support; his posy manifested indifference.⁶² Great Yarmouth, which in 1567 appealed for Elizabeth's help to alleviate the poverty created by its silting harbour, subscribed for 96 tickets (with others for the town's ladies). Gratitude may have been allied to enthusiasm for the project.⁶³ Two tickets survive from Poole, whose decline was deferred until the 1580s; their positivity may have reflected the town's hopes of succeeding failing ports (or gratitude following its 1568 incorporation).⁶⁴ Beaumaris was responsible for two of the eighteen extant Welsh tickets. Its 1562 charter granted the corporation fee-farm of the Crown's local tenements in return for maintaining the sea-walls and defences. Residents possibly hoped the lottery would fund repairs that eased this burden.⁶⁵ Such instances suggest the proposed use of lottery money to refurbish England's harbours was merely one of several considerations that influenced decisions about purchasing tickets.

Nicholas Hoskyn, about the Fishery of Falmouth, Hil 24 Elizabeth, Description available at <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C5378328> (accessed 22 Aug 2017)

⁵⁹ Lysons, *Magna Britannia III: Cornwall*, pp. 99–100

⁶⁰ Discussed in Dean, 'Locality and Self', p. 216

⁶¹ Ticket 69526 and six others; for Burton, P. Wyot, 'Diary', p. 99; Hasler, 'CHICHESTER, Sir John'; Bindoff, 'CHICHESTER, John'

⁶² Ticket 5773 and others; Hasler, 'YOUNG, John I'; Bindoff, 'YOUNG, John'

⁶³ Manship, *Great Yarmouth*, pp. 287–88 (notes to p. 97)

⁶⁴ Tickets 209362 (Thos. Lewis) and 303807 (Wm. Newman, mayor); R. Tittler, 'The Vitality of an Elizabethan Port', pp. 95–118

⁶⁵ Tickets 227785 and 227789; R. Hoyle, 'Introduction: Aspects of the Crown's Estate c. 1558–1640', p. 39

Posies from coastal communities sometimes hinted at micro-politics affecting the lottery's reception. Eastbourne's 'We dwell on dry ground' probably did not allude to a silted harbour. The modern seaside resort developed in the mid-nineteenth century with the amalgamation of four adjacent settlements; Eastbourne proper was situated some way inland.⁶⁶ Moreover, the ticket belongs to a set sold in West Sussex, near the Hampshire border; considering Eastbourne is in East Sussex this may mean the parish was actually Easebourne, nowhere near the coast. Whichever it was, the assertion it was landlocked probably signalled discontent about subsidising neighbouring ports. Communities without harbours had their own upkeep to consider. 'The Chancell is in decay' observed Andrew Wotton of Egg Buckland, Devon, another near-coastal community. Bishops' visitations of parishes used this phrase, adding explanations such as 'in defalte of the Queen's Majestie'. Egg Buckland's advowson resided with the Crown: Wotton perhaps noted that Elizabeth was demanding the parish fund harbour repairs whilst neglecting her own responsibility to maintain the church.⁶⁷ Canterbury town's 'Canterbury in decay, God helpe may' is harder to assess: its position resembled that of Sandwich and other ports as, though inland, it was affected by silting of the Stour; several posies from Canterbury clergy, meanwhile, implied reservations.⁶⁸ Some parishes drew attention to their poverty: 'A parishe as poore as a louse, God sende us a good lot to maintaine our churche house'; 'Our parish of money and water is skant, if we hit on the best price we shall have more plentie.'⁶⁹ As the second parish, Aston Rowant, has been described as well watered the author's point may have been that it was nowhere near the sea.⁷⁰ These communities perhaps registered objections to financing harbour renovation. Other parishes noted that they were located on a hill, establishing in passing, like Eastbourne, that they were not coastal.⁷¹ Not every reference of this kind necessarily signified dissatisfaction. However, inland posies said nothing about any need to fix the harbours. When ports highlighted their decay and poverty they plainly hoped to attract lottery funds to themselves. Others towns using these terms sent a different message.

⁶⁶ Ticket 236961

⁶⁷ Ticket 201882; for instances, *Archbishop Grindal's Visitation, 1575*, ed. W. Sheils, p. 67; for advowson, *CCEd*, Location ID: 16053

⁶⁸ Tickets 178462 and 230084 (the town), 178416 (Dean Goodwin) and 230206 (prebendary Bungay); cf. Dean, 'Locality and Self', p. 219

⁶⁹ Tickets 171246 (St Thomas's, unidentified location) and 274257 (Stokenchurch, in Aston Rowant)

⁷⁰ *VCH*, Oxford 8, 'Aston Rowant', p. 26

⁷¹ Note, however, Dean's discussion ('Locality and Self', pp. 214–15), inc. for Topsham

In short, while proximity to the coast alone cannot explain community attitudes to the lottery, towns' eligibility to partake of the money raised potentially inflected their enthusiasm, just as distance from London rendered the reading less alluring. Multiple factors were involved, including several geographic ones. The northernmost counties, for example, saw exceptionally low participation whereas Devon, the county with greatest total sales outside London, also had fairly strong sales per head of population; Exeter's strong response to James I's Virginia Lottery was later remarked. Other geographic variables may have been in play.⁷²

Whereas the Queen considered the realm, her subjects' horizons were more local. In consequence, city lotteries' intrinsic attractions, which presented a rationale for participation even without the amusements that often occurred alongside them, were partitioned as the scheme expanded to the national level. Only Londoners would see the draw. Only coastal settlements would benefit (directly) from repairing the harbours. When even coastal towns were not uniformly enthusiastic, inland towns had correspondingly less reason to be so, even forgetting rumours the money was actually raised for other purposes. This left only the prospective prizes. However, winning was improbable and, again, it was rumoured the Queen might not release the prizes.

Attunement to Seasonal Rhythms

Notwithstanding the changes to continental lottery design liable to deter potential buyers the enterprise remained pegged to several interconnected annual cycles — seasonal, agricultural, ritual, gambling — in such a way as to promote the scheme. However, as the timeframe changed to create more time to sell tickets this synchronicity was lost. Epitomising the change, the reading started in midwinter (11 Jan 1569) when it had been scheduled to begin in midsummer (25 Jun 1568). Continental draws were conducted on open-air stages.⁷³ England's, in St Paul's churchyard, perhaps took place inside an enclosed structure: the title-pages of five 1569 publications (one a new year's ballad denouncing greed) informed that they were available from Richard Jones's shop 'below the Lottery House'.⁷⁴ While this structure was probably open at the front the possibility it was not

⁷² Johnson, 'Lotteries of the Virginia Company', p. 286

⁷³ For illustrations: Middelkoop, 'Gillis Coignet', Fig. 1; Kusudo, 'Open Shooting Festivals', p. 79

⁷⁴ e.g., W. Fering, *A New Yeres Gift* (London, 1569), STC (2nd ed.) / 10821

underlines the consequences of postponing the dates: a season of wind and rain was unsuitable for proceedings centred on small slips of paper. Holding the reading indoors, though, would have diminished its transparency: draws were public to counter anxiety about fraud; any change was unlikely to reassure a mistrustful populace. Spectators might also not attend a midwinter draw; that was why theatres closed over winter. In short, the alteration had consequences.

More momentous was the postponement of the close of sales by five months, from 1 May 1568 to 30 September. The commencement date, with the inducements to buy tickets within three months, probably aimed to ensure most sales happened in the post-harvest period, when farmers and merchants were visiting marketplaces, financially and psychologically primed to spend money. There were precedents for such thinking: in 1553 the Duke of Northumberland had sought to delay summoning Parliament till after the harvest, thinking tax proposals would be more readily accepted.⁷⁵ The wheat harvest began officially at Lammas (1 August), with the year's most intensive cycle of fairs continuing to the end of October.⁷⁶ Thomas Tusser's month-by-month guide to farming set August aside for harvest, followed by travel to market to buy and sell: 'Take shipping or ride, Lent stuff to provide' [...] 'at Bartlemew tide or at Sturbridge fair'. His work concluded with August, climax of the agricultural year.⁷⁷ England's two great annual fairs were London's Bartholemew Fair (24 Aug) and Cambridge's Stourbridge Fair (14 Sep). The lottery, whose sales commenced 24 August, was thus timed to capitalize on these months of trade.

The three-month special offer ended on 24 November. This conceivably reflected a wish to avoid competition with rival forms of gambling. The date fell between Martinmas (11 Nov), when livestock was slaughtered ahead of winter, and Advent (starting 30 Nov in 1567).⁷⁸ People were preparing for winter, so less likely to travel to buy or sell. For that reason it made sense to encourage them to participate earlier. Besides this, from antiquity the New Year period had been strongly associated with games of chance.⁷⁹ Traditionally, Christmastide ran from Halloween (31 Oct) to Candlemas (2 Feb), with festivities at their

⁷⁵ D. Palliser, *The Age of Elizabeth*, p. 161

⁷⁶ R. Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England*, p. 44; also J. Bolton, *The Medieval English Economy 1150–1500*, p. 33

⁷⁷ T. Tusser, *Five Hundred Pointes of Good Husbandrie*, ed. by W. Payne and S. Herrtage, pp. 124–36 (124 and 135 for citations); M. Overton, *Agricultural Revolution in England*, pp. 11–15

⁷⁸ R. Hutton, *The Stations of the Sun*, p. 386; Hutton, *Rise and Fall*, p. 45; Cheney, *Handbook of Dates*

⁷⁹ J.-M. Mehl, 'Games in their Seasons', pp. 71, 78–83

height over the Twelve Days of Christmas (25 Dec to 5 Jan). Tudor bans on subaltern gambling excepted the Twelve Days, accepting prohibition would be unfeasible. Poems attested the importance of Christmas to the gambling year.⁸⁰ So did recognisances dated 5 January or 2 February: men bound themselves never to gamble again on pain of forfeiting large sums to some named individual who had evidently paid their gambling debts at the end of a Christmas spree. 'The sam day was a gentyll-man a-restyd for dett' recorded Machyn's diary on 5 January 1559/60.⁸¹ It seems likely one motive for maximising early ticket sales was the need to capture people's money before Christmas gambling ensued.

The lottery's devisers perhaps also wanted to differentiate it from other games. Francis I, who disapproved of gambling, explicitly asserted that his 1539 French lottery was instituted to wean players off other wagering games.⁸² England's regime made no such claim but the dates chosen for the postponed draw, first Candlemas (2 Feb 1569), then 3 November 1568, then Plough Monday (10 Jan 1569), are suggestive. The last was the date farmers formally resumed work after Christmas festivities ceased with Twelfth Night.⁸³ Candlemas Eve was the endpoint of the longer Christmas season: at Candlemas, remarked Robert Herrick, 'all sports with Christmas dye'.⁸⁴ The intention, therefore, may have been to defer the draw until Christmas gaming was done. Conversely, 3 November followed Hallowtide (31 Oct–2 Nov), when the dead were remembered, a solemn occasion: lot-drawing then was perhaps inappropriate.⁸⁵ These dates, taken with the original choice (the day *after* Midsummer's Day), suggest a need for care in choosing suitable times. Iconographically speaking, Elizabeth sought to project an image of Solomonic wisdom.⁸⁶ Associating the draw too closely with revelry might interfere with that aim; certain critical posies bracketed the scheme with cards and dice as it was. Conversely, lotteries were inherently too profane for solemn dates.

⁸⁰ W. Raleigh, 'On the Cards and Dice', in *The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh*, ed. J. Hannah, p. 19

⁸¹ e.g., Lord Scrope: above, p. 50, n. 57; for a seventeenth-century instance: The National Archives Website: Discovery: ZSW/168/28 Bond in £20, Henry Widdrington of Blackheddon gent bound to William Swinburne of Chapheaton, 2 Feb 1634, available at <<http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/browse/r/h/db629bce-401b-4720-b6b4-34e4e0f3b1c3>> [accessed 2 November 2017]; Machyn, *Diary*, pp. 221–22

⁸² Neurrisse, 'La Blancque', p. 682

⁸³ Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*, p. 124

⁸⁴ 'Upon Candlemasse Day', in R. Herrick, *The Poetical Works of Robert Herrick*, ed. L. Martin, p. 285

⁸⁵ Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*, pp. 371–78

⁸⁶ Dean, 'Elizabeth's Lottery', pp. 594–98

Sales were to continue until 1 May 1568. Although May Day marked the return of summer festivities this probably reflected pragmatic concerns more than a desire to avoid another period of misrule: the collectors needed to forward their books to London and purchasers' details had to be transcribed onto lottery slips before the draw, scheduled for 25 June. The draw commenced during the festival that extended from Midsummer Day (24 Jun) to St Peter's Eve (28 Jun). The season suited an open-air draw; the reading would open at a festive moment even if the festivities had not been expressly devised for it. The date was perhaps calculated to compensate for the absence of lottery-specific attractions. Unlike Edward VI's regime Elizabeth's did not begin actively suppressing ritual traditions until after the mid-1560s; this time it may have hoped to harness them.⁸⁷ Ritual symbolism was not necessarily the main concern, though. The reading of Elizabeth's 1586 lottery began on 29 June (St Peter's Day), right after midsummer: St Peter's Eve marked the close of England's 'ritual year'. The choice of date dissociated the lottery from midsummer revels whilst taking advantage of the fine weather. James I's Virginia lotteries fluctuated between these dates.⁸⁸ Nonetheless, continental draws typically started in August, suggesting England's late-June dates were considered, not blindly copied.⁸⁹

Midsummer was besides a moment when prizes might have been especially welcome. With the harvest eleven months gone grain and money reserves were at their lowest ebb. Accounts of midsummer festivities have wealthy individuals putting out tables and tubs of bread for poor folk.⁹⁰ There was reason for this. Grain was scarcest and need greatest; social unrest and crime correlated with grain levels.⁹¹ As it happened, the years 1566–69 all saw good harvests, despite scarcity earlier in the decade, and grain riots only became frequent later in Elizabeth's reign.⁹² Nonetheless, these were potentially months of famine and riot.

⁸⁷ Hutton, *Rise and Fall*, pp. 113–19

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 44; Johnson, 'Lotteries of the Virginia Company', pp. 268–9, 271, 278

⁸⁹ As instances: Leiden's began on 1 August 1596 (Huisman and Koppenol, *Daer compt de Lotery*, p. 47), Zürich's 12 August 1504 (Isacson and Koch, 'Los ziehen', p. 12) and Amsterdam's 24 August 1592 (Middelkoop, 'Gillis Coignet', [n.p.])

⁹⁰ Hutton, *Rise and Fall*, pp. 37–8

⁹¹ Cf. P. Lawson, 'Property Crime and Hard Times in England, 1559–1624', pp. 95–127; J. Walter and K. Wrightson, 'Dearth and the Social Order in Early Modern England', pp. 22–42

⁹² W. Hoskins, 'Harvest Fluctuations and English Economic History, 1480–1619', p. 37; J. Bohstedt, *The Politics of Provisions*, pp. 23–24

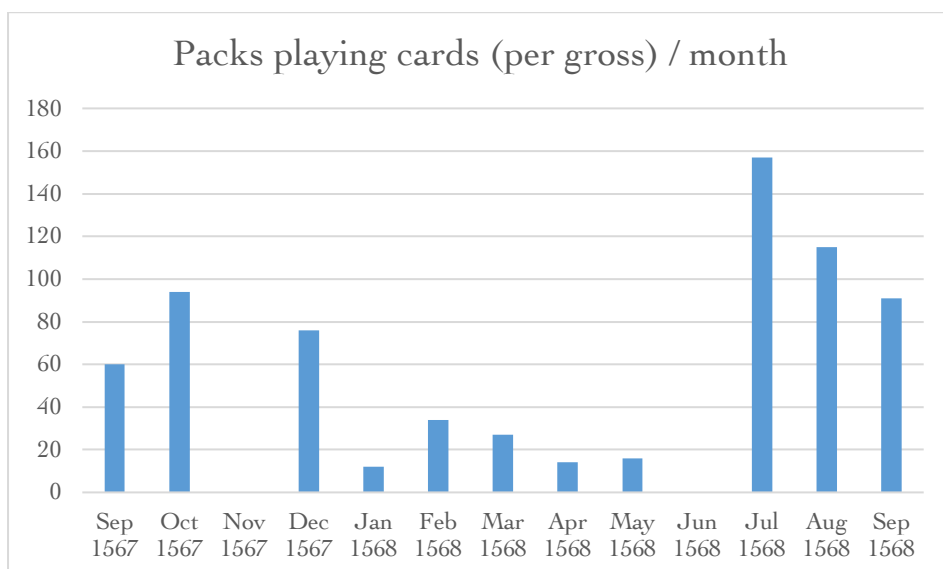
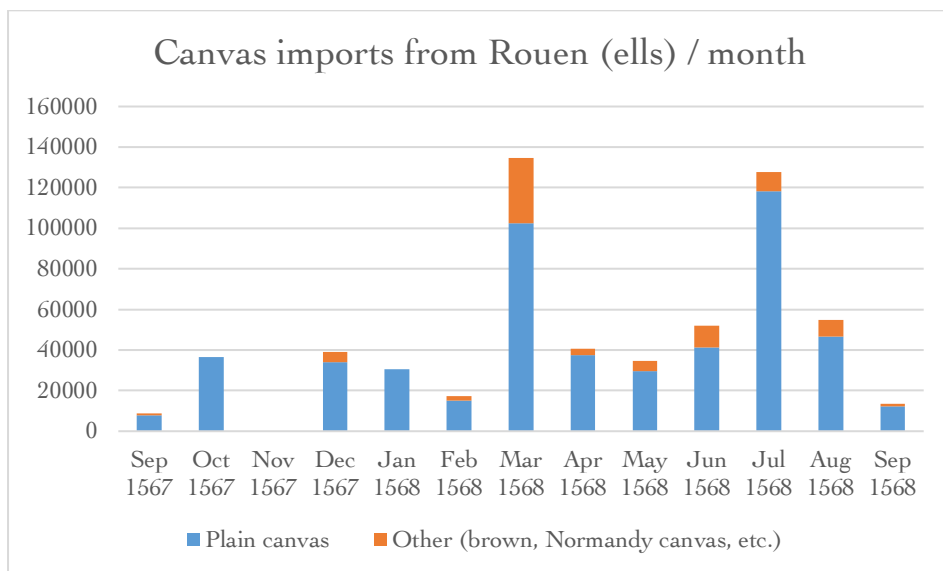
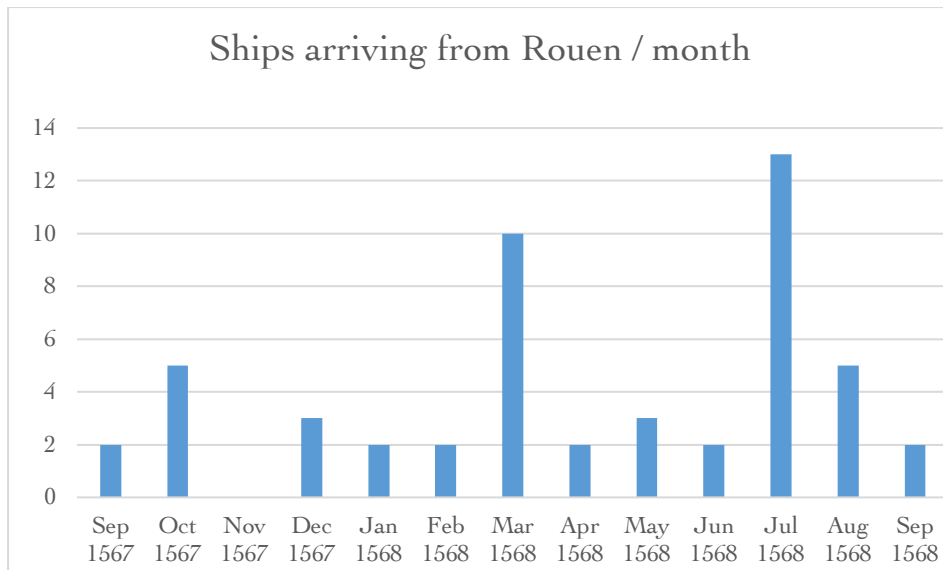
This consideration renders the extension of the ticket sales significant. Lack of popular enthusiasm during what should have been the propitious post-harvest months (Aug–Nov 1567) led Elizabeth’s government to prolong selling through the following summer, when people were least likely to feel inclined to part with money. This chronological push into less fertile territory paralleled the scheme’s geographic movement beyond major towns. Moreover, greater pressure to participate was exerted from May 1568 and expressly extended to subaltern groups: servants as well as householders. Although their masters fed servants this was symptomatic of the stronger emphasis on humbler individuals, less able to afford tickets and more sensitive to expense. The changed timeframe risked antagonising them.

London’s port books permit the graphing of playing card imports into the capital. This provides a crude indication of England’s annual gambling rhythms (Figs 6.1–6.3).⁹³ All London’s cards came from Rouen, a centre of card manufacture. Fortuitously, the sole year for which a full set of port books has survived was 1567–68. While this yields only one year’s information, which may be unrepresentative (for example the lack of ships arriving in November 1567), it gives a sense of when people gambled voluntarily. The graphs indicate card imports from Rouen had their own seasonality which did not mirror that of boat arrivals (unlike canvas imports, which did). Card importation seems to have been elevated from July to December, dying to nothing in June and lacking a spike in March despite a spike in ship arrivals. They began arriving on 16 July, a week before St James’s Day (25 Jul), the date Tusser advised farmers to begin harvesting corn.⁹⁴ Allowing for a lag period while players obtained packs, this suggests playing coincided with the harvest season and died off as summer advanced.

Figures 6.1–6.3 [overleaf]: *Graphs of ship arrivals in London from Rouen (Fig. 6.1), canvas imports from Rouen (Fig. 6.2) and playing card imports (Fig. 6.3), calculated from the London Port Books*

⁹³ Data from *London Port Books*; note that trade was unaffected by France’s wars: P. Benedict, ‘Rouen’s Foreign Trade during the Era of the Religious Wars (1560–1600)’, pp. 50–51

⁹⁴ Tusser, *Five Hundred Pointes*, p. 233



In short, the lottery's timeframe was devised to sell tickets when playing cards were in demand; however, it was ultimately extended into the months when card sales tapered off, with greatest pressure to buy exerted at that time. As the original deadline (1 May) expired, the organisers' efforts to stimulate sales increased. By April, John Johnson was urging local notables to form neighbours into syndicates; guidelines to do this circulated in the North in early May. Further intensification took place once the original draw deadline passed (25 Jun). Surveyors were appointed, slack officials rebuked and precepts issued. Syndicate buying became less negotiable, with subalterns obliged to contribute.

By July the Queen and Council faced a dilemma. Popular discontent had forced the abandonment of plans to defer the draw to Candlemas 1569 and required dates to be set for the close of sales and draw. The original draw date having just passed, people who had purchased tickets already may have been impatient for it to begin. Non-participants may have hoped to avoid being compelled to take part. However, the imperative to sell 400,000 tickets remained. Once the deadlines were advanced it became urgent to meet the target more speedily, so coercion was applied to groups least able to afford tickets at the worst time of year: the fact servant participation began to be stipulated indicates this policy was new or newly enforced. The approach was least likely to improve sales and most likely to aggravate people.

When setting the new close of sales for 30 September the organisers left time for post-harvest ticket-selling at 1568's Bartholemew and Stourbridge Fairs. In practice, postponing the draw to 3 November, then ultimately January 1569, conceivably dampened the likelihood disenchantment would manifest as riot or revolt, although this advantage was possibly incidental. Elizabethan authorities knew public disturbance was less likely in winter than summer. At the close of the 1566/67 Parliament Cecil predicted unrest over the ensuing summer, while in October 1569 Elizabeth was urged to wait for winter, when rebellion was less likely, before scrutinising the activities of the northern Earls.⁹⁵ Certainly, the twelve-fold reduction in prize values was probably better undertaken in January than June, when the discontent reported by France's ambassador might have been expressed more forcibly.

⁹⁵ Cecil, 'Memoryall', 8 November 1566, TNA, SP 12/41/36, f. 75; Kesselring, *Northern Rebellion*, p. 55

Nevertheless, if the original timeframe harmonised with England's annual rhythms the changes of plan neutralised certain advantages this might have produced. The connection set up between the draw and midsummer celebrations, capable of offsetting the absence of lottery-specific attractions, was broken. Meantime the postponed sales deadline left Elizabeth's government trying to compel participation in the least convenient season after enthusiasm had been lacking in what should have been the most receptive months. Doing so may have been counterproductive.

Conclusion

Multiple factors contributed to the lottery's poor showing. There were cultural barriers to such schemes' acceptance, immediate social and political problems, and difficulties as it unfolded arising from interactions between the regime imposing it and the public expected to support it. Equally, though, the lottery that crossed the Channel to England differed, conceptually speaking, in key respects from its continental templates. This too affected its reception.

Flemish lotteries were held alongside other amusements that contributed to the event's overall attractiveness; they had evolved side by side, like the chicken and the egg, and complemented each other. Elizabeth's regime singled out the lottery from such other entertainments, introducing it in isolation. Her subjects were thus presented solely with the economic transaction, which had to involve loss for the majority of them, something the Chart's assurance everyone would win a prize failed to obscure. If lotteries generally supply non-monetary compensations to offset the poor chance of winning, in 1567–69 this saving grace was largely eliminated.

Insofar as city lotteries had intrinsic attractions, unrelated to the prizes, expansion to state level minimised the effect of these too. The reading, with its posies, was in London, so unlikely to be witnessed by provincial buyers. In a period when identity was more locally conceived the promised renovation of harbour defences, while theoretically of value to all, was less likely to be considered important by inland subjects, even if Queen and Council, thinking at the level of the realm, recognised its value. Broadening the project to the state

level thus diminished the incentive to take part, though this pre-dated England's copying of Philip II's lottery.

Meantime, altering the scheme's timeframe converted seasonality, intended as a strength, to a weakness. People came under greatest pressure to buy tickets at a period when they were least inclined to gamble. These various factors ensured that the fully-formed lottery with which England was confronted differed in crucial respects from those that had taken shape gradually on the Continent. What resulted was poorly attuned to English needs.

There are dangers in overstating the importance of these factors. The fact the sales period began during the harvest months, with their fairs, indicates an intention to take advantage of the existing festive atmosphere even if no lottery-specific contests or entertainments were planned. No doubt one reason the organisers so swiftly became aware of low interest and seditious rumours was that sales coincided with London's Bartholemew Fair; it must have been hoped this fact would enhance sales. Nevertheless, the lottery as it reached the English differed subtly from the schemes it was modelled on, doing so in ways unlikely to promote its success.

PART III:

The Lottery Tickets

CHAPTER SEVEN:

THE SOURCE MATERIAL

The printed lists of prize-winning tickets, which united the details from participants' lottery tickets with the prize each lot obtained, represent the main and best source of information for England's lottery. Printed for distribution through England to notify winners, these lists recorded tickets in the order they were drawn. Surrey's lottery treasurer, William More, preserved these broadsheets alongside numerous other documents relative to the undertaking, all of which now reside in the Surrey History Centre. Not all have survived. We have two sets of sheets, each with details of roughly two thousand tickets. This constitutes over an eighth of winning tickets and roughly one per cent of the 400,000 in the draw. In practice, the number of 'usable' tickets varies slightly according to what is being considered (the posy, buyer, ticket number, etc.); this is because some records are fragmentary and lack full details. Combining the ticket data with information from other sources yields valuable insights into what was going on.

Different tickets were not absolutely consistent: lotteries being new, there was no customary procedure. However, the printed information typically had five components, namely:

- ticket number: like a raffle ticket, each was individually numbered;
- the buyer's particulars: this usually involved a name but participants sometimes provided further details;
- locality: generally the buyer's residence, this sometimes denoted the place of purchase or even a title (e.g., Archdeacon of Essex);
- a posy: almost invariable, since the rules required it; the form, however, varied widely;
- a prize: invariable, although the prize-slip was drawn separately from the lottery ticket.

The material sheds light on the scheme's implementation but is valuable in two other respects. First, the ticket-buyers can be identified. This knowledge can then be applied in various ways. Second, the posies' meanings can be deciphered: these reflected their buyers' identities, characters and circumstances. The first of these points is addressed in Chapter

Eight. Chapters Nine and Ten consider the posies' sentiments. This chapter lays out the ticket data and demonstrates how it can be pieced together to yield information.

The Printed Lists

The lists of prizewinning tickets took the form of broadsheets divided by ornate partitions into four columns (Fig. 7.1). They were printed in batches, each batch covering a period of the draw. The two sets of sheets that survive comprise approximately twenty pages each. One has a header over its first page: 'Prizes drawn in the Lottery from the xvi. to the xxvi. day of February'. The damaged header over the other appears to state that its tickets were drawn from 13 to 22 March.¹

Neither batch of sheets names a printer or publication date. Such details may have been supplied on the missing final page. The Garter emblem and motto (*Honi soit qui mal y pense*) appeared at the head of each set's opening sheet, conceivably a preemptive rebuttal of cynical posies. Each sheet has an archival reference number pencilled in its margin and a printed page-number halfway down its central partition (Fig. 7.2). When referencing specific tickets the latter is cited, with a letter (a–d: left to right) to indicate which column of the sheet contains the details: LM/2008, p. 101c, etcetera. Appendix B lists all extant tickets, in numerical order, citing the full reference details; footnote references give only the ticket number.

The original length of the batches is unclear since not all their sheets have survived. The missing portions seem substantial. Together, the two batches covered a twenty-one-day period, roughly a sixth of the four-month draw. That suggests they should preserve the details of about 5000 tickets. We have nearly 4000. Moreover, the first sheet of the February batch was page 99. It commenced with day 37 of the draw, which began on 11 January. If the first 36 days occupied 98 pages, each day's tickets must have averaged about 2.7 pages. The surviving batches should therefore be 25–30 pages long but each is around twenty pages.

¹ SHC, Prize tickets drawn 16 to 26 February 1569, LM/2008; Prize tickets drawn 13 to 22 March 1569, LM/2009

[illegible]

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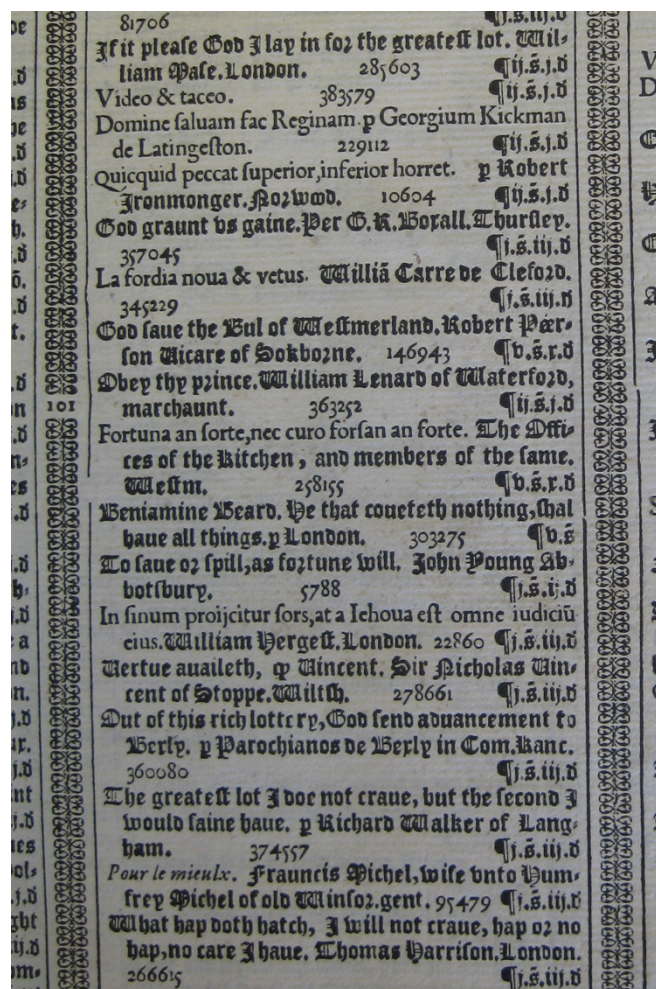


Figure 7.2: Detail of the third column of page 101 of the prize-winning tickets (LMI/2008, p. 101c), showing the page number in the sheet's central partition

The Ticket Number

The lottery resembled an enormous raffle: each lot had a unique number from 1 to 400,000. As occurred elsewhere, ticket-sellers ('collectors') were given 'bookes of nombers' to record their sales in and 'Billetes stamped' with the same number to give participants. The latter were presented to redeem prizes.² These books have not survived but their information was transcribed onto lottery slips and in the case of winning tickets later printed.

² Elizabeth I (31 Aug 1567), in Bray, 'Account', p. 85; Huisman and Koppenol, *Daer compt de Lotery*, p. 41 note that Dutch lotteries did not yet provide counterfoils

The ticket numbers can be used in two ways, each reflecting the fact that tickets' details can be entered into a spreadsheet, then sorted according to different attributes. Although tickets were printed in the order they were drawn re-sorting them by number yields insights into the order of sale. This, in turn, gives some idea where they were bought and who else purchased tickets around that time and place. Since sellers received numbered ticket-books, sequences of tickets were (in theory) sold from the same books, by the same persons, in consecutive order. Thus the seven extant tickets numbered between 1 and 566 all sold in Ipswich, Suffolk (Fig. 7.4). Most tickets numbered between 18,684 and 25,132 give London, or somewhere nearby, as their locality. In certain cases, the sequence of ticket numbers permits a seller's passage through a county to be tracked (Fig. 7.3).

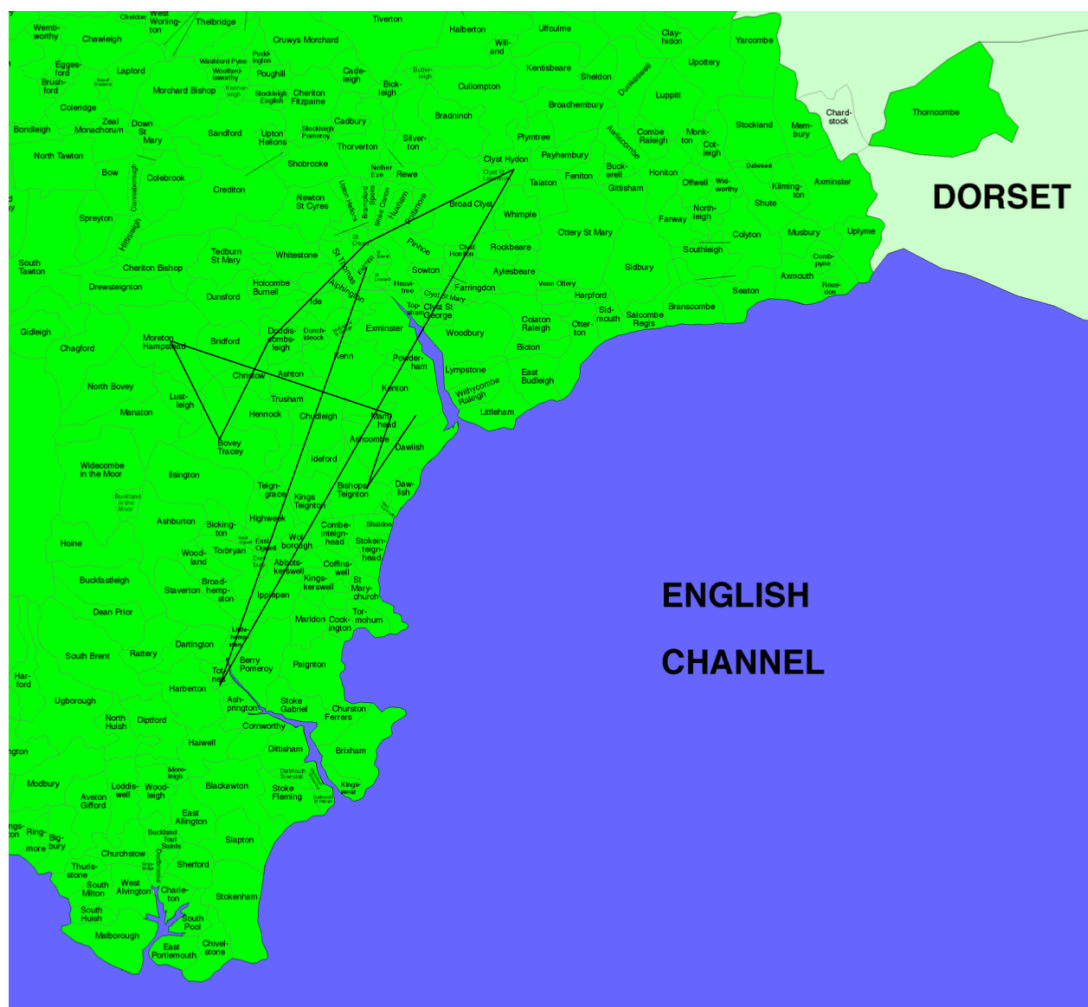


Figure 7.3: A ticket collector's movements through Devon, from Kinton to Exeter, mapped from surviving tickets in the range 16,548 to 17,510 (map from GENUKI: UK & Ireland Genealogy: <http://www.genuki.org.uk/files/eng/DEV/Map/ParisbeSE.GIF>)

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Lottery Tickets

Search Sheet

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
	Order on sheets	County	Location on ticket	Buyer Name	Ticket details		Price	Shelfmark	Ref.
1	118	Suffolk	Ipswich	Heigate F	Fourreene shillings I will take, the great lorie I will not forsake. p Frauncis Heigate de Ypsw.		1s2d	LM 2008	102d
2	512	Suffolk	Ipswich (St Clements)	Humfrey J	S. Clements parish shall, be content what so ever befall. p John Humfrey de Ipswich.		1s2d	LM 2008	111d
3	245	Suffolk	Ipswich (St Mary's)	Sicklemore T	S. Maryes at the Toure, prayeth for one every houre. p Thom. Sicklemore. Ypswich.		1s2d	LM 2008	100c
4	390	Suffolk	Ipswich	More J	S. Laurence spake not in boast, eate the one side, while the other doth roast. p John More. Ipswich.		1s2d	LM 2009	162a
5	453	Suffolk	Ipswich	Moore J	Saint Laurence spake not in boast, eate the one side while the other doth roast. p John Moore of Ipswich.		1s2d	LM 2009	163c
6	466	Suffolk	Ipswich	More J	Saint Laurence spake not in boast, eate the one side while the other doth roast. p John Moore of Ipswich.		1s2d	LM 2009	175b
7	566	Suffolk	Ipswich	Parker A	The Key parishse doth wishe, whatsoever the nette doth fishe. Per Augustin Parker. Ipswich.		5s10d	LM 2009	161a
8	636	Suffolk	Calton	Lambert J	Lead thy life in loyalte. p John Lambert. Calton.		1s2d	LM 2009	162d
9	402	Yorkshire [N]	Craven [Thornorton in Craven]	Lister/Litt-- W	Good luck crie p into Craven. p William Litt[---]. Thornorton.		1s2d	LM 2008	114c
10	738	Yorkshire (W)	Keighley	Medehop J	Money maketh the Marchaunt. Per Jo. Medehop. Kighley.		1s2d	LM 2008	117d
11	769	Yorkshire (W)	Slater A	Slater A	If this my lot come in frame, then do remember Slaters name. Per Anthony Slater.		1s2d	LM 2009	164d
12	845	Buckinghamshire	Wing	Dormer G	My hap seldome turneth to gaine. p [G]illiam Dormer. Milles.		1s2d	LM 2008	105d
13	914	Buckinghamshire	Alfriston	Russell J	The wil of God be fulfilled. p Jo. Russell. Alfriston. Sussex.		2s1d	LM 2008	101b
14	1040	Sussex	East Hoathly	Lunford J	God graunt my Request, to live in his feare it is most best. p Jo. Lunford, Hoathly. Sussex.		1s2d	LM 2008	103b
15	1122	Sussex	Horsted Keynes	Chamberlayne T	I would be content with a hundred pounde, in my purse it would give a sounde. Per Thomas Chamberlayne Horsted Teynes. Sussex.		1s2d	LM 2008	99a
16	1129	Sussex	West Hoathly	Brown A	The earth is the Lordes, & al that therein is, who so trusteth in him, a good lot can not misse. p Androw Brown of West Heithly. Sus.		1s2d	LM 2008	102c
17	1147	Sussex	Hurstpierpoint	Parish Horton Kirby	Use eche degree indifferently, hinder no man, it were pitie. p Hurst Perpoint parish. Sussex.		1s2d	LM 2008	101a
18	1186	Sussex	Horton Kirby	Parish Oford	God sende Oforde his grace, p the parishse of Oforde in Kent.		7s6d	LM 2009	172c
19	1477	Kent	Dartford	Bier J	The more that a man hath of abundance, the less he hath of assurance. p Jo. Bier Esquier. Dartford. Kent.		1s2d	LM 2008	104a
20	1627	Kent	Dartford	Bere A	Great expenses oftentimes used consumeth great riches. Anne Bere. Dartf. Kent		1s2d	LM 2008	101d
21	1784	Kent	Westminster	Culpeper J	Great successibus obto quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat. p Ioannem Culpeper. Ardingleigh. Sussex.		1s2d	LM 2009	173d
22	1791	Sussex	Westminster	Turpin J	As God wil, so be it. The office of the Grenecloth. Westm.		1s2d	LM 2008	108d
23	1809	Sussex	Poyntings	Brode R	Drawe Brightenpenson a good lot, or else return them a turbot. Per John Turpin. Sussex.		4s2d	LM 2008	104c
24	1839	Sussex	Lewes	Slope J	I land the rest hope for the best. p Richard Brode. Lewes. Sussex.		1s2d	LM 2008	109d
25	1863	Sussex	Lewes	Derkin I	God gyve me his grace, that I may live well. per Jo. Slope of Lewis. Sussex.		1s2d	LM 2009	163b
26	1898	Sussex	Chelshfield	Parish Chelshfield	Nought hazarde, nought win. p the parish of Chelshfield. Kent.		1s2d	LM 2008	115b
27	1988	Sussex	Skipiton Castle (Craven)	Clifford H	Have with you for companie. p Henric Comitem. Cumbri. Skipiton.		1s2d	LM 2008	107a
28	1991	Sussex	Skipiton Castle (Craven)	Clifford H	Have with you for companie. p Henric Comitem. Cumbri. Skipiton.		1s2d	LM 2009	175d
29	1993	Sussex	Skipiton Castle (Craven)	Clifford H	Have with you for companie. p Henric Comitem. Cumbri. Skipiton.		1s2d	LM 2009	163c
30	2148	Yorkshire [N]	Skipiton Castle (Craven)	Clifford H	Have with you for companie. p Henric Comitem. Cumbri. Skipiton.		1s2d	LM 2009	163c
31	2419	Yorkshire [N]	Skipiton Castle (Craven)	Clifford H	Have with you for companie. p Henric Comitem. Cumbri. Skipiton.		1s2d	LM 2009	163c
32	2423	Yorkshire [N]	Skipiton Castle (Craven)	Clifford H	Have with you for companie. p Henric Comitem. Cumbri. Skipiton.		1s2d	LM 2009	163c

LM Combined

Sheet1

+

Ready

125%

This ability to reorder tickets by number assists with buyer identification. When a ticket features an unidentifiable, misspelt or common locality (such as Stoke or Sutton) the region where it sold can sometimes be inferred from the ticket sequence within which it occurs, enabling the place to be pinpointed. This may help identify the buyer. Identities established by other means can be confirmed or corrected.

Thus a ticket 'for the parish of Abbotsham' occurs within a set of six Hampshire tickets, all but one taken 'for the parish of...'.³ This suggests the buyer was Abbott's Ann, Hampshire, not Abbotsham, Devon. No Devon ticket identified itself as bought for a parish. In Hampshire, however, this was not uncommon; it was also characteristic of Kent, another county where John Johnson required parishes to form syndicates. Whereas Johnson organised these along county lines several sequences seem to reflect diocesan boundaries. The purchasers were typically higher clergy, the posies generally religious and often Latin. These sequences, however, crossed county lines, following instead the boundaries of Durham, Chester or Norwich sees.

Ordering the tickets numerically can illumine the lottery's processes. The 400,000-ticket target was finally obtained by splitting each ticket sold into twelve new ones. Almost all the 212 tickets numbered above 377,066 feature the Queen's posy; the eight exceptions form two clusters with a single outlier. This strongly suggests that the total of 400,000 was achieved by allocating all numbers remaining after tickets were split to Elizabeth (the exceptions, mostly from London, were perhaps last-moment purchases).

Various corporate entities were directed to buy tickets and did so. Ticket numbers suggest the Haberdashers, like the Grocers, took tickets as a body while their wardens also persuaded individual members to subscribe for themselves. Nicholas Culverwell, whose two extant tickets directly precede six for the company, was probably the leading haberdasher of that name.⁴ Conversely, while blocs of tickets survive in other companies' names the Goldsmiths bought none; this was the most reluctant company to venture its money in Jacobean lotteries too.⁵ However, there are several sequences of tickets whose buyers all prove, on investigation, to have been London goldsmiths. This suggests the

³ Ticket 184382 (within a sequence from 184304 to 184507)

⁴ Tickets 119025 and 119141 (Culverwell) precede six from 119197 to 119958 (Haberdashers); for the Grocers: above, p. 103

⁵ O'Brien, 'London Livery Companies', pp. 142–43, 152

Goldsmiths' response was to have members buy for themselves. In consequence, if an unidentified buyer's ticket falls among a set of goldsmiths' tickets it suggests he too was a goldsmith, a tip that may assist identification.

The tickets' numerical order can help rule identities out as well as in. One individual bought a very high proportion of tickets (33 of under 4000 that survive) using the initials R.L. A case can be made for this having been Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, who signed himself R.L. (Robert of Leicester) in correspondence.⁶ He promoted the Lottery in his capacity as Privy Councillor but no tickets survive in his name (in general, there are few or none for Councillors). The posy (*Nec spe nec metu*: 'With neither hope nor fear') renders the possibility additionally intriguing. This had been Philip II's device when in England as Mary Tudor's consort; it was typically paired with Mary's *Veritas temporis filia* (Fig. 7.5). Elizabeth appropriated the latter on her accession.⁷ Given her close relationship with Dudley around this time, the possibility he used the former in the lottery merits consideration.

On numerical ordering, however, R.L.'s tickets assort into seven sequences, most followed by a few tickets in the name of a Rafe Lane. Lane's posy resembled R.L.'s but denied indifference: 'I hope for the best, for the worst I care not.'⁸ It is unlikely the posies' similarity, the tickets' proximity and the initials' identity are coincidental: Lane's and R.L.'s tickets were probably bought together.

This does not absolutely preclude Leicester's having been R.L. One Elizabethan Ralph Lane, MP and Virginia colonist, was loosely related to Elizabeth through Henry VIII's marriage to Catherine Parr, his mother's cousin. His elder brother, Sir Robert Lane of Horton, certainly bought tickets; participant William Lane was perhaps his younger brother: all three attended Parliament in 1563 and/or 1571. By 1568 Ralph held an office at Court, Equerry of the Stable. These things favour the possibility this individual bought the tickets.

Figure 7.5 overleaf: Portraits of Philip II of Spain and Mary Tudor, with their respective mottoes, by Frans Huys (?), pub. by Hieronymus Cock (?), (British Museum Collection Online, registration nos 1868,0822.500 and 1868,0822.501)

⁶ Cf. R. Dudley, *Correspondence of Robert Dudley*, ed. J. Bruce

⁷ F. Saxl, 'Veritas Filia Temporis', pp. 206–210

⁸ Ticket 21232 and others



However, he seems to have been in constant financial difficulty.⁹ R.L.'s 33, with Lane's own seven, comprise one per cent of surviving tickets. It seems doubtful Lane could have afforded so many, however hopeful he felt of a prize. There seems no obvious alternative Ralph Lane, however: if one existed, he was very wealthy but inconspicuous. Lane's post of Equerry made him subordinate to Leicester, Master of the Horse. If Lane were the purchaser he might conceivably have bought Leicester's tickets for him to obscure the latter's identity. In this case the ticket sequence confuses rather than clarifies. Nonetheless, it permits better informed uncertainty.

In short, sorting the tickets by numerical order yields valuable insights. Nonetheless, the numbering presents its own difficulties. Tickets 581,753 and 2,425,876, both well above 400,000, demonstrate the potential for printers' errors; not all of these will be so obvious. The fact every ticket ultimately became twelve new ones presents greater potential for confusion. Renumbering necessarily occurred at that point but it is unclear how this was managed. The dozen tickets that resulted may not all have had consecutive numbers. Buyers for whom numerous tickets survive, such as R.L. or the Grocers' Company, have them divided into a number of discrete sets rather than occurring in a single sequence. While certain buyers perhaps purchased tickets on several occasions this seems unlikely to account for all such instances. It seems probable that, as multiplication took place, ticket purchases that had consisted of a single numerical sequence were converted into multiple blocs of numbers.

How and why this happened is less clear, though. The organisers were possibly faced with many half-filled collectors' books and used up the unsold numbers in each as they expanded each ticket to yield twelve. If tickets' details were copied onto lottery slips progressively as the books returned to London, starting before all arrived, some transcription may have taken place before it was clear multiplication by twelve would be necessary. Consequently, the transcribers may first have doubled the tickets, then multiplied by four, then finally by twelve as it was realised how few had been purchased. This too might have led to non-consecutive sequences. Precisely what happened is impossible to determine but it seems to have complicated the ticket numeration.

⁹ *DNB*, 'Lane, Sir Ralph (d. 1603)'; Hasler, 'LANE, Ralph'; Bindoff, 'LANE, Ralph'; Bindoff, 'LANE, Robert'; Hasler, 'LANE, William I'

In practice, though, the numbering clearly somehow reflects how tickets sold. It helps identify buyers and sheds light on how the lottery unfolded. The inability to be certain exactly what happened, however, demands caution when interpreting the numbers' significance. Exeter's Merchant Adventurers, for instance, purchased a ticket sequence numbered 176,916 to 177,011. Several of their tickets survive but none within that range. The same holds true for London's Mercers. This may indicate tickets were completely renumbered.¹⁰

Aside from aiding identifications, ticket numbers can be used to gauge how well mixed lottery slips were. When interpreting the geographic distribution of surviving tickets, and suchlike things, it is essential to know the draw was random: if not, any observed variation might just indicate a clumped drawing of the lots rather than accurately reflect real sales patterns. The spread of surviving ticket numbers can be used to address this question, as can the surviving prize slips. The use of both methods will be considered below under the discussion of prize values.

The Buyer's Particulars

This was the critical information when it came to identifying participants. As well as a name other detail was frequently provided. The person was a lord, esquire or yeoman; or a parson, merchant or salter; or somebody's servant, son or wife. Posies too sometimes implied information, that the author was a blacksmith for example, or that the ticket had been purchased for an infant. As well as individuals, buyers might be families or groups of friends. Alternatively, they might be corporate entities: a parish, Lincoln's Inn or the Mercers' Company; in such cases the members composing the group were rarely named. A list survives from Crondall, Hampshire, of persons who subscribed for communal tickets (although the tickets themselves do not) (Fig. 7.6).

¹⁰ *Elizabethan Guild*, ed. Cotton, pp. 109–110; Sutton, *Mercery*, p. 482

A.D. 1568		Money laid in to the Lottery by the Titling of Crondall in the year of our Lord 1568	
The Titling of Crondall			
		William fowler	100
		James Hon	100
		John Bonam	100
		Mary Maybanks	100
		Robert fowler	100
		Thomas Dene	100
		Christopher Dene	100
		Richard fowler	100
		Michael Colles	100
		William Perrell	100
		Robert Dene	100
		Edward Perrell	100
		William Dene	100
		Robert fowler	100
		Michael fowler	100
		John Perrell	100
		John Dene	100
		Richard fowler	100
		John Dene	100
		Edward Perrell	100
		John fowler	100
		Christopher Perrell	100
		Robert Perrell	100
		Thomas Cant	100
		John fowler	100

Figure 7.6: Money laid in to the Lottery by the Titling of Crondall, 25 May 1568 (SHC, CRON/6/1, f. 84, Churchwardens' account book, 1543–1699)

In principle the use of a ticket's details to locate the buyer is a straightforward, though not necessarily easy, process, involving the consultation of primary and secondary resources, as well as targeted searches of specific databases plus general internet searching. This itself presents difficulties. Omissions, misprints and the vagaries of Elizabethan spelling hamper identification. With the passage of time even those who described themselves as gentlemen cannot always be located. The potential for namesakes exists: the idea of hunting for an Elizabethan John Smith of London should make plain the difficulties this presents.

There are less obvious complications. For a start, it was not obligatory to identify oneself. Most participants did, even if their identities are now hard to confirm. Others, though, gave insufficient detail for identification, perhaps deliberately. Secondly, tickets were taken in other people's names, something not always apparent.

Since anonymity precludes identification, why buyers opted to be nameless can be hard to assess. Motives probably varied. Apparent failure to supply a location or full name could reflect omission on the part of the printer. Variation between tickets bought by a single individual demonstrate such slips happened. Consortia, especially of foreign merchants, often bought citing initials only, probably to save space (for example the buyer A.I.T.H.R.S.). Elites in Dutch lotteries typically disdained to identify themselves and gave only initials.¹¹ This may explain some English initials: if R.L. was Robert Dudley he might be a case in point; Elizabeth's own *impresa* featured no name. However, buyers using initials were mostly Londoners and their posies give the sense they were mercantile and pious rather than aristocratic. Conceivably some felt ashamed of gambling. Persons whose posies complained about the lottery perhaps likewise preferred not to identify themselves: critical tickets were sometimes non-specific as to a buyer's identity. Ticket 307,007 had a possibly disloyal posy, accompanied only by 'Ric. York', leaving it unclear whether York were the city or a surname (although the ticket number suggests purchase in London).¹²

Elizabeth's regime inadvertently facilitated anonymous buying. Italian lotteries required people to use posies instead of names; Flemish ones did not. England's lottery Chart stipulated tickets should have posies but did not insist on names. The proclamation of 3 January 1568, which sought to rebut mistrust of the scheme's good faith by clarifying the

¹¹ de Boer and Bostoen, 'Sorte non sorte', pp. 225–26

¹² Below, p. 267

original terms, went further. It addressed a circulating ‘scruple or doubt’ that persons who died before the draw might be unable to bequeath tickets to their ‘heires, executors or assignes’, specifying that adventurers could dispose of tickets as they would of any other goods. Possession of the numbered ‘counterbill’ was all that was needed to claim the prize.¹³ Now that prize claimants did not have to be the original buyers, putting names on tickets became unnecessary. Most people did name themselves but anybody wanting to indulge in a risqué posy could do so securely.

It was not always clear the buyer was not the person named on the ticket, though often this was obvious. Some tickets bore the names of infants.¹⁴ This was generally stated or implied. Benedict Spinola bought a ticket ‘for the sonnes and daughters of Thomas Haselfoote’.¹⁵ Sir John Zouche took one for his four-year-old son, John Zouche junior, with the same posy he used himself.¹⁶ Frauncis Wrench’s indicated who bought it for him: ‘God send good lucke to little boyes, that are their grandames jolly joyes’.¹⁷ Posies alluded to a child’s youth: ‘An innocent I am’ stated three-year-old Theodocia Harington’s. However, not all were equally forthright. ‘George Clifton. Esquire of Clifton’ and ‘Robert Key of Glatton [...] Gent’ were also around three years old. Clifton’s (‘In time cometh grace’) implied youth. Key’s did not: ‘If hope may have his hire, much do I not desire.’¹⁸

Other cases were less straightforward. Exeter’s Merchant Adventurers united to buy 96 tickets but split these into three sets of 32, with any winnings to be shared proportionately among all 64 contributors.¹⁹ Each set had its own posy, featuring the name of a specific merchant. Nothing about these tickets suggested they were actually bought by the Company. This was possibly tactical. One incentive to participate was the lifetime annuity for anyone who purchased thirty tickets without recouping a third of their outlay. The Company, a corporate body, was notionally immortal; it perhaps feared being declared ineligible for an annuity so bought through individual members. Similarly, Great Yarmouth’s tickets formed four sets, taken for the town, corporation, gentlemen and ladies of Yarmouth, each in the name of an alderman. Several of the posies implied these men

¹³ *TRP*, vol. 2: #549, ‘Deferring Lottery Date’ (3 Jan 1568), p. 292

¹⁴ for Dutch instances, de Boer and Bostoen, ‘Sorte non sorte’, pp. 225–28, 230–31

¹⁵ Ticket 374015

¹⁶ Ticket 36288

¹⁷ Ticket 50823

¹⁸ Ticket 63390 and others (Harington); 275601 (Clifton) and 106820 (Key)

¹⁹ *Elizabethan Guild*, ed. Cotton, pp. 109–110

were buying for themselves: 'If Yarmouth great in fortunes favor be, the greatest lot may chance to fall to me'; 'The first ne second lot I crave, the third it is that I wold have'.²⁰ Oxford too purchased communal tickets in the names of prominent citizens.²¹ Other communities and groups probably did likewise. Not all bought sets of as many as thirty, so eligibility for an annuity cannot always have been the motive. Nonetheless, the instances demonstrate that names on tickets can mislead: only the company or corporation records reveal the real buyer. Similarly, other tickets seem likely to have been bought for local communities by notables, perhaps churchwardens. It would therefore be naïve to assume the individual named on a ticket was necessarily the buyer, even when the posy seems to indicate so.

Chapter Ten will argue certain posies were subversive and employed strategies to evade punishment similar to those that characterised other subversive genres. One possibility arising from the absence of any need to identify oneself unambiguously was that persons buying such tickets could do so in other people's names, perhaps mischievously. Comparable acts were not unknown: Jesuit Robert Persons dedicated an inflammatory work on the succession to the Earl of Essex, apparently in a (successful) attempt to embarrass him.²² The possibility of similar behaviour, though almost unverifiable in practice, adds confusion to the interpretation of posies' sentiments. In short, names on tickets need to be approached with caution.

Certain posies also supplied information about buyers. This was not always presented explicitly, though. Besides, as a posy's purpose was not simply to convey fact even explicit statements may mislead. 'I am a Tanner by my craft' asserted Sampson Grilles of 'Salstoke' parish (Calstock, Cornwall). A family history notes a Sampson Grills of Calstock who established himself in Launceston, becoming one of its richest men and in 1585 its mayor. He was indeed a tanner.²³ However, one version of a widespread, variable ballad, 'The King and the Tanner', had its protagonist claim 'I am a barker [tanner] by my trade'.²⁴ It is possible Grilles quoted a variant of these lyrics. Doing so might have been a political

²⁰ Manship, *Great Yarmouth*, pp. 287–88 (editor's note); Ticket 36715 (Thos Betts); 36785 (Jo. Gosling)

²¹ *Selections from the Records of the City of Oxford*, pp. 322–23

²² V. Houlston, *Catholic Resistance in Elizabethan England*, p. 76

²³ Ticket 308928; R. Grylls, *Grylls and Grills*, vol. 1, pp. 22–26

²⁴ 'King Edward IV. and the Tanner of Tamworth', in T. Percy (ed.), *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, vol. 1, pp. 339–345 (342 for citation)

statement, given the doubts about the lottery's good faith: in the song the king, travelling incognito, encounters the tanner, who suspects him of being a robber planning to steal his gold. Certainly, Grilles's choice to state his occupation in the posy reflected a decision: he may not just have been providing information.

Locality

Most tickets specified a locality. This was usually the buyer's place of residence but typically also where the ticket was purchased. On tickets bought away from home it usually indicated origin. 'William Benloes of Essex' was based at Lincoln's Inn and purchased in London; an Essex man, he owned multiple estates there, which may explain why he only named the county.²⁵ Occasionally the place-name indicated a title or office: the Bishop of Exeter, Earl of Cumberland or constable of Queenynborough. Often towns or parishes, localities were occasionally manors or hamlets within a parish. Many Gloucestershire purchases added the hundred in which the ticket sold. Conversely, some buyers mentioned only a county or stated 'England'. A few were highly specific, naming a London street or inn. Elizabeth and Thomas Neale lived in St John's Street.²⁶ John Griffith's posy indicated he dwelt at the Rose Tavern.²⁷ Richard Martin junior, 'a little pretie boy', lived at the Harp in St Peter's parish, Cheapside; this identified him as the son of the goldsmith whose shop was the Harp.²⁸

Identifying the locality suggests where a ticket sold, which may help identify the buyer. Location-based research can then be undertaken by consulting *Victoria County Histories* to discover who occupied local manors, heralds' visitations and a variety of other sources.

However, localities themselves cannot necessarily be identified. Leaving aside printers' errors and variable orthography, shifts in traditional place-names and spellings present difficulties. Two posies list Winchester as Sokawinton, a contraction of its traditional name (the Soke of Winton), Latinized to *Soca Winton*. Kent parish syndicates often designated their county using the Latin *Kanc.*, which was occasionally misprinted *Lanc.*, especially when there were Lancashire parishes with similar names.²⁹ Ticket 11,610 from 'Arshevaffer',

²⁵ Ticket 225180

²⁶ Tickets 25132 and 225952

²⁷ Ticket 55554

²⁸ Ticket 49321; cf. *The London Goldsmiths, 1200–1800*, ed. A. Heal, p. 73

²⁹ Thus Cuxton's tickets (359899 [Kent]; 359900 [Lancs]) and Denton's (219861 [Kent]; 360012 [Lancs])

bought by John Yarde, fell within a Devon sequence; this was conceivably Rose Ash (formerly Ashraff), where a Yard family owned land. Similarly, John and Richard Croker's tickets from Ivorley, both in Devon sequences, probably came from Eveleigh, a lost Devon village where persons of this surname lived, not Iverley, Staffordshire. Irish and Welsh names present particular difficulties as the spellings were often wildly divergent, while in some cases names have changed completely. 'Richard Ketting of the Clonage', Queens County, Ireland, was probably Richard Keating, whom Elizabeth granted monastic lands in Clonagh in 1566.³⁰ The fact *clonage* is French for *cloning* impedes efforts to identify the location through internet searches. The factors that make these instances problematic render some places unidentifiable.

'Radulphum Stead de Stoke' perhaps hoped the existence of three hundred English Stokes would render him anonymous. His posy, 'Steale no more. p Stead', seems to accuse the Queen of robbing people.³¹ This cited scripture (Ephesians 4:28): 'Let him that stole, steal no more: but let him rather labor, and work with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give unto him that needeth.' The *Homily against Idleness* also quoted it, demanding 'idle vagabonds' learn to 'sustain themselves competently' rather than 'devour the sweet fruits of other men's labour'.³² During the Civil War it appeared on the title-page of a condemnation of Parliament's rapacious levies.³³ Stead's ticket preceded a sequence from Herefordshire but followed a ticket that gave no location; the one before that, from 'Wolfelcotte', is unidentifiable. It cannot be assumed Stead lived in Herefordshire. In fact, no Stoke can be found associated with a Stead family. He must have known how common the name was; in view of his posy's disrespect this vagueness about his locality was perhaps deliberate.

Leaving aside their use for buyer identification, locality details also serve to map the distribution of ticket purchases. While full-scale mapping lies outside the scope of this project, Fig. 5.2 (p. 99) tabulates the numbers of surviving tickets per county with estimates for the participation rate derived from the county population. Distribution maps of the tickets would allow the exploration of other variables, such as urban versus rural participation, or coastal sales versus those inland. On a smaller scale, the distribution of

³⁰ Ticket 347821

³¹ Ticket 138489

³² *Homilies*, p. 464 ('Against Idleness')

³³ *The Grand Account* (Oxford, 1647), STC Wing (2nd ed.) / G1486

individual posies can be examined. Figure 7.8 (below, p. 172) lists four tickets that used one posy. These were from widely separated counties, suggesting the ballad quoted was widespread. Conversely, no English ticket featuring the word *queen* survives from north of Norfolk, perhaps reflecting Mary Stewart's arrival in the North: buyers nearby feared the word could be interpreted as meaning her. Tickets with the proverb 'Speed the Plough' had a similar distribution, possibly for the same reason: Catholic rebellions in the North repeatedly took it as a slogan. The proverb was connected with Plough Monday rituals, which were confined to parts of England formerly in the Danelaw. Unexpectedly, most tickets that deployed it were purchased outside that area. Their buyers' identities raise the possibility that if its political connotations caused northern participants to avoid it they inspired certain southerners to adopt it.³⁴

The Posies

Whereas Chapters Nine and Ten focus on the posies' meaning and significance this treats them as source material, considering their formal qualities, characteristics, origin and use in context. (The distinction, it should be stressed, is an imperfect one.) Continental lotteries used posies to augment the draw's entertainment value.³⁵ Whereas names were not obligatory, England's lottery Chart stated that every ticket should feature a posy. The special benefits for participants who bought thirty tickets with the same posy were additional inducements. Almost all tickets therefore had posies. The handful without seem to have been purchased by agents, who may not have been instructed what posy to use.

The posies' form was variable, perhaps in part because lotteries were new, so there was no 'received' way of doing things: it would be interesting to compare England's posies with Continental ones as regarded form.³⁶ They might be rhyme or prose; original or quotation; proverb or family motto; cited from scriptural, classical or modern authors; or from ballads, songs, etc. Most were English but other tongues were not uncommon: Latin, also some French, Dutch and Italian. A handful were gibberish: 'Nupida nobis impados tyrogansoma turgysio totnos', ran one from Gray's Inn; Richard Lewes of Carmarthen's ('Happie is he,

³⁴ P. Millington, 'The Origins of Plough Monday', unpublished conference paper, <<http://petemillington.uk/ploughmonday/>> [accessed 13 October 2017]

³⁵ Thijs, 'Loteries', pp. 31–33

³⁶ Cursory inspection suggests those from Leiden's 1596 lottery may have expressed more uniform sentiments: cf. *Trecker, treckt met goe couragie*, ed. D. de Boer

vith bloyk y we nethe') seems not to be Welsh; 'Stering stovers stever not' asserted Robert Styward of Ely.³⁷ The diversity of medium accompanied a variability of message, as examples already cited should indicate.

Non-English posies reflected origin or education. Flemish merchants' were usually Dutch or French; Italians used Italian or sometimes Latin. Scholar Lodowick Bryskett used Italian; his Italian mother opted for liturgical Latin.³⁸ Buyers from the gentry sometimes used French family mottoes; these might also be Latin or English. Latin was generally used to display erudition: it established either that one could quote judiciously or compose in the language.³⁹ While non-educated clergy often had English posies, divines characteristically used Latin. Lawyers from the Inns of Court frequently did so too but to demonstrate wit rather than learning.

Although the lottery Chart spoke of a 'devise, prose or poesie', the latter was swiftly adopted as the catch-all term for ticket messages. Strictly speaking, *posy* ('a syncopated form of poesy') denoted a trivial rhyme.⁴⁰ Juliet Fleming, in a rare scholarly overview of posies as a genre, defines them as short sayings devised for inscription upon objects and 'not intended for apotheosis as a text'.⁴¹ Published collections of posies (or 'garlands', 'nosegays', etc.) contained verses suitable for inscription. Objects commonly inscribed were rings, knives, plates, fruit trenchers, also buildings' walls, ceilings, etc. Some ticket posies — such as 'Accept our good will' or 'I would if I might' — were adapted from rings.⁴² The word's association with flowers derives from the practice of presenting small bouquets bound with a ribbon on which a posy was written. John Johnson's family wrote of rings with 'pensees'; since the noun *pansy* also derives from *pensée* (French for *thought*) these may have been common posy flowers.⁴³ Confusingly, Flemish lotteries, the template for England's, used the

³⁷ Tickets 49027 (Tho. Colby, Gray's Inn), 209019 (Lewes), 156774 (Styward)

³⁸ Ticket 55963 (Lodovico Bruschetto); ticket 268334 (Elizabeth Brisket); *DNB*, 'Bryskett, Lodowick [Lewis] (c.1546–1609x12)'

³⁹ For Dutch lotteries, cf. de Boer and Bostoen, 'Sorte non sorte', p. 232

⁴⁰ Ewen, *Lotteries and Sweepstakes*, p. 56

⁴¹ Fleming, *Graffiti*, pp. 9–25 (quotation p. 24); also M. Jones, "'Such Pretty Things Would Soon Be Gone'", pp. 442–63

⁴² G. Puttenham, *The Art of English Poesy*, ed. F. Whigham and W. Rebhorn, pp. 146–47; for ring posies used in the lottery: Evans, *English Posies and Posy Rings*, p. 63 (cf. ticket 302505); R. Day, 'A Chapter on Posies', p. 116 (cf. ticket 158840)

⁴³ 'Folio of Account Taken from John Johnson's Journal' (1547), in B. Winchester, 'The Johnson Letters, 1542–1552', unpublished PhD thesis, vol. 1, appendix 5; Winchester, *Tudor Family Portrait*, p. 162; the *OED*'s etymology for *panny* does not connect it to *posy*

term *prosen* (proses) instead.⁴⁴ This semantic fluidity perhaps reflected posies' conceptual fluidity.

Fleming's study, though comprehensive, does not consider lottery tickets, probably because she wrote before the lottery received scholarly attention. David Dean has since published about lottery posies specifically. Importantly, he suggests that Thomas Palmer, author of England's first emblem collection, *Two Hundred Poosees*, was inspired by the lottery to apply the word to his emblems.⁴⁵

Like posies on objects, texts from emblems and impresas lacked an independent existence: they accompanied images, coats of arms, etc.⁴⁶ Few gentlemen used family mottoes on their tickets; in this England differed from the Netherlands, where elites preferred mottoes to rhymes.⁴⁷ Those who did, look to have done so because it was somehow apt. Thus Alan Bellingham chose 'Thus it is', Anglicising the Bellingham motto, *Ainsi est il*: this directly introduced the reading of his prize.⁴⁸ William Hawkins used the family device 'Advancement by diligence'. It implied disapproval of the scheme: one should not depend on windfalls. Plymouth's mayor in 1568, Hawkins, like other mayors, was probably obliged to buy tickets. However, as he was also strongly Puritan the device perhaps encapsulated his view of the scheme. Other strong Protestants sometimes expressed similar reservations.

Although posies, as a genre, have attracted limited attention emblem studies is a substantial discipline. Lottery posies were not strictly emblems but resembled them in certain respects.⁴⁹ Emblems, often anthologised in books, were gestalt entities comprising a motto, image and verse that, combined, articulated the emblem's meaning. (Fig. 7.7). Certain Dutch lotteries inspired books that offered participants a choice of posies.⁵⁰ In view of this it seems worth considering England's first printed emblem book, Whitney's *Choice of Emblems*, which appeared in 1586, the year of Elizabeth's other lottery. Like Palmer's *Poosees* it began as a manuscript dedicated to Robert Dudley; it was subsequently expanded and

⁴⁴ de Boer and Bostoën, 'Sorte non sorte', p. 218

⁴⁵ Dean, 'Locality and Self', pp. 207–27; Dean, 'Another Source?', pp. 35–37

⁴⁶ Cf. A. Fowler, 'The Emblem as a Literary Genre', pp. 1–31; for examples, M. Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, pp. 10–16; Bath, *Emblems for a Queen*

⁴⁷ Bostoën, "'Adieu, mijn geld!'", p. 36

⁴⁸ Ticket 360264

⁴⁹ Bath, *Emblems for a Queen*, p. 55; also Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, pp. 19–26; Fowler, 'The Emblem', pp. 7, 9–10, 21

⁵⁰ de Boer, 'Lotteries and Lottery Rhymes', p. 67; cf. Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, p. 12

printed in Leiden, where Whitney accompanied Leicester, to celebrate the Netherlands campaign.⁵¹ There are indications the 1586 lottery too was connected with the war. Suggestively, its prize was a suit of armour.⁵² The four men the Council chose to superintend the draw were soldiers ‘skylfull in matters of fortyfycatyon’, with experience in Ireland and at Berwick; two, Brian Fitzwilliams and William Pelham, were summoned to assist Leicester around the time of the draw, Pelham as his deputy.⁵³ It seems possible the scheme helped finance the war effort, as Dutch lotteries were doing. If so, one function of Whitney’s *Emblems* was conceivably to generate posies for the occasion: certain of his emblem mottoes had featured in the earlier lottery, among them the Queen’s; others made suitable posies. Even if unconnected to the 1586 lottery the book illustrates lottery posies’ similarity to emblems.

Certain posies followed a practice observable in emblems and functioned as Renaissance ‘hyperlinks’. They cited a few words only from a source, leaving the reader to recognise the origin, consult the passage from which the words were excerpted and deduce the point being made.⁵⁴ The words in the emblem itself (the ‘hyperlink’ to be clicked on) were sometimes too few to mean anything in isolation. Numerous posies cited the first part of a well-known quotation, leaving readers to recall the rest and decipher the sense. Others extracted words from longer texts that were relevant to the lottery in their entirety, or from which a nearby passage was more applicable than the words taken for the posy. Merchant Richard Lawallin of Cork, for example, used the opening words of Psalm 31: *In te Domine speravi, non confundar in aeternam* (‘In thee, O Lord, have I put my trust: let me never be confounded’).⁵⁵ He presumably remembered verse fifteen too — *In manibus tuis sortes meae* (‘My lots are in thy hands’) — which might potentially have addressed both the official reading his posy and God; Dutch tickets did cite that verse.⁵⁶ Lawallin’s use of Latin perhaps reflected the fact that the 1610 Douai Bible was the first English translation to render *sortes* as *lots*: existing translations would not have served his turn.

⁵¹ Cf. M. Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, pp. 69–89; *DNB*, ‘Whitney, Geoffrey (1548?–1600/01)’

⁵² Ewen, *Lotteries and Sweepstakes*, p. 65

⁵³ *Acts of the Privy Council: 1586–87*, pp. 139–40 (1 Jun 1586); Dudley, *Correspondence*, pp. 28, 116, 128, 304, 328, etc.; R. Ambler, “‘Wise and Experimented’: Sir William Pelham”, pp. 163–81

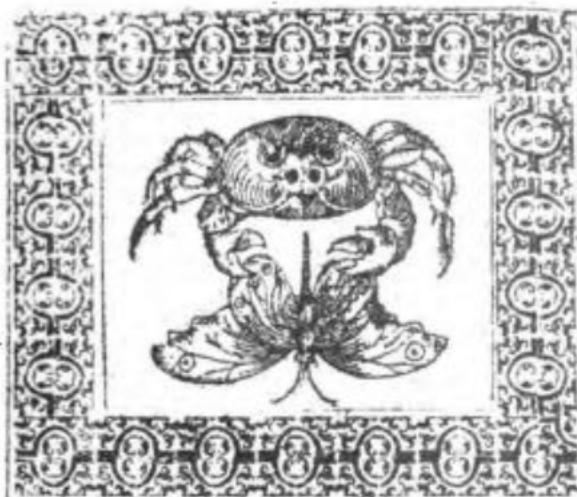
⁵⁴ Fowler, ‘The Emblem’, pp. 9–10; cf. also Russell, *The Emblem and Device in France*, pp. 81–82

⁵⁵ Ticket 350177

⁵⁶ de Boer and Bostoen, ‘Sorte non sorte’, p. 232

Ad Amplissimos viros Dⁿⁱ FRANCISCUM WINDHAM,
& Dⁿⁱ EDWARDUM FLOWERDEW

Indices lungetimoris.



THIS figure, lo, AVGVSTVS did devise,
A mirror good, for Iudges iuste to see,
And alwayes hitte, to bee before their eyes,
When sentence they, of life, and deathie decree:
Then muste they haste, but vne slowe awaie,
Like butterflie, whome creeping crabbe dothe stae.

The Prince, or Iudge, maie not with lighte reporte
In doubtfull thinges, giue iudgement touching life:
But tne, and learne the truthe in euerie sorte,
And mercie ioyne, with iustice bloodie knife:
This pleased well AVGVSTVS noble grace,
And Iudges all, within this tracke shoulde trace.

Consulere patria, parcere afflictis, fera
Cede abstineri, tempus atque ira dare,
Certi quietem; seculo pacem sub
Hac summa viam, peritur hac exitum via.

Cleero.
Et sapientia iustitia
in hoc, non so-
lum quid possit, sed
etiam quid orbeat
ponderet: nec quia-
rum libet petis, illius
metramet; sed et à
quasi uero omni-
sum us.

Idem: Offe.
Nec contra tempus
nec contra iustitiam
dum amicus rursus
virtutis faciet: nec
sua let quidam est
de ipso amro po-
nit enim personam
amici, cum iudice
iudicis: nam si om-
nia facienda sunt,
que amici se, ut
non amicitia est,
sed conlationes
pacis de sunt.

Chod. Minit. Th.
... die proreus illi off
Sicut ratio est, ut
morum qui facti re-
pendunt
... proreus illi off
... rationis est,
Sicut off. ad. 3.

Sine

Figure 7.7: An emblem illustrating the proverb *Festina lente*, which was used on several lottery tickets (from Geoffrey Whitney's *Choice of Emblems*)

Robert Shute's *Et mihi e' multis* ('To me and to many') is a more complex instance.⁵⁷ In isolation it was meaningless, presumably a fragment from some longer passage. It seems

⁵⁷ Ticket 24115; Hasler, 'SHUTE, Robert'

doubtful the source was obscure since Shute expected people to recognise it. However, though the words themselves were common internet searches uncover only one feasible work featuring the phrase, a letter from Pliny to Arrianus about the former's appointment to the prestigious office of augur: 'Fortune has no further power over this [office] than to bestow it'. Pliny noted that Cicero had been nominated to the same position and expressed hopes he would acquire sparks of Cicero's oratorical genius too: 'The former [the office] [...] being at man's disposal, may be conferred on me and on many others [*et mihi et multis*], but the latter it is as presumptuous to hope for as it is difficult to reach, being in the gift of heaven alone.'⁵⁸ Shute's ticket named him Reader, indicating he had already been selected as Gray's Inn's 1568 Lenten Reader. This honour, which accompanied further advancement, entailed delivering a series of orations. Although Pliny's letter's allusions to Fortune's and Heaven's gifts were both applicable to the lottery, Shute perhaps drew parallels with Pliny's hope for eloquence in his new role. In such cases, the author and the readers who identified his device could share pride in their erudition.⁵⁹

These partial quotations, in which the words pointed to some broader passage, without the sense being explicit, were not uncommon and can sometimes be recognised by their failure to make obvious sense in isolation. However, many posies involved straightforward citation. The quote was sufficient in itself, not a pointer to something external to the ticket. Some were proverbs. Others were more specialised. Thomas Bayly, treasurer of St Andrew's Cathedral, Wells, cited the liturgical line *Dilexit Andream Dominus* ('The Lord loved Andrew').⁶⁰

When multiple people independently used the same quotation that suggests it was especially apposite. Three, perhaps four, posies adapted a line from a ballad (Fig. 7.8). Plainly, for some reason several individuals found it relevant. However, unlike other frequently cited posies, its precise meaning cannot be ascertained as the source is elusive.

⁵⁸ Pliny, *Letters*, IV, viii, trans. W. Melmoth, pp. 286–89

⁵⁹ Cf. Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, p. 140

⁶⁰ R. Jacobsson ('The Antiphoner of Compiègne', pp. 161, 164) touches on the context

TICKET No.	TICKET DETAILS	COUNTY
218307	John Welles of the Heath. Saddle Cut and bridle Ball, if I have not a good lot, God be withall. p J.W.	Shropshire? Sussex?
213578	Rise up Jacke and saddell bal, bring us a good lot, or els farewell all. William Kington. Crowton.	Northamptonshire
358119	Sadle Cut, and Bridle my Gil, I would have the best lot with a good wil. P Christopher Troughton, Lindford magna.	Buckinghamshire
15558	Harry, John, Hughe and Phill, may have the best lot if God will. p Jo. Ellis, Deane of Hereff.	Herefordshire

Figure 7.8: Four lottery posies deriving from a single unknown source

Just as the context from which posies were quoted may be informative so can the context in which they were delivered. Designed to be declaimed in public, they necessarily had a performative aspect: their authors had been granted fifteen seconds of fame. Some made the most of it: ‘Let us make good cheere, John Stephan hath bene heere’; ‘Susan Giles certainly is my name, if I have not the best lot, you are to blame.’⁶¹ Some devised their message knowing their ticket would be read right before the prize was announced, choosing something that ushered in the prize slip. Others took the opportunity to make a moral point, ‘Pollicie preventeth povertie’ or ‘The judgement is the Lords’.⁶² Some Flemish lottery participants chose posies knowing the *Niet-roeper* (‘Nothing-crier’) who announced the prize would almost certainly call ‘Nothing!’ One Dutch example demanded what Spain had gained by assassinating William of Orange; another enquired what freemasons had under their aprons, only to win a silver spoon (the most usual prize).⁶³ Since England’s lottery promised everyone a prize ‘Nothing!’ was never called. However, most tickets won the proverbial ‘twopence halfpenny’. Posies that anticipated a low prize included ‘Humilitie rewarded’, William More’s ‘I looked for no more’ (which seems to have imagined the prize would be read first) and, albeit obscurely, ‘What is a tree of Cherries worth to foure in a company?’ ‘According to trust’ was Henry Wanley’s choice.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Tickets 241492 (Stephan) and 310451 (Giles)

⁶² Tickets 309720 and 360277

⁶³ de Boer, ‘Lotteries and Lottery Rhymes’, pp. 68–70; Bostoën, “‘Adieu, mijn geld!’”, p. 37; de Boer and Bostoën, ‘Sorte non sorte’, p. 235

⁶⁴ Tickets 10207, 276013 (More) and 123462 and 147393 (Wanley)

Categorizing tickets in terms of performance renders the occasion complex. Different posies addressed different audiences and were intended to be heard in different contexts. They appealed to God or Fortune, spoke to officers selling the lots or reading them out, or addressed the Queen, the spectators at the draw, a local community, an in-group, and so forth (Fig. 7.9).

TICKET No.	TICKET DETAILS	NOTES
232928	Jesus for thy holy worde, save the towneshyp of Stanforde. p Thomam Salwaye. Stanforde. marches of Wales.	Addressing Christ
100483	Blessed Trinitie, helpe the Queenes Pultrie. Westm.	To the Trinity
348408	Helpe now or never if ye can, helpe nowe Dame Fortune and I am made a man. Cressent Buttrie. Marston.	To Fortune
158840	Accept our good will. p Anth. Warde. Delicar in Kendall.	To the Queen: Dillicar would soon revert to the Crown.
59513	For the towne of Cambridge in this open place, God save the Queene, & the Duke of Norffolks grace. Per Roger Sleg, maior of Cantabridge.	To witnesses at the point of sale
292636	Be good to me reader, as to thy brother, one knave should ever helpe an other. Thom. Efforde. M. Edgecombe.	To the Reader at the draw
277477	Call well for Catesbie good prise for to winne, for the yeomen thereof have put two lottes in. George Waterhouse Catesbie.	To the Reader
292604	Companie makes cuckoldes men say, your wives have companie though you be away. John Holdith. M. Egecombe.	To spectators at the draw
147537	Ye officers all, be good to the farmer of Courtнал. James Duffield. Courtнал. Northampton.	To ticket-sellers and draw officials
272147	Help Gargrave as needes, Wake. Pont. & Leedes. Per Thomas Gargrave. Kingsley.	Urging Wakefield, Pontefract and Leeds, where G. owned land, to buy
383522	<i>Video e3 taceo.</i>	Elizabeth's 'I watch and keep silent': a warning to subjects

Figure 7.9: Examples of posies that addressed diverse audiences

It has been argued already that the moment of sale emerged as a secondary context within which posies might function, resulting in a change of audience, message and performance. Community leaders addressed neighbours. They were supposed to persuade and to exhibit loyalty and trust. They and their hearers, however, perhaps bought under duress; the location had shifted from London; some buyers were syndicates. All had implications for tickets' performances that must be taken into account.

The posies also yield incidental, miscellaneous information. Certain hinted at the buyer's circumstances or history. 'Edward Kechell of Hays as I understand,' ran one, 'hath a crooked finger upon his right hand,' probably Kechell's effort to prevent an impostor cashing in his ticket. Bartholemew Broer of Cologne ('Barthelmew Bruer, he commes from the Rhine, & drinckes with all his heart good Rennish wine. A.B.C.D.E. London') was an importer of Rhenish wine; the letters at the end probably signify Bruer bought five tickets and expected each to be distinguished with a different letter, something the transcriber misunderstood: this was done in continental lotteries.⁶⁵ Others spoke of their community; David Dean has examined the posies as a source of information about local identity on this basis.⁶⁶ Blandford Forum had been ravaged by fire in 1564; Topsham's quay and bridge needed repair; St Gennys's steeple was allegedly 'rente in twaine'.⁶⁷ Other participants referenced the lottery itself. Some mentioned the sounding of trumpets when a prize was won, as happened in the Netherlands. Others stated which prize they hoped to win: London brewer William Freeman wanted the great salt-cellar.⁶⁸

Prize Values

Since the printed sheets consisted of prize-winning tickets the prize won was always specified. This reflected the separate draw of a prize slip. While for participants the prize was all-important it forms the least useful part of the ticket data. Too few tickets survive for the distribution of prizes to reveal much: one per cent of the total; one seventh of winning tickets; only one of the thirteen Great Prizes.

However, the prize values do provide a means of estimating how well the tickets were mixed ahead of the draw. Early modern lotteries specified in advance how many tickets a scheme involved and also the number and value of all prizes on offer. The Lottery Chart therefore announced there would be exactly 400,000 tickets and specified the number of prizes of each denomination. From this the proportion of the tickets destined to win each prize value can be calculated. Knowing these proportions makes it possible to determine how many of the

⁶⁵ Tickets 333347 (Kechell) and 233550 (Bruer); for Bruer, *London Port Books*, ship no.s 170, 192, 733; de Boer and Bostoën, 'Sorte non sorte', p. 231

⁶⁶ Dean, 'Locality and Self', pp. 207–27

⁶⁷ Tickets 303927 (Blandford Forum), 215465 (Topsham), 340067 (St Gennys)

⁶⁸ Ticket 211945 (Freeman); for references to trumpets: tickets 185370 and 25086; De Boer, 'Lotteries and Lottery Rhymes', p. 66

tickets that remain ought to have received each prize (Fig. 7.10). Although all prize values were later diminished this can be taken into account. Comparing predicted and observed results reveals how well the slips were mixed ahead of the draw. Thus, taking as an example the £50 prizes (ultimately reduced to £4 3s. 4d.): their 24 prize slips constituted 0.08 per cent of the full 400,000 slips; applying this percentage to the 3894 extant tickets predicts three should survive. Five do.

The observed outcomes are close to what would be anticipated, suggesting the slips were fully randomized. Since in continental lotteries the prize slips and the lots themselves were mixed and drawn the same way, with slips folded and sealed in wax before placement in large barrels or 'wheels', the mixing of prizes can be taken as a proxy for that of tickets.⁶⁹

The tickets can be interrogated directly too (Fig. 7.11). Under perfectly randomized conditions the surviving ones would be expected to exhibit a random spread of numbers. Thus, if the original range of ticket numbers, from 1 to 400,000, is broken into sequences of forty thousand, the same number of surviving tickets would be predicted in each numerical bloc. Since 3925 extant tickets have legible numbers, if the tickets were properly mixed before being drawn each 40,000-number sequence should feature (in principle) $392\frac{1}{2}$ of these survivors. Meantime, the distribution pattern of tickets drawn in February 1569 should be broadly similar to that of those drawn in March. Again, the results resemble what would be expected.

⁶⁹ Bostoen describes the process of Dutch draws: "Adieu, mijn geld!", p. 35

Figure 7.10: The prices of each denomination, with the number of each and the percentage of the total prizes this represented; from this, the predicted number of prize slips surviving in each category, compared with the observed number

PRIZE SLIPS (29501 SLIPS)				TOTAL SURVIVING SLIPS (3894)			FEBRUARY DRAW (2016 SLIPS)			MARCH DRAW (1878 SLIPS)			
Original value	Revised value	No. of prize slips	% of total prize slips	Predicted no. of tickets	Actual no.	% of total	Predicted	Actual no.	% of total	Predicted no.	Actual no.	% of total	
The 13 Great Prizes: £200+	£16 13s 4d+	13	0.04	2	1	0.03	1	1	0.05	1	0	0	
	£100	12	0.04	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	
	£50	24	0.08	3	5	0.13	2	1	0.05	2	4	0.21	
	£24 10s	60	0.2	8	6	0.15	4	4	0.2	4	2	0.11	
	£22 10s	90	0.31	12	10	0.26	6	8	0.4	6	2	0.11	
	£18	114	0.39	15	15	0.39	8	10	0.5	7	5	0.27	
	£12 10s	120	0.41	16	11	0.28	8	6	0.3	8	5	0.27	
	£8	13s 4d	150	0.51	20	21	0.54	10	10	0.5	10	11	0.59
	£6 10s	10s 10d	200	0.68	26	21	0.54	14	13	0.64	13	8	0.43
	£4 10s	7s 6d	300	1.02	40	38	0.98	21	20	0.99	19	18	0.96
£3 10s	5s 10d	500	1.69	66	71	1.8	34	50	2.48	32	21	1.11	
50s	4s 2d	500	1.69	66	62	1.6	34	30	1.49	32	32	1.7	
40s	3s 4d	2000	6.78	264	239	6.14	137	110	5.46	127	129	6.87	
25s	2s 1d	6000	20.34	792	758	19.47	410	446	22.12	382	312	16.61	
15s	1s 3d	10000	33.9	1320	1372	35.23	683	678	33.63	637	694	36.95	
14s	1s 2d	9418	31.92	1243	1264	32.46	644	629	31.2	599	635	33.81	

Bloc No.	Range of ticket no.s in each bloc	Extant tickets	Predicted number	February draw only [LM/2008]	Predicted number surviving	March draw only [LM/2009]	Predicted number surviving
1	1–40,000	427	392.5	239	214.6	188	177.9
2	40,001–80,000	343	392.5	187	214.6	156	177.9
3	80,001–120,000	375	392.5	186	214.6	189	177.9
4	120,001–160,000	404	392.5	222	214.6	182	177.9
5	160,001–200,000	382	392.5	203	214.6	179	177.9
6	200,001–240,000	407	392.5	234	214.6	173	177.9
7	240,001–280,000	408	392.5	233	214.6	175	177.9
8	280,001–320,000	405	392.5	205	214.6	200	177.9
9	320,001–360,000	373	392.5	194	214.6	179	177.9
10	360,001–400,000	401	392.5	243	214.6	158	177.9

Figure 7.11: *The distribution of surviving lottery tickets in terms of their ticket numbers (the number of tickets surviving within each 40,000-ticket numerical range)*

Knowing whether the extant tickets form a representative sample of the full 400,000 is crucial as the information they provide could otherwise be misleading. If, for example, the strong geographic bias apparent, whereby few tickets survive from northern counties, merely reflected poor mixing, the observed variation would reveal little about the real distribution of sales. It would indicate merely that tickets sold in particular regions tended to be drawn together; portions of the draw that have not survived might have had predominantly northern tickets. However, since mixing seems to have been adequate the distribution of surviving tickets can be taken as indicative. If southern counties really did buy more tickets than northern ones, one can begin to consider why that might have been.

The Tickets as Source Material

The components of the ticket data yield discrete information but also complement each other, while each presents its own interpretive hurdles. The rest of this chapter deals with issues relating to the combination and use of the information. A number of cautions and considerations are needed. For a start, while the identification of buyers may appear

straightforward, in reality a determination must be achieved by whatever means are available. The tickets represent over two thousand people scattered across England. Some were more prominent than others, or prominent for different reasons, so there is no set route to identification. William Cecil has multiple biographers. Journal articles have been written about merchant William Towerson.⁷⁰ Author and mariner Tobias Gentleman has an entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.⁷¹ David Cressy's study of parish tensions in Cuckfield, Sussex, in the 1570s touches on Ninian Chaloner.⁷² Yeomen such as William Rose of Amberley or Robert Bonion of Chalgrave are preserved as stray references in archival documents or books, or in collections of wills.⁷³ Other, particularly humbler, individuals are untraceable. Consequently, although something can be unearthed about most participants, differential levels of information skew the results toward more important buyers. There is, besides, the possibility of namesakes.

Certain resources are obvious: heralds' visitations; muster rolls; London's port books; the Victoria County Histories and equivalent topographic surveys; Oxford's *Dictionary of National Biography*; bishops' letters of 1564 describing the religious leanings of the gentlemen in their dioceses; the short lives of members of Parliament in the *History of Parliament* volumes; histories of particular towns; and so forth. Goldsmiths are described in catalogues of hallmarks. Many participants were authors, so are discussed in collections of their works and in scholarly studies. Local notables occur in idiosyncratic sources. Robert Prideaux of Ashburton features in a range of publications: a study of the 'lower branch' of the legal profession; a paper on his preservation of wood-carvings from Ashburton church; churchwardens' accounts.⁷⁴

Because information is scattered across England not every resource can be consulted. As several Chester mayors bought tickets William Aldersey's 1594 manuscript 'History of the Mayors of Chester' might have been informative. In researching her monograph on the 1569 Northern Rising Kesselring compiled a database of those who rebelled; it would be

⁷⁰ J. Alsop, 'The Career of William Towerson, Guinea Trader', pp. 45–82; J. Alsop, 'William Towerson's Rutter for the Margate-Emden Navigation, 1564', pp. 154–58

⁷¹ *DNB*, 'Gentleman, Tobias (fl. 1567–1614)'

⁷² D. Cressy, 'Mercy Gould and the Vicar of Cuckfield', pp. 51–72

⁷³ For Rose: The National Archives Website: Discovery: Ep/1/11/2 Deposition Book f6v, 26 July–4 Oct 1572, Description available at <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/b84a0a9b-bbcd-4246-bb7b-742e4e50838e> (accessed 29 Jun 2017); Bonyon appears in J. Brown, *John Bunyan*, p. 2

⁷⁴ C. Brooks, *Pettyfoggers and Vipers of the Commonwealth*; P. Amery, 'Oak Carving at Ashburton in Tudor Days', pp. 219–228; *Churchwardens' Accounts of Ashburton, 1479–1580*, ed. A. Hanham

interesting to search that for ticket-buyers' names.⁷⁵ Nor can every resource be located easily. One way to uncover information about individuals is through internet searches. These bring up disparate information about participants, not all reliable; searching is more likely to be successful in the case of persons with more unusual names.

Second, the printed lists' complex provenance has a bearing on the details they contain. Before typesetting, the information circulated in spoken and written form, with potential for transcription errors. Ticket-sellers recorded buyers' particulars in numbered books: this could involve dictation. Some tickets, (e.g., 'John Chaloner of Lambay to have ten lottes') were seemingly taken by agents under instruction. Edward VI granted Chaloner, Secretary of State for Ireland, the isle of Lambay, near Dublin: if living there he probably bought by proxy.⁷⁶ However, other participants most likely supplied information orally. Thomas Kytto's 'I am a man unlearned' may represent his response to the seller when told he needed to supply a posy. Robert Bonion's terse 'Here is my ten shillings' was probably also spoken to the Collector.⁷⁷ Spoken information could be misheard, especially if a strong regional accent was involved. The ticket books were forwarded to London and the details of each purchase transcribed onto twelve lottery slips. Each was drawn and read aloud; winning tickets' information was typeset. It seems likely winning tickets were handed to a clerk at the draw, who copied them into a register that went to the printer: this was the Dutch procedure.⁷⁸ What is certain is that from buyer to printer ticket details went through a complex series of reiterations, during which mishearing, poor handwriting, slapdash copying, printers' errors and the like, assisted by accents, dialects and the period's imprecise spelling, could produce mutations.

There is ample evidence errors crept in. Some tickets have numbers above 400,000 or won non-existent prize denominations. There are instances of equivalent alphabetical errors. When multiple tickets survive for a single buyer substantial variation can be observed. No two of Michael Revet of King's Lynn's six tickets give identical details: they vary between Michael, Michell and Michel; Revet and Kevet; Lin, Lim, Lime or Linne. This high level of variation perhaps reflected unreadable handwriting at some stage. Likewise, fifteen tickets

⁷⁵ For a description of this database, see Kesselring, *Northern Rebellion*, p. 192, n. 40

⁷⁶ Ticket 325659; *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, vol. 2, ed. J. McGuire and J. Quinn, pp. 460; Bindoff, 'CHALONER, John II'

⁷⁷ Tickets 134981 (Kytto) and 141720 (Bonion)

⁷⁸ Bostoën, "Adieu, mijn geld!", p. 35

from Hull in the name of R. Dalton have a strongly civic posy: 'Hope well Hull, thou mayst be happy, hytherto God hath dealt with thee lovingly.'⁷⁹ This suggests Robert Dalton, mayor in 1568, buying on the town's behalf: most towns' extant tickets include some in their mayors' names, often with a comparably civic posy. However, a ticket with the same posy bears the name Raufe Dalton, while two others have Ric. Dalton. These could be other members of the family, which was prominent in Hull. Alternatively, it might indicate the name was written indecipherably, with transcribers either guessing the forename or opting conservatively for the initial. Transcription errors seemingly occurred in other cases. Northamptonshire tickets taken by Edward Love and Richard Winwood cited their locality as the non-existent Dinho. They were among Aynho's leading inhabitants.⁸⁰

Third, corruption and censorship potentially compromised the surviving posies. In fact, although their presence or extent would be, by its nature, hard to demonstrate, if either occurred it is unlikely to have been widespread enough to render the surviving tickets unrepresentative. Censorship is the more important possibility. Elizabeth's regime oversaw the recording, transcription, drawing and printing processes that generated the sheets of extant tickets. It was well placed to exclude or alter any posies with messages deemed offensive. Cuxton parish's tickets, whose posies look to have had a deleted first part that expressed distrust of the Queen, have been mentioned already.⁸¹ If censorship happened, the extant tickets may not fully reflect the range of views expressed. Moreover, suppressed tickets might potentially have been interesting.

In practice, though, published tickets voiced reasonably strong objections. Ralph Stead was probably wise to be vague about where he lived but his assertion Elizabeth was stealing his money was still printed.⁸² Particularly obnoxious comments may have been suppressed. However, it seems doubtful criticism could have been much more overt than it was without being foreseeably likely to attract punishment. Under such circumstances, self-censorship was perhaps a greater issue than editorial intervention. Self-censoring might result in a difference between buyers' actual feelings and those they expressed but would not make surviving posies unrepresentative of the tickets as a whole. As the draw finished the Privy

⁷⁹ Ticket 67583 and others

⁸⁰ Tickets 107796 (Love) and 229774 (Winwood). For Love, *VCH*, Oxford 6, 'Stoke Lyne', p. 687; Winwood occurs in *DNB*, 'Winwood, Sir Ralph (1562/3–1617)'

⁸¹ Above, p. 96

⁸² Above, p. 165

Council ordered that certain lawyers from the Inns of Court be expelled for sedition. However, although some tickets from the Inns had seemingly negative posies none survives for any of the expelled men, while the Privy Council's Acts for this period are lost, leaving the reasons for their expulsion unclear (one, William Roper, had been distributing banned books).⁸³ The desire to stamp out sedition existed but overt dissidence in the posies may have been lacking.

Corruption is still more unlikely to have affected the source material's reliability. Anxiety about fraud in early modern lotteries was widespread and the history of other lotteries makes clear these fears had grounds.⁸⁴ There is no evidence of corruption associated with the Lottery General, although the surviving source material is not of a kind likely to preserve any. Posies testify concerns that wealthy participants might bribe lottery officials to award the big prizes to them, as was attempted elsewhere. In fact, the lottery's unfamiliarity and shifting dates may have made it hard to rig the outcome. As only the largest prizes, which were few, would have been subject to bribery attempts corruption has few implications for this study even if it occurred. The prizes are not being examined so if a few tickets were fraudulently mismatched with big prizes this would not affect the investigation.

Case Studies

The following examples will give an idea of the detective work involved in uniting the disparate information supplied on tickets to gain a picture of the buyer and posy, as well as of the methodology's strengths and limitations.

Ticket 364255: *Est aliqui prodiere tenui*. Tho. Standley. Godorēs. Bishop.

Godorēs Bishop looks to be a locality but there is nowhere of this name. The ticket number situates it within a set of four ecclesiastical tickets from Cheshire and Lancashire, thus in Chester diocese. All had Latin posies, something typical of educated clergy; two buyers were deaneries rather than individuals. This suggests Standley was a priest. The line over the *e* in Godorēs was a contemporary abbreviation indicating an omitted *n* or *m* after the

⁸³ *Lincoln's Inn Black Books*, p. 365; *Inner Temple Records*, pp. 252–54

⁸⁴ e.g., Woodhall, 'British State Lotteries', pp. 498, 501

vowel. Together, these facts suggest the buyer was Thomas Stanley, Bishop of Sodor and Man, with *Godorēs* a misspelling of *Sodorēs*, short for *Sodorensis*, the Latin tag used by the Bishops. Stanley, who died in March 1569, the month his ticket was drawn, was also rector of several Lancastrian parishes, which might explain his appearance in a sequence of clerical tickets from Chester diocese.

His posy was drawn from Horace (*Epistulae*, I, i, 32): *Est quādam prodire tenuis, si non datur ultra* ('It is something to have advanced so far, even if no farther'). This misquotation (with *aliquid* for *quādam*) seems to have been proverbial: Leibniz, for instance, used it in the seventeenth century.⁸⁵ Standley's posy, cryptic in itself, implied the remainder of the line, not necessarily less important for being omitted.

In fact the whole poem contrasted wealth and wisdom: 'Does your breast burn with avarice and miserable ambition?' asked the next line. However, the passage Stanley cited, taken with his life history, suggests another meaning. Sodor and Man was England's smallest diocese and the Stanley Earls of Derby nominated its bishop. They frequently chose a family member. Thomas Stanley was the bastard son of Edward Stanley, first Baron Mounteagle (c.1460–1523), a younger son of the first Earl. Thomas was consecrated bishop in 1510. When the lottery took place he had therefore occupied the see for almost 60 years without progressing to a more noteworthy one. Moreover, not only had he not advanced, he had been deprived of the bishopric in 1545, then reinstated in 1556 by Mary Tudor. The posy may allude dryly to this career trajectory, the omitted part of Horace's line ('even if no farther') hinting at his lack of promotion. He supported Mary but his relations with other Tudor monarchs were less amicable. In 1523 he avowed plans to join the royal pretender Richard de la Pole, who was trying to organise a foreign-backed invasion of England. In 1536 he was openly critical of his kinsman the Earl of Derby's involvement in putting down the Pilgrimage of Grace. Under Elizabeth he abandoned the Isle of Man and retreated to Durham, whose bishop complained in 1564 that he was living there 'as merry as Pope Joan'.⁸⁶ His posy's implicit discontent fitted this tradition of outspokenness (although bishops' tickets frequently suggested reservations about the lottery). Certain of the clerical

⁸⁵ G. Leibniz, *The Leibniz-De Volder Correspondence*, ed. P. Lodge (New Haven, 2013), pp. 68–69 (Leibniz to de Volder, 3 Apr 1699)

⁸⁶ Stanley's life is described in his father's *DNB* entry: 'Stanley, Edward, first Baron Monteagle (c.1460–1523)'; *DNB*, 'Pole, Richard de la (d. 1525)'

tickets with which Stanley's appeared also exhibited disaffection, something true of Chester's clerical posies more generally.

Standley's ticket furnishes a compact instance of the issues involved in identifying buyers but also shows what investigation can reveal. The ticket featured a non-current spelling of his surname. The seeming locality of purchase was a misspelt abbreviation of the Latin name of his see. His posy misquoted part of a line of classical poetry. This was a 'hyperlink' of the kind described above: to appreciate the full significance one had to know the passage from which it was drawn. To identify him one must sort the extant tickets by their number, situating his within the geographic and social group to which it belonged: Chester clergy. His location was complex. The Isle of Man's bishop bought tickets in his capacity as a priest of Chester diocese, through being a rector of Lancashire parishes (whilst possibly resident in Durham). Nevertheless, the different components of the ticket data can be used to determine his identity with some confidence, and to connect sentiments hinted at in the posy to his circumstances and character.

The Posies of O.D.

Conversely, O.D.'s case illustrates the methodology's limitations. O.D. bought 49 extant tickets with eleven posies and, to judge by the posies, was probably involved in T.G.O.D.'s purchase of four others (Fig. 7.12). This represented nearly 1.5 per cent of surviving tickets. In proportional terms, it implies the original expense was £250 for 6000 of the 400,000 tickets, an extraordinary outlay (although if, as suggested earlier, each of his posies was attached to thirty tickets the amount would have been only £180 for 4320 tickets).⁸⁷ All O.D.'s posies were strongly pious. One, 'After darknesse light', was the Reformation slogan *Post tenebras lux*, implying Protestantism. O.D. seems, therefore, to have been devout, wealthy and a lottery enthusiast.

Although O.D.'s apparent wealth implies someone noteworthy, England appears to have had no nobleman with these initials, while London's 1568 herald's visitation contained no gentleman O.D.⁸⁸ Hickman's study of the religious allegiances of London's elite lists no sixteenth-century mayor or alderman with the initials and only one member of the Common

⁸⁷ Above, pp. 118–19

⁸⁸ A. Kinney, *Title of Elizabethans; Visitation*, London: 1568;

Council: tallow-chandler Oliver Dawbeney, who appears in Hickman's tables of councillors of the 1550s and 1560s.⁸⁹ These facts demonstrate O.D. was not a common set of initials and introduce Dawbeney as a potential candidate but do not rule out the possibility of somebody else. Hickman, for example, only investigated the Council's composition in the middle years of each decade (1554–56, etc.), so would not mention councillors who both joined and died in intervening years.

Given Dawbeney's occupation, however, O.D.'s emphasis on light and candles may be significant: the Tallow Chandlers had a particular interest in lighting.⁹⁰ Moreover, from 1567 to 1569 Dawbeney was the Company's master.⁹¹ One of T.G.O.D.'s four tickets used the spelling T.C.O.D. It is conceivable this was the correct one, with T.C. standing for Tallow Chandlers and Dawbeney buying these tickets for the Company; the Grocers' Company made its purchases under the initials G.C., sometimes misspelt.⁹² T.C.O.D.'s posy ('God send us the light of heaven') would have been appropriate for professional purveyors of light. Various Mint officials bought tickets; Dawbeney had worked at the Irish mint in Dublin.⁹³

A circumstantial case can thus be made for Dawbeney's having been O.D. Conclusive evidence, though, is lacking. Even supposing he was, he might not have bought for himself. Like Exeter's Merchant Adventurers the Tallow Chandlers could have purchased under his name to be eligible for an annuity.

⁸⁹ Hickman, 'Religious Allegiance', pp. 191, 254

⁹⁰ G. Phillips, *The Tallow Chandlers Company*, p. 197

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 272

⁹² Ticket 237567 (T.C.O.D.); ticket 54962 (E.C., misprint for G.C.)

⁹³ C. Challis, *A New History of the Royal Mint*, p. 727

Figure 7.12: The poems *O.D.*, used on lottery tickets and the sources from which these were drawn (Biblical quotations cite the Coverdale Bible, with the exception of that from *Ecclesiasticus*, which is taken from the Geneva Bible)

Poey	No. of tickets	Source	Notes
God send us the light of heaven. <i>T.G.O.D. London.</i>	4	Proverbial	cf. George Herbert (1652): <i>A Priest To The Temple Or, The Countie Parson</i> , Ch. 35: 'Another old Custome there is of saying, when light is brought in, God send us the light of heaven.'
The light shining in darcknesse. <i>O.D. London.</i>	6	John 1: 5: 'The light shineth in darkness; and the darkness comprehended it not.'	John 1: 1–9 portrays Christ as the Light of the World, precedes the 'Tallow Chandlers' motto (John 1: 29): 'Beholde the lambe of God, which taketh awaye the synne of the worlde.'
After darknessse light. <i>O.D. Lon.</i>	1	<i>Post tenebras lux</i> : Reformation motto used on Geneva's coins.	Derives ultimately from Job 17: 12 in the Vulgate Bible: <i>Post tenebras spero lucem</i> (After darkness I hope for light).
Set not thy candel under a bushel. <i>O.D. London.</i>	6	Matthew 5: 14 'Ye are the light of the worlde. A cite that is set on an hill, can not be hid: 15 nether do men lyght a candell, and put it vnder a bushell, but on a candelstick, and it lighteth all that are in the house.'	Also found in Luke 8, Mark 4
God be mercifull to me. <i>O.D. London.</i>	5	Psalms 57: 1 Be mercifull vnto me (o God) be mercifull vnto me, for my soule trusteth in ye: & vnder the shadowe of thy wynges shalbe my refuge, vntill wickednesse be ouerpast	Followed by verse 2: I call vnto God ye most hiest, euen ye God yt shal helpe me vp agayne. 3 He shal sende from heauen, & saue me from the reprofte of him that wolde swallowe me vp.
God is my refuge. <i>O.D. Lond.</i>	4	Psalms 18: 1 I will loue the (o LORDE) my strength. The LORDE is my sucour, my refuge, my Sauior: my god, my helper whom I trust: my buckler, ye horne of my health, & my protection.	The psalm calls on God for delivery from enemies; verse 28: '28 Thou lightest my candle, o LORDE my God: thou makest my darcknesse to be light.'
The begynnyng of wysedome is the feare of the Lorde. <i>O.D. London.</i>	2	Multiple Biblical sources: Proverbs 1: 7; Proverbs 9: 10; Psalm 111: 10	Proverbs 1 speaks of sinners devouring the innocent; Proverbs 9 of banquets and eating stolen food that leads to Hell; Psalm 111 of God giving meat unto them that fear him.
Who so feareth the Lord, it shal be wel with him. <i>O.D. London.</i>	5	Ecclesiasticus 1 13: Whoso feareth the Lord, it shall go well with him at the last, and he shall find favour in the day of his death.	Also Psalm 112: 1; with v. 4: Vnto the godly there ariseth vp light in the darcknesse: he is mercifull, louynge & righteous.
He that is mightie hath done great things for me. <i>O.D. London.</i>	3	Luke 1: 49 He that is Mightie, hath done greate things vnto me, and holy is his name.	52 He putreth downe the mightie from the seate, and exalteth them of lowe degree. 53 He fylleth the hongrie with good things, and letteyth the riche go emptye.
God from whom all things. <i>O.D. London.</i>	3	6 yet haue we but one God, euen the father, of whom are all things, and we in him & one LORDE Iesus Christ, by whom are all thinges, and we by him	The chapter concerns meat offered to idols.
God graunt me his holy spirit. <i>O.D. London.</i>	5	Commonplace, e.g., Henry Bull (<i>Christian Prayers and Holy Meditation</i> , 1566): 'O Lord, give thy holy spirit into my heart, and lighten my understanding, that I may dwell in the fear of thy holy name, all the days of my life.' ('A Prayer for the Avoiding of All Kind of Sin').	Also the 1555 prayer of John Bland before his burning for heresy: 'O God, grant me thy Holy Ghost, through whose mercifull inspiration I am come hither.' (Fox's <i>Book of Martyrs</i>)
God send me good lucke to his pleasure. <i>O.D. London.</i>	9	Commonplace, cf., Ben Jonson (<i>Every Man out of his Humour</i>): 'God send me good luck; Lord (and't be thy will) prosper it.'	

This uncertainty is peculiarly frustrating because Dawbeney had a prior connection with lotteries capable of explaining O.D.'s enthusiasm. He had been one of the gentleman passengers 'desirous to see the strange things of the world' on the *Minion's* ill-fated 1536 voyage to Cape Breton, later supplying an account to Hakluyt.⁹⁴ The ship was forced to overwinter in America and food ran low; crew members, set to foraging, began eating each other. Discovering this, the captain gave a 'notable Oration' that stressed the offence against God, cited scriptural instances of God's intervention in like circumstances and urged the company to pray for divine aid. Starvation continuing, authority and God ceded to democracy and Fortune: 'they agreed amongst themselves rather then all should perish, to cast lots who should be killed.' 'Such was the mercie of God', however, that a well-provisioned French ship appeared the same night, which the English commandeered and sailed home in.⁹⁵ The captain's speech, in Dawbeney's account, set the scene for this providential entrance.

Moreover, according to Dawbeney the decision reflected not merely hunger but realisation of 'the *inconvenience* of the men that were missing'.⁹⁶ Drawing lots instead of having everyone die seems to have addressed the problem that the men being eaten were sailors needed for the journey home. The lottery may, therefore, have been confined to non-essential passengers, such as Dawbeney, marked for death and consumption to preserve the crew. If so the French ship must have struck them, in particular, as heaven-sent.

Were O.D. Dawbeney this would cast his support for the lottery in an intriguing light: when it came to lots he had firsthand experience of God's benevolence to encourage participation. Tracing his posies to their sources reveals that their overt motifs of light and fear of the Lord frequently occurred near food references: meat, meals or starvation. 'God be merciful to me', for instance, is the opening of Psalm 57, whose next two verses appeal for God's help against enemies who want to swallow the speaker up. Sometimes this is certainly coincidence; other times it might not be. By 1567 Dawbeney had had thirty years for particular scriptural passages to acquire special significance. His account of the *Minion's* voyage resonates with O.D.'s posies. Modern scholars have been sceptical of Dawbeney's

⁹⁴ 'The Voyage of M. Hore', in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, vol. 8, pp. 3–7

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p6

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* (emphasis added)

cannibalism story, treating him as a minor Mint official who embellished his tale to get attention.⁹⁷ The posies, though, could indicate the experience had been profound.

However, although if Dawbeney was O.D. his ordeal might explain his choices, using the latter to demonstrate the two men were one risks circular argument. One presupposes Dawbeney was O.D. so one can use his posies to argue it was so. The other information available strongly suggests O.D. was Dawbeney but is not conclusive. The use of initials cannot be overcome.

Conclusion

As can be seen, each of the ticket data's components presents problems and reveals information. Bringing these elements together yields a richer picture than is otherwise apparent, even if doing so does not necessarily answer all questions. Sometimes, as in Standley's case, the information assembled leads to a plausible identification; other times, as with O.D., it may be insufficient.

⁹⁷ P. Levy, 'Man-Eating and Menace on Richard Hore's Expedition to America', *Atlantic Studies* 2 (2005), pp. 129–51; *DCB*, 'HORE (Hoore), RICHARD, merchant and navigator'

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE PARTICIPANTS: COMMON CHARACTERISTICS

Almost four thousand tickets survive, bought by 2154 individuals. Although a surprising proportion of buyers can be identified, not everyone is identifiable. For those who are, the information that can be found in other sources is often fragmentary, which makes it hard to build up a composite picture of the 'typical' buyer, let alone analyse detailed variations between regional and social groups. Nevertheless, some broad trends are discernible. Shared motifs can be identified in surviving tickets; so can common traits in those who bought them. Subgroups of the whole ticket-buying cohort, composed of persons of the same age, gender, occupation, faith, etc., can be examined.

This survey will focus on participants' social status, age and religious affiliation. It investigates status in order to substantiate the assertion elites were disproportionately represented. This fact functioned as both cause and effect. It responded to the circumstances under which the lottery unfolded. It was also crucial in enabling ticket-buyers to be identified, as elite individuals left more traces in the historical record. The fact the investigative method relies on unearthing details about buyers to supplement the information on their tickets inevitably affects its findings: the quantity of surviving information reflects an individual's social prominence, with more notable figures more visible and subalterns correspondingly obscure. However, although the elite fraction that can be explored may not be representative of all ticket-buyers the fact it can be shown to be a substantial portion justifies investigation. Unidentifiable buyers, as a group, quite possibly had different characteristics but this is less important if they represented a smaller proportion of participants.

The age structure of lottery participants will also be examined. This is less quantifiable than would be desirable, since the birthdates even of quite prominent sixteenth-century figures are often uncertain. This prevents age in 1568 being determined, which in turn rules out things such as generating an average age or representing ticket-buyers' age structure graphically. Instead a partly qualitative approach is needed. Participants' ages can often be broadly estimated: dates of marriage or the birth of children may be known, as may the years

when a buyer served as mayor, became rector of a parish, or entered university. These mark out a potential age range in 1567–68. While imprecise, this permits lottery participants to be contrasted with the stereotypical gamester at cards and dice.

The individual subgroups to be examined will be those of different faiths as these have relevance to the chapters that follow. Whereas female or clerical buyers constituted distinct and discrete groups there was a spectrum of religious sympathies. Determining somebody's religion with confidence is often impossible. The Elizabethan Settlement had fixed England's religion, discouraging Catholicism or extreme Protestantism. Although more defiant hot Protestants or Catholic recusants identified themselves, those who attended church might be more or less pious Protestants, church papists, members of the Family of Love, even crypto-Jews. This complicates efforts to assign them to distinct religious categories for comparison. Nonetheless, since the stronger Protestants and Catholics can frequently be identified, groups at opposite ends of the religious spectrum can be contrasted even if the uncertain middle ground cannot be marked out confidently. The chapter concludes with an overview of tickets with possible links to the Family of Love.

Social Status

Figure 8.1 provides a breakdown of participants by social status for five counties. This makes clear that across England, despite regional variation, elites comprised a substantial proportion of buyers. Esquires, gentry and leading families were predominant in Lancashire and Nottinghamshire; in Devon these were supplemented by city officials, who bought a quarter of tickets. In Yorkshire officials and clerics were particularly significant, as were knights and nobles. Only in Kent (65.6%) did the four categories that might include non-elite purchasers (*Yeoman*, *Subaltern*, *Syndicate* and *Indeterminate*) amount to over half the participants. Elsewhere these totals were substantially lower — 33.4% in Nottinghamshire; 25.1% in Lancashire; 24.4% in Devon and 7.3% in Yorkshire — while not everyone classified under these headings was necessarily poor or insignificant. Even in Kent, elite buyers purchased 35% of tickets. Social elites formed only about two per cent of England's population, however.¹

¹ Stone, *Crisis*, p. 51

This variation partly reflects the fact different counties have been better or worse served by resources that assist identification: topographical surveys, heralds' visitations and the like. It also, however, reflects real geographic diversity. Major towns, such as York or Exeter, featured substantial purchases by mayors and other civic officers; more tickets were taken by priests in counties with cathedrals: in Nottinghamshire, which had neither, both groups were poorly represented.

SOCIAL STATUS	DEVON	DEVON (AS %)	KENT	KENT (AS %)	LANCS.	LANCS. (AS %)	NOTTS.	NOTTS. (AS %)	YORKS.	YORKS. (AS %)
ARISTOCRAT	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	13 (2)	7.2 (3.4)
KNIGHT	2 (2)	0.8 (1.4)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1)	3.6 (3.7)	3 (2)	10 (7.1)	28 (5)	15.5 (8.5)
CLERIC	13 (5)	4.9 (3.5)	11 (7)	8.8 (7.7)	1 (1)	3.6 (3.7)	0 (0)	0 (0)	22 (7)	12.2 (11.9)
CITY OFFICER	68 (19)	25.6 (13.4)	9 (5)	7.2 (5.5)	2 (2)	7.1 (7.4)	1 (1)	3.3 (3.6)	63 (11)	34.8 (18.6)
ESQUIRE	30 (14)	11.3 (9.9)	7 (7)	5.6 (7.7)	4 (3)	14.3 (11.1)	4 (4)	13.3 (14.3)	16 (6)	8.8 (10.2)
GENTRY	73 (39)	27.4 (27.5)	17 (15)	13.6 (16.5)	11 (11)	39.3 (40.7)	9 (8)	30 (28.6)	13 (8)	7.2 (13.6)
NOTABLE FAMILY	15 (12)	10.3 (8.5)	1 (1)	0.8 (1.1)	2 (2)	7.1 (7.4)	3 (3)	10 (10.7)	13 (7)	7.2 (11.9)
YEOMAN	3 (3)	1.1 (2.1)	1 (1)	0.8 (1.1)	1 (1)	3.6 (3.7)	2 (2)	6.7 (7.1)	3 (3)	1.7 (5.1)
SUBALTERN	5 (3)	1.9 (2.1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (2)	6.7 (7.1)	1 (1)	0.6 (1.7)
SYNDICATE	4 (3)	1.5 (2.1)	45 (33)	36 (36.3)	1 (1)	3.6 (3.7)	1 (1)	3.3 (3.6)	2 (2)	1.1 (3.4)
INDETERMINATE	53 (42)	19.9 (29.6)	36 (24)	28.8 (26.4)	5 (5)	17.9 (18.5)	5 (5)	16.7 (17.9)	7 (7)	3.9 (11.9)
TOTAL	266 (142)	100	125 (91)	100	28 (27)	100	30 (28)	100	181 (59)	100

Figure 8.1: Lottery tickets from Devon, Kent, Lancashire, Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire categorised according to the buyer's social status. Figures in parentheses refer to participants; those not in parentheses refer to tickets. Light columns express the information as percentages. Dark columns do so in terms of the total number of tickets or persons. Note that the county totals differ slightly from those in Fig. 5.2 as a few tickets probably, but not certainly, from a given county have been excluded.

'Elite' might have several senses, something that presents difficulties in categorising ticket-buyers meaningfully.² Sir Thomas Gargrave was a knight, a gentleman, deputy president of the Council of the North, Hull's recorder, and had various other offices. Clergy, knights or aldermen might derive from gentle or yeoman stock. Dividing buyers by social status, properly speaking, could result in leaders such as mayors or bishops being classified unhelpfully as yeomen or of unknown status. The solution adopted has involved prioritisation. When assigning persons to categories, nobility or knighthood has been granted precedence, on the basis that titles trumped other claims to excellence. Elites by virtue of office (mayor; town clerk; bishop; rector) outweigh social status (esquires, gentry, yeomen or subalterns). Certain occupations have not been taken into account, on the

² Cf. de Boer and Bostoen, 'Sorte non sorte', pp. 219–20

grounds that they were outgrowths of social status. Gentlemen served as justices, in parliament or as county sheriffs; becoming a priest or alderman was different. The category *Notable Family* has been used for persons who can be recognised with some confidence as belonging to a specific gentry family but not individually identified. *Syndicate* most usually denotes parish collectives but can indicate other communities or even groups of friends. Outside London, where livery companies bought tickets, these were typically subalterns. The same is likely to have been true of most persons labelled *Indeterminate*: if little information survives about a buyer this probably reflects humble origin. However, the assumption may not always be correct. Thomas Bacon of Lynsted, Kent, has not been identified but his nine tickets represent seven per cent of Kent's total, which suggests importance. He may possibly have been Privy Councillor Nicholas Bacon's brother although no certain connection of that Thomas with Lynsted has been established.³ Bacon's constitute one quarter of Kent's 'indeterminate' tickets, which helps explain why the number is substantially higher than that of other counties (29% as opposed to below 20% elsewhere).

Yorkshire's tickets assist in explaining the high elite involvement. For a start, many survive: its 181 extant tickets were second only to Devon's 266. Elsewhere in the north survival rates were negligible so Yorkshire provides a northern contrast with southern counties. Moreover, York's archives preserve a document that made clear how ticket-selling was supposed to operate. Since the overwhelming majority of Yorkshire participants' social status can be determined this prescriptive source can be juxtaposed with a thorough descriptive account of what actually happened.

In early May 1568 Sir Thomas Gargrave circulated 'articles' through Yorkshire regarding promotion of the lottery.⁴ These described, in detail, what was supposed to happen. Gargrave's instructions were directed to all mayors, justices of the peace and lottery collectors. They probably emanated from the Privy Council; the Council's later letter to Antwerp's Merchant Adventurers, ordering participation, had similar wording.⁵ Gargrave most likely wrote in his capacity as deputy president of the Council of the North (whose president died the following month).

³ Bindoff, 'BACON, Thomas'

⁴ Gargrave, 'Articles', pp. 136–37

⁵ Pembroke, Leicester and Cecil to Antwerp's Merchant Adventurers (draft), 30 Aug 1568, TNA, SP 12/47/48, f. 97

His letter urged that downward pressure be exerted from apex to base of the social pyramid. At every level, individuals were to participate themselves and convince those below them to do likewise, by persuasion and example. 'Justices and gentlemen should themselves lyberally put there money into the lotterye [in front of] the people'. They must also call 'honest persons' from each nearby township and convince them to participate themselves and to urge their neighbours to do so. These parish notables should organise poorer members of their communities into ticket-buying syndicates, where all contributed 'accordinge to their abelyties, some more and some lesse'.⁶ In short, pressure was applied through vertical networks: from the Privy Council via the Council of the North, through county and city leaders to local notables, culminating in local consortia of the simpler sort.

Gargrave's articles were read at a meeting on 3 May attended by York's Mayor, two sheriffs, ten aldermen and six of the twenty-four. It was resolved that the wardens of each ward within the city and the bailiffs of the surrounding Ainsty of York should summon leading figures from the parishes and townships and inform them of what was desired.⁷

Practice did not conform to theory, however. As Figure 8.1 makes clear, the great majority of York's surviving tickets were taken by elites, indicating that downward pressure rapidly petered out. Closer inspection confirms this was so. Within York itself most buyers were civic figures or associated with either the archdiocese of York or the Council of the North, both of which centred on the city. Ten tickets survive for Archbishop Thomas Young, President of the Council, and one for York's Dean, Matthew Hutton. There is one for Elizabeth Eyms (Eynns), gentlewoman of the Queen's Privy Chamber and wife of the Council's secretary.⁸ Most other participants were connected with the Corporation, which bought forty tickets in Alderman Gregory Peacock's name in November 1567, of which four survive.⁹ William Coupland, 1568 mayor and a conforming Catholic, bought no surviving ticket.¹⁰ However, William Watson (six tickets) had been mayor in 1566; Alderman Richard Morton (five) was sheriff in 1581; his father-in-law John Leadall (eight) was a former chamberlain (1547) and bridgeward. James Beckwith (three) was perhaps 1569 mayor William Beckwith's younger son; merchant Thomas Dawson (one) probably belonged to

⁶ Gargrave, 'Articles', pp. 136–37

⁷ *York Civic Records*, vol. 6, ed. A. Raine, p. 136

⁸ Cf. Bindoff, 'EYNNS (GYNNS, HEYNES), Thomas'; Hasler, 'EYNNS, Thomas'

⁹ *York Civic Records*, vol. 6, p. 130

¹⁰ J. Aveling, *Catholic Recusancy in the City of York*, p. 333

the family that supplied multiple sixteenth-century mayors. Beckwith and Dawson both occasionally served as constables.¹¹ Francis Jack and Richard Cailbon, who bought one ticket each, are unidentifiable. No syndicate ticket survives from any parish within the City or Ainsty, although it is possible Beckwith and Dawson, or even Jack and Cailbon, were constables buying for city wards.

Similarly, in the North and West Ridings most tickets were taken by persons linked to the Council of the North. Nine of the North Riding's twenty-seven tickets were bought by councillor Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, at Skipton Castle. John Lambert, esquire, of nearby Calton, whose son had lately married Clifford's illegitimate daughter, bought a further nine.¹² Two survive for councillor Sir George Bowes, with another for his brother-in-law, gentleman John Jackson of Gatenby. Another councillor was Sir Henry Gates of Seamer: one ticket survives for his wife Lucy and another for his son Edward. Twenty-three of the Riding's twenty-seven tickets were thus bought either by Council members or persons connected to them by blood or marriage.

Of the remaining four, one belonged to Anthony Catterigge of Stawiche (Stanwick), esquire. Catterigge, a justice of the peace, was a direct recipient of Gargrave's articles. He held a third of his land in Stanwick from the Queen, to whom he was conspicuously loyal during the 1569 rebellion, and some of the remainder from Council member Lord Scrope.¹³ The other three were from Scarborough, in the names of Margaret Cooke, Christopher Cooke and John Fish. These surnames were those of prominent Scarborough families, who supplied its bailiffs and members of Parliament, significant since the town's corporation presumably received the same directions as York. A John Fish was bailiff in 1561; Tristram Cooke, MP for Scarborough in 1554, had a wife named Margaret.¹⁴ The corporation had an interest in the lottery's success: it was charged with maintaining the pier, which was ruinous, and found the burden a heavy one; in 1565–66 Elizabeth had given it substantial assistance.¹⁵ Council member Henry Gates, who lived only three miles away, was a dominant figure at Scarborough.

¹¹ Cf. mentions in *York Clergy Wills 1520–1600*, ed. C. Cross, vol. 2, pp. 146, 157

¹² T. Whitaker, *The History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven in the County of York*, p. 369 (footnote)

¹³ Bateson, *Bishops' Letters*, p. 71; *VCH*, York, North Riding 1, 'Stanwick St. John', p. 129; Kesselring, *Northern Rebellion*, p. 64

¹⁴ HMC, *Twelfth Report, Appendix, Part IV: Rutland*, vol. 1, p. 75; Hasler, 'FISH, William'; Bindoff, 'COOKE, Tristram'

¹⁵ *VCH*, York, North Riding 2, 'The Borough of Scarborough', p. 553

The West Riding's 62 tickets presented a similar pattern. Sir Thomas Gargrave's twenty-one, with three from Sir Henry Savile of Hatfield, Yorkshire's Sheriff in 1567, directly represented the Council of the North. Other purchases perhaps reflected influence or relationships. The Saviles owned the manor of Emley, which may explain two tickets from members of the yeoman Allott family of Bentley Grange, Emley, whose posies suggest reluctance; Robert Allot's wife was, besides, sister of the Clerk of the Privy Council.¹⁶ Gargrave in particular, described as a 'near-ubiquitous presence in the government of the north', had links to many participants.¹⁷ Lord Darcy of Aston, appointed to the Council in 1572, bought four; Gargrave had been his father's steward. He was also steward of the Lordship and Soke of Doncaster, where the mayor, Richard Fenton, bought eight tickets and the rural dean, John Hudson, six. This lordship was held from the Queen by Doncaster's corporation, an extra incentive for citizen loyalty, especially when the family that had held it previously disputed the town's right to it.¹⁸ William Swift of Rotherham (d. 1571), gentleman of a leading Rotherham family, bought six tickets; he named Gargrave overseer of his 1568 will.¹⁹ Thomas Waterton of Walton, a Justice of the Peace and parliamentarian, bought one; he was close to Gargrave, whose son later married his daughter.²⁰ Single tickets survive for Francis Gascoigne of Gawthorpe, gentleman, and Christopher Twisleton, esquire, of the manor of Barlow. Gawthorpe (Dewsbury parish) was in the Liberty of Wakefield, Barlow (Braybrook parish) in the Liberty of Pontefract. On Gargrave's 1579 death he owned substantial land around Wakefield, while he was Deputy Constable of Pontefract Castle from 1556. His own estate at Kinsley lay midway between the two towns and his posy reflected this regional association: 'Helpe Gargrave as needes, Wakefield, Pomfret [Pontefract] and Leedes.'²¹

Other participants lived in the deanery of Craven, which centred on Skipton, the Earl of Cumberland's North Riding seat. William Lister, esquire, of Thornton in Craven bought two tickets.²² There are two for John Medehop, rector of Keighley, whom the Earl had

¹⁶ *Familiae minorum gentium*, vol. 2, ed. J. Clay, pp. 499–500

¹⁷ *DNB*, 'Gargrave, Sir Thomas (1494/5–1579)'; Bindoff, 'GARGRAVE, Thomas'

¹⁸ J. Wainwright, *Yorkshire*, pp. 20–22

¹⁹ Will of William Swyfte or Swifte of Rotherham, Yorkshire, 14 July 1569, TNA, PROB 11/51/288, ff. 118^r–119^r

²⁰ Hasler, 'WATERTON, Thomas'

²¹ Ticket 86631 and others

²² Whitaker, *Deanery of Craven*, pp. 34–35, 94–95

appointed to the living. Kettlewell, where Sir Henry Hilles was vicar and purchased a ticket, also fell within Craven; whether Hilles too owed his place to the Earl is unclear.²³

The remaining three participants lived in Halifax parish, a cluster that suggests influence operated there too: councillor Henry Savile appears to have been the major landowner there. Edward Stansfield of Stansfield, esquire, belonged to a long-established Halifax family: his father had been a subsidy collector under Henry VIII; a son or brother was Elizabeth's bailiff in Halifax in 1563; another son married a former maid of honour to the Queen.²⁴ Thomas Greenwood of Learings (two tickets), seems to have been locally notable though not necessarily a gentleman. John Smith of Sowerby perhaps belonged to the Smith family who possessed Old House, Sowerby, and Deer Plays, Mill Bank.²⁵ In short, approaching half the Riding's tickets were taken by Council members directly, while almost all the remainder potentially reflected their influence.

The East Riding, however, outside of Hull, presents a different picture. Instead of clustered tickets linked to significant personages there tended to be single purchases from discrete localities, often apparently taken by community syndicates or less noteworthy individuals. In short, the ticket-selling process seems to have penetrated further downward into society, conforming better to the organisers' plan. This had the side-effect of rendering participants harder to identify.

Hull behaved comparably to York. It bought the bulk of the Riding's fifty tickets, perhaps because it was a harbour, perhaps because Thomas Gargrave was the town's recorder. Potentially, all 35 tickets had connections with municipal officers. Eighteen appear to have been bought by Robert Dalton, mayor in 1567–68. A further eight bore the names of other 1560s mayors: John Smith, John Thornton and James Clarkson. In 1568 William Carlisle was the town's chamberlain and William Wilson one of its sheriffs; five tickets survive for William Carlisle, with a further five for a Peter Carlisle and one for Susan Wilson, conceivably relatives.²⁶

²³ CCEd Record ID: 88363; CCEd Location ID: 22713

²⁴ J. Stansfeld, *History of the Family of Stansfeld of Stansfield*, pp. 317–18, 323–25, 327–28 (321–22 record the local prominence of the Saviles)

²⁵ For Smyth, J. Watson, *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Halifax*, p. 300; Greenwood appears in various Halifax wills

²⁶ J. Tickell, *The History of the Town and County of Kingdon upon Hull*, p. 676; N. Carlisle, *Collections for a History of the Ancient Family of Carlisle*, p. 324

Only sixteen tickets survive from the rest of the Riding. In two cases the location is unidentifiable though the ticket's number situates it among East Riding sequences. Except Gabriel St Quintin of Harpham, who bought two tickets, each was purchased by a different person.

Whereas Hull's and Doncaster's mayors probably bought for their respective towns, more rural tickets in the North and West ridings showed no evidence of similar purchases on behalf of communities. The East Riding behaved differently. William Farley, one of Beverley's leading burgesses, used a posy that suggested he bought for the town ('Feare not Farley, in God put thy trust, to bring to Beverley a price of the best').²⁷ Those of William Lutton ('Filey, God send thee lucke') and John Southerin ('Walke Walkington') implied they did likewise for smaller settlements.²⁸ Other posies used the second person plural, suggestive of syndicate purchases. Richard Huthward was unambiguous: 'The lot of. x. shillings in Kelke have we gathered, to send to the lotterie, the Lorde will it speede.' John Hitzard of Ottringham stated 'If fortune us favour, and we may have our will, we wil have the great lot in despite of the Devill'. Leonard Wyckham of Hulwate Banke (an uncertain locality) remarked 'We must take what we can get'.²⁹ Gargrave's directive that local notables should urge neighbours to participate seems to explain that of gentleman Christopher Tenyson of Ryehill, Thorgumbald parish: 'I put in my money at my friendes desire, I pray God sende me the thing I require.' Other posies suggested local notables were exhorting others to participate, for example Gabriel St Quintin's tickets ('Adventure boldly') or that of John Raise of Newton (possibly Wold Newton): 'Nought venture, nought have.'³⁰ In total, ten of the Riding's fifteen rural tickets had posies that implied active and successful efforts, of the sort recommended, to boost participation at the parish level.

This rendered buyers harder to pinpoint, however, since they were further down the social scale. Only half were unambiguously elite. In Burton Agnes parish the rector, Robert Pala (Paley) was an educated man, apparently a gentleman, while Gabriel St Quintin, esquire,

²⁷ Ticket 67175; G. Poulson, *Beverlac*, pp. 398, 402 and others

²⁸ Tickets 8610 (Lutton) and 151763 (Southerin)

²⁹ Tickets 153728 (Huthward), 210924 (Hitzard) and 151727 (Wyckham)

³⁰ Tickets 265019 (Tenyson), 228697 (St Quintin) and 8185 (Newton)

came from a long-established family.³¹ Oswald Hemmerson was rector of Kirby Underdale. In Beverley, William Farley, mercer and gentleman, was a leading citizen: a 'governor' of the town by 1555 and its fourth mayor (1576) after its 1573 incorporation. William Chamberlayne of Thoraldby Hall, Bugthorpe, was the younger son of Oxfordshire gentry.³² Christopher Tenyson was also a cadet of a gentry family.³³ William Lutton, gent, purchased various properties near Filey in the 1560s.³⁴

In contrast, the apparently communal tickets of Kelke, Walkington, Hulwate Bank and Ottringham bear the names of unidentifiable buyers. This suggests that, though leaders within their community, their social standing was moderate. Robert Richardson of Great Givendale was apparently a yeoman.³⁵ Mathew Burriman of Emswell, who used a similar posy, is unidentifiable; there were Burrimans of Emswell but they do not appear to have been gentry. In some cases the posy suggests the buyer was not highly educated, although such assumptions may be unreliable. Laurence Holmes of Bugthorpe cannot be identified but a Robert Holmes from Bugthorpe witnessed a 1579 cause brought by ticket-buyer Elizabeth Eynns; he was described as a labourer (the two Bugthorpe tickets are the only ones to reflect possible Council influence: Elizabeth's husband, the Council's secretary, had lands there).³⁶

Why the East Riding behaved differently is not immediately apparent. Brooks has noted that regions controlled by the Council of the North varied in complexion: the East Riding and Vale of York were, geographically speaking, outgrowths of the Midlands, with a different character from the wilder counties on the Scottish border, or even the West Riding.³⁷ This might explain differential responses to the Lottery. Participation in

³¹ For Paley: J. Purvis, 'The Literacy of the Later Tudor Clergy in Yorkshire', pp. 155; *Alumni Oxonienses 1500–1714*, vol. 3, p. 1107; for St Quintin: *VCH*, York, East Riding 2, 'Harpham', pp. 223–28

³² *DNB*, 'Chamberlayne [Chamberlain], Sir Leonard (b. in or before 1504, d. 1561)'; *Visitation*, Yorkshire 1584/5, p. 176

³³ C. Tenison, 'Tenisoniana', p. 204

³⁴ *VCH*, York, East Riding 2, 'Filey', p. 140 (also pp. 204, 108); *Calendar of Documents in the possession of William Beswick Myers-Beswick, Esqre, of Gristhorpe Manor, 1 January 1900* (University of Leeds Library): DD66/31 Grant by Francis Barker, Citizen and Merchant Taylor of London, to William Lutton of Filey, Gent, of a term of years in a ruined chapel called 'S. Bartholomew's Chapel' and its grounds in Filey, 27 April 1567, available at <https://library.leeds.ac.uk/multimedia/imu/18862/YAS_DD66.pdf> [accessed 3 November 2017]

³⁵ A. Leadman, 'Five East Riding Churches', p. 302;

³⁶ *Cause Papers in the Diocesan Courts of the Archbishopric of York, 1500–1858*: CP.G.1961 Tithe (cattle, hay, horses, corn), 1579–30/4/1580, Consistory Court available at <https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/causepapers/causepaper.jsp?cause=CP.G.1961> (accessed 5 Jul 2017)

³⁷ Brooks, *Council of the North*, p. 6

Westmoreland and Durham, as in the North and West Ridings, seems to have responded to direct persuasion from Council members, while during the Northern Rising Yorkshire's rebels came primarily from the North Riding.³⁸ The East Riding's participation rate relative to its population was substantially higher than that of the other ridings, which resembled those of other northern counties (cf. Fig. 5.2). This possibly reflected the Riding's different social mix in terms of participants' backgrounds (Fig. 8.2).

Social Status	Whole county	County (as %)	York	York (as %)	N. Riding	N. Riding (as %)	W. Riding	W. Riding (as %)	E. Riding	E. Riding (as %)
<i>Aristocrat</i>	13 (2)	7.2 (3.4)	0 (0)	0 (0)	9 (1)	33.3 (10)	4 (1)	6.6 (5.9)	0 (0)	0 (0)
<i>Knight</i>	28 (5)	15.5 (8.5)	0 (0)	0 (0)	4 (3)	14.8 (30)	24 (2)	39.3 (11.8)	0 (0)	0 (0)
<i>Clerical</i>	22 (7)	12.2 (11.9)	11 (2)	26.8 (18.2)	0 (0)	0 (0)	9 (3)	14.8 (17.6)	2 (2)	4.2 (9.5)
<i>Officer</i>	63 (11)	34.8 (18.6)	23 (4)	56.1 (36.4)	0 (0)	0 (0)	8 (1)	13.1 (5.9)	32 (6)	61.5 (28.5)
<i>Esquire</i>	16 (6)	8.8 (10.2)	0 (0)	0 (0)	10 (2)	37 (20)	4 (3)	6.6 (17.6)	2 (1)	4.2 (4.8)
<i>Gentry</i>	13 (8)	7.2 (13.6)	1 (1)	2.4 (9.1)	1 (1)	3.7 (10)	8 (3)	13.1 (17.6)	3 (3)	5.8 (14.3)
<i>Notable family</i>	13 (7)	7.2 (11.9)	4 (2)	9.8 (18.2)	3 (3)	11.1 (30)	0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (2)	11.5 (9.5)
<i>Yeoman</i>	3 (3)	1.7 (5.1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (2)	3.3 (11.8)	1 (1)	1.9 (4.8)
<i>Subaltern</i>	1 (1)	0.6 (1.7)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1)	1.9 (4.8)
<i>Syndicate</i>	2 (2)	1.1 (3.4)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (2)	4.2 (9.5)
<i>Indeterminate</i>	7 (7)	3.9 (11.9)	2 (2)	4.9 (18.2)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (2)	3.3 (11.8)	3 (3)	5.8 (14.3)
Total	181 (59)	100	41 (11)	100	27 (10)	100	61 (17)	100	52 (21)	100

Figure 8.2: Social status of ticket buyers in the various regions of Yorkshire: the shaded columns express the information in terms of numbers of tickets (numbers of buyers in parentheses); unshaded columns express this information as percentages of the total number of tickets.

Yorkshire's case helps elucidate what was happening elsewhere. Kent seems to have behaved similarly to the East Riding, with the ticket-selling campaign achieving relatively good penetration of society's lower strata (and consequent greater uncertainty about buyer identities). This explains the high proportion of indeterminate and parish tickets: John Johnson reported that his precepts had proved effective in the county.³⁹ Proximity to London and Canterbury perhaps rendered Kent more cooperative than more northerly counties. Even there, however, 35 per cent or so of participants were elites. Elsewhere, where there were towns, many tickets were taken by mayors and other officers, as in Devon; otherwise gentlemen and other social elites dominated. Lancashire and Nottinghamshire resembled each other.

³⁸ Cf. Kesselring, *Northern Rebellion*, p. 62 (Map 2.1)

³⁹ Johnson to More, 21 Aug 1568, SHC, 6729/7/144m

Yorkshire's large number of tickets reflected strong administrative structures as well as high population, leading to a greater participation rate than in other northern counties. However, participation barely extended beyond those directly responsible for promoting the lottery: few subalterns took part.

Conversely, administrative weakness perhaps produced poor sales elsewhere in the North. The Earl of Bedford, Warden in the Scottish Marches, left his post in October 1567 and was not replaced until August 1568. A key lieutenant able to promote the scheme was therefore absent during the sales period. Bedford's removal south conceivably boosted sales in the south-west, where he was a regional magnate whose administrative power compared with that of the northern and Welsh Councils. It has been estimated his influence elected forty per cent of Dorset, Devon and Cornwall MPs in Elizabeth's first four Parliaments. He was also active on the Privy Council, where he supported Cecil.⁴⁰ Under these circumstances he was probably involved in promoting the lottery. His name crops up regularly when participants' backgrounds are investigated, although he bought no extant tickets himself. Exeter's enthusiasm for James I's Virginia Lottery was later remarked, suggesting regional factors were possibly involved too, but it is possible Bedford's influence contributed to relatively high sales there and nearby in the 1560s.⁴¹

In conclusion, despite substantial regional variation elite individuals bought a disproportionate number of tickets. Aside from the fact that such persons were better able to afford them, this can be seen to reflect the manner in which the scheme was promoted. Pressure to participate was exerted downward through vertical social networks and, since support for the scheme was reluctant, often petered out without reaching society's lower strata. In this it paralleled more regular levies: successful subsidy collection depended upon the cooperation of the 'magisterial classes'.⁴² In counties such as Kent, closer to London and more Protestant, elite groups may have been more inclined to assist the regime by promoting the lottery. Poorer results further north perhaps reflected lower enthusiasm and less cooperation.

⁴⁰ *DNB*, 'Russell, Francis, second earl of Bedford (1526/7–1585)'

⁴¹ Johnson, 'Lotteries of the Virginia Company', pp. 286–87

⁴² N. Jones, *Governing by Virtue* (Oxford, 2015), p. 140

Participant Age

Difficulty assigning accurate birthdates presents problems for quantifying participant ages. However, since age limits can be guessed from other information available about ticket-buyers, some sense of the typical buyer age can be obtained. This is enough to indicate that lottery participants did not conform to the Elizabethan stereotype of the gamester as a young man.

The case of Derbyshire demonstrates that participants tended to be mature adults except when they were children whose tickets were purchased by someone else. Six tickets survive for Sir John Zouche of Codnor with the same posy as his son's ticket: the father was 34 in 1568, when most ticket-selling occurred, the son ten.⁴³ Richard Whalley of Codnor (two tickets) was probably either Zouche's father-in-law (70 years) from Nottinghamshire or Zouche's ten-year-old nephew.⁴⁴ John Clark of Codnor was either around 15 (perhaps old enough to participate in his own right) or probably over 30: John junior was born around 1553, John senior having settled in Codnor before 1561.⁴⁵ West Hallam's parish register records sons born to William Doughtie in 1545 and 1547; this suggests he was over 40, old enough to have fathered the twenty offspring his posy claimed. A herald's visitation of 1569 recorded that James Ashton of Killamarsh's eldest son Godfrey was 25. Two George Curzons of Croxall were alive in 1569, the son 14, the father proportionately older; Rafe Ashe of Chesterfield likewise could have been either father (d. 1578) or son (b. 1563). John Mery of Barton Park (two tickets) had been Henry VIII's Clerk of the Spicery by 1517.⁴⁶

In 1571 Raphe Hogheton (Ralph Haughton) of Derby was one of the town's bailiffs; his son had been born in 1561; he served as a juror under Edward VI. Richard Hooper the younger of Swarkestone seems to have been son to Judge Richard Harpur, owner of Swarkestone manor: he was ten. J. Eyer of Aston-on-Trent was probably related to Christopher Eyre, who established the family at Weston-on-Trent and owned land in Aston. If John Eyre,

⁴³ Bindoff, 'ZOUCHÉ, John II'; W. Metcalfe, (ed.), 'Pedigrees Contained in the Visitations of Derbyshire, 1569 and 1611', *Genealogist*, n.s. 8 (1892), p. 180

⁴⁴ Bindoff, 'WHALLEY, Richard' (Whalley senior); Hasler, 'WHALLEY, Richard' (Whalley junior)

⁴⁵ F. Corfield, 'Archæological Gleanings in the Neighbourhood of Codnor Castle', pp. 109–10

⁴⁶ For Doughty: C. Kerry, 'A Literal Transcript of the Oldest Register of West Hallam, Derbyshire', p. 95; for Ashton: Metcalfe, (ed.), 'Pedigrees', *Genealogist*, n.s. 7, p. 2; for Curzon: Metcalfe, 'Pedigrees', *Genealogist*, n.s. 7, pp. 73–74; for Mery: *Henry VIII: Letters and Papers*, vol. 2, nos 2942, 2949; Metcalfe, 'Pedigrees', *Genealogist*, n.s. 8, p. 20;

esquire, overseer of his cousin's 1552 will, he was over thirty in 1568; otherwise this may have been a grandchild of Christopher's born after 1552.⁴⁷

Humfrey Bradbury of Lea, Ashbourne, was 55 or more, with a 'career in shire administration' dating back thirty years.⁴⁸ Thomas Hunt of Ashbourne's posy ('God send us a free schole') suggests he was actually Thomas Hurt, a leading gentleman of the town and one of five credited with establishing the school in 1585 (along with Bradbury's son). Hurt was probably adult in 1568 but not necessarily especially old: he married in 1565 and again in 1573.⁴⁹ The same may hold for John Wigley of Middleton, married to Hurt's wife's sister: his father died in 1553; his younger brother married in 1560; he died himself before 1596. Thomas Newton of Chaddesden was probably young, possibly too young to buy his own ticket: his father died in 1593; his younger brothers were born around the time of the lottery.⁵⁰ Robert Abel of Ticknall's son George entered Oxford in 1578, aged 17, and the Inner Temple in 1581; online genealogy sites assert Robert was born about 1531 but the provenance and reliability of this information is unclear.⁵¹ Parish records confirm that Robert Sligh of Egginton was buried in 1595, while his offspring were christened from 1564.⁵²

For some participants no age estimate is feasible. James Swindell of Walton-on-Trent was possibly married to Ellen Bramall alias Swindell; she ran the family farm in Walton between her husband's death in 1598 and her own in 1607.⁵³ No John Foster of Morley can be located: he may have been brother to Mary Fosterde (bap. 1571) and therefore young; however, his posy cites from a scriptural passage on sickness and death, which could imply

⁴⁷ for Hoghton: S. Glover, *The History of the County of Derby*, vol. 1, pp. 29 and 37; *The Derby School Register, 1570–1901*, ed. B. Tachella, p. 1; for Hooper: Metcalfe, 'Pedigrees', *Genealogist*, n.s. 7, p. 142; for Eyer: Will of Christopher Eyer, Gentleman of Weston upon Trent, Derbyshire, 20 Feb 1552, TNA, PROB 11/35/77, ff. 5^v–6^v; J. Daniel-Tyssen, 'Contributions towards a History of the Parish of Hope', p. 44

⁴⁸ Bindoff, 'BRADBOURNE, Sir Humphrey'

⁴⁹ Ticket 35923; K. Charlton, *Education in Renaissance England*, p. 93; Metcalfe, 'Pedigrees', *Genealogist* n.s. 7, p. 48; *FamilySearch*, <<https://www.familysearch.org>>: 'England Marriages, 1538–1973': Thomas Hurte and Maria Gell, 1565; Thomas Hurte and Elizabetha Harker, 1573

⁵⁰ For Wigley: Burke, *Commoners*, vol. 2, pp. 674–75; for Newton: Metcalfe, 'Pedigrees', *Genealogist*, n.s. 8, p. 23; *Alumni Oxonienses*, vol 3, pp. 1064–65: (brothers Francis and Robert students in 1586, aged 17 and 14 respectively); Lysons, *Magna Britannia V: Derbyshire*, p. 260

⁵¹ *Alumni Oxonienses*, vol. 1, p. 2; for an online genealogy: *Geni.com: A MyHeritage Company* (2017): 'Robert Abell, II': <<https://www.geni.com/people/Robert-Abell-II/5484688736320030418>> [accessed 6 November 2017]

⁵² *FamilySearch*, <<https://www.familysearch.org>>: 'England, Derbyshire, Church of England Parish Registers, 1537-1918': Robertus Sleighe, 27 Dec 1595; 'England Births and Christenings, 1538-1975': Robert Sleighe in entry for Thomas Sleighe, 21 Nov 1564; Roberte Sleighe in entry for Anne Sleighe, 12 Sep 1568

⁵³ J. Whittle, 'Enterprising Widows and Active Wives', p. 294

he was ailing or elderly (Ecclesiasticus 38:20: 'Take no heaviness to heart: drive it away, and remember the last end').⁵⁴ Arthur Preton of Chellaston's posy suggests his ticket was a communal one but the surname is untraceable in parish records. Walter Vernon 'of Derbyshire' specified no locality: he was conceivably Walter of Houndshill, Staffordshire (1552–1592), as the Vernons had substantial Derbyshire interests, but this is unverifiable.

While only an overall impression of participants' ages can be obtained, despite the availability of information about some of them, many were apparently over thirty, while several were certainly older than forty. Sometimes it is unclear whether the ticket belonged to a son or father. In these cases, the existence of a son aged (for instance) ten implies the father was probably over thirty, while if the ticket was the child's it must have been purchased by somebody older, quite possibly a parent.

Relatively few buyers seem to have been in their late teens or twenties. The stereotypical gamester at cards and dice was a young man. Lottery participants seem to have been entering more mature years; they were the kinds of men cautioning their sons against excessive gambling of other kinds. The situation in Derbyshire was characteristic of England more generally; although a distinct age profile for participants cannot be developed, enough evidence exists to indicate participants were, in this respect, the reverse of the traditional gambler.

This is unsurprising, given the lottery's circumstances. The responsibilities that left elite individuals more susceptible to pressure to take part accrued with age. It has already been suggested that young men wagered to excess because they were not yet well integrated into the community; for the same reason they are likely to have been better able to evade coercion to buy tickets. The incorporation into society that left older men less disposed to approve gambling rendered them more susceptible to such pressure: they were aldermen, archdeacons, magistrates, churchwardens and the like, with offices and responsibilities. In Yorkshire involvement did not penetrate far beyond the Council of the North; some bias towards mature participants might therefore be expected.

⁵⁴ *FamilySearch*, <<https://www.familysearch.org>>: 'England Births and Christenings, 1538-1975': Mary Fosterde, 30 Sep 1571

Tickets bought for children, though nominally involving very young persons, were purchased by someone older; most such buyers were probably parents, thus not necessarily elderly themselves. Nonetheless, parenthood entailed its own responsibilities. Although it imposed no pressure to participate, as public office might have, it too entailed greater engagement with the community. Being head of a household seems to have hardened gentlemen's attitudes against other forms of gambling. Some parents appear to have bought tickets for their children as a way of providing for them (e.g., ticket 9345: 'I am a pore childe of foure yeares of age, and thys is given to my mariage'). Some strong Protestants may have had ideological scruples about games of chance, though obliged to participate, so bought their children tickets as a way of dissociating themselves from direct involvement. No tickets survive for James Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, for example, who was on the Council of the North, but there is one for his two-year old son Isaac: 'The judgement is the Lords (ticket 360277)'

Religious affiliations

Everyone had a faith but unless the individual was overtly Catholic or Protestant what that was could be uncertain. This overview only considers buyers whose religion can be determined independently, something that precludes tickets that seem to imply a religious orientation. The contrast of Catholics and Protestants that follows is therefore confined to opposite ends of a continuum: reasonably overt Catholics, sometimes recusants who refused to attend church services, versus equally devout Protestants. The substantial middle ground is not represented, mainly because of difficulty being sure of these buyers' actual beliefs. Nonetheless, juxtaposing the two extremities exposes differences between them.

As in Isaac Pilkington's case, Protestant posies frequently emphasised God's control over the lottery. 'Both lot and living, is of Gods giving' asserted haberdasher Nicholas Culverwell, leading light of London's pious community.⁵⁵ Various buyers cited Proverbs 16:33, among them evangelical stationer Reynold Wolfe, formerly Cranmer's official printer ('The lots are cast into the lap, but their fall standeth in the Lord') and cleric William

⁵⁵ Ticket 119025; *DNB*, 'Culverwell family (per. c.1545–c.1640)'

Gravet.⁵⁶ Some posies expressed more general dependence on God. 'I rest only upon Gods providence' asserted George Leigh, Shrewsbury's godly draper, alderman and MP.⁵⁷ Like O.D., buyers exhibited their god-fearing nature. 'Who so feareth the Lord, shall be blessed' said William Ponder of Rothwell, Northamptonshire, of a family whose later generations were notably nonconformist. 'Whether the lotte be little or muche,' remarked Thomas Stanley, esquire, of London (most likely the MP and Mint official), 'the feare of God maketh men riche.'⁵⁸

Those mentioning Fortune tended to contrast or couple her with God. In ardent Protestants this was unsurprising: Calvin had denounced Fortune as a pagan goddess; he had declared that God personally guided every raindrop; Calvinists were liable to feel similarly.⁵⁹ Thus, Thomas Worlich of Alconbury stressed that the lottery involved not Fortune's wheel but God's providence: '*Non fortunæ rota, sed Dei providentia*'. In 1564, when England's bishops were required to describe the religious views of gentlemen in their dioceses, his bishop saw him as 'earnest in religion and fytte to be trusted'.⁶⁰ Alternatively, fortune might be ascribed to God. 'Pray God be my fortune,' asked former Marian exile Christopher Cheyley of Ayston (Chudleigh of Ashton).⁶¹ *Fortune* was often used synonymously with *chance* or *money*, rather than to signify Fortuna. The infant John King of Wornall (Worminghall), future evangelical Bishop of London, demanded 'God send me good fortune', equivalent to his sister Anne's 'God send me of his giftes'.⁶²

They likewise emphasised hope and gratitude. 'Help happy hope' urged Thomas Layer, Puritan alderman and Norwich's sheriff in 1567; his brother Christopher's posy was similarly pious ('What so ever befall, thanke God of all').⁶³ Protestants expressed hope in God, rather than trust, which seems sometimes to have been used to signify distrust of the Queen. Thus, according to David Cressy, Sir George Turpin, who used the posy *Mibi*

⁵⁶ Tickets 64956 (Wolfe) and 168649 (Gravet); *DNB*, 'Wolfe, Reyner [Reginald, Reynold] (d. in or before 1574)'; *DNB*, 'Gravet, William (d. 1599)'; M. Morrissey, 'Episcopal Chaplains and Control of the Media 1586–1642', p. 71

⁵⁷ Ticket 174969; Hasler 'LEIGHE (LYE), George'; also A. Stewart, *Philip Sidney*, p. 44

⁵⁸ Tickets 83382 (Ponder) and 64778 (Stanley); *DNB*, 'Ponder, Nathaniel [called Bunyan Ponder] (1640–1699)'; C. Challis, 'Apprentices, Goldsmiths, and the North in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England', pp. 65–68

⁵⁹ J. Calvin, *Institutes*, vol. 1, pp. 207–08; A. Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, pp. 20–22

⁶⁰ Ticket 107207; Bateson, *Bishops' Letters*, p. 29

⁶¹ Ticket 92662; cf. Hasler 'CHUDLEIGH, John'

⁶² Tickets 245061 (John) and 245068 (Anne)

⁶³ Tickets 136884 (Thomas) and 129591 (Christopher); for biographical details, M. Reynolds, *Godly Reformers and Their Opponents in Early Modern England*, pp. 82–83

diffidens, in Domino solo confido ('Uncertain of myself, I trust in God alone') was probably Catholic (although Cressy notes the dangers of being definitive about anyone's religious standpoint). Turpin nonetheless had various public and parliamentary roles under Elizabeth, including as Leicestershire's lottery treasurer despite his seemingly equivocal views about it.⁶⁴ In contrast, Elizabeth's former chaplain, Nicholas Bullingham, Bishop of Lincoln and former Marian exile, asserted hope: *Spes mea in Deo*. William Johnson, rector of Cantley, Norfolk, did likewise: *Spes mea in Deo est* ('My hope is in God'). In 1568 Johnson was deprived of the living as a 'contumacious cleric' (someone who 'obstinately resist[ed] authority', including court orders and summonses). The reformist Thomas Gawdy had appointed him rector in 1564; this suggests Johnson's contumacy was Puritan rather than Catholic.⁶⁵

These hopes perhaps involved more than just winning a prize. 'If eche may hope aswell as I,' reasoned Constance Kingsmill of Sidmanton, confusingly, 'why should I doubt my destiny'[?] The fact everybody's chance of winning was equal would seem grounds for fearing one might not. The Kingsmills were at the centre of a Reformist circle: Constance was either the family matriarch (d. 1580), Isaac Pilkington's grandmother, or her granddaughter, who later married Ralph Fiennes of Broughton Castle (winner of the Twelfth Great Prize with the posy 'Not covetous'). Just as Richarde Warde of London's posy — 'The wealthy seekes by subtile meanes, their substance to increase, but Lord thou givest to thine electe, prosperitie and peace' — strongly suggests Protestantism (though his religious affiliation is uncertain) Kingsmill's may imply a sense of being God's elect, with a consequently enhanced chance of winning.⁶⁶

Like Fiennes, devout Protestants often disclaimed any desire to win: Puritan William Hawkins's 'Advancement by diligence' conveyed this viewpoint.⁶⁷ Lucy Gates of Seamer was not anxious for riches as God had provided her with what she needed; her nineteen-year-old son Edward claimed not to desire 'aboundance to have' but only, like Solomon, to

⁶⁴ Ticket 140614; Cressy, 'Agnes Bowker's Cat', pp. 288–89, n. 18; *Records of the Borough of Leicester*, vol. 3, p. 131

⁶⁵ Tickets 278035 (Bullingham) and 314147 (Johnson); *CCEd* Location ID: 19512; Parkin, *Norfolk*, vol. 7, p. 230; *DNB*, 'Gawdy family (per. c.1500–1723)'; *OED*, 'contumacious'

⁶⁶ Cf. Walsham, *Providence*, p. 153; tickets 244404 (Kingsmill), 69158 (Fiennes) and 304254 (Warde); *DNB*, 'Kingsmill family (per. c.1480–1698)'; Hasler, 'FIENNES, Richard'

⁶⁷ Above, p. 168

be granted wisdom.⁶⁸ Henry Champernowne of Modbury's circumstances perhaps explained his particular focus: 'With honoure goe, with vertue live, and fortune shal thee largely give.' In late 1568 he was settling his affairs before departing to fight alongside France's Huguenots, having previously fought the Turks in Hungary. Champernowne had diverse reformist connections: his wife was an Edgecombe of Mt Edgecombe, Cornwall; he entrusted Christopher Chudleigh with overseeing his estates in his absence; Elizabeth's governess Kate Astley was his aunt.⁶⁹

The good works lotteries financed helped Dutch lottery participants to rationalize greed as charitable.⁷⁰ Certain English buyers went farther, excusing their involvement by declaring they would donate any winnings. 'I aske no more, but for the poore' claimed John Dier of Ipswich, probably the town's Calvinist bailiff of 1567–68, while Thomas Parker of Norwich's posy ran 'This lot and the gaine, the pore shall maintaine': he was probably the 1568–69 mayor, the Archbishop of Canterbury's brother. It is possible these men purchased for their corporations, not personally: George Sayer, Colchester's bailiff in 1567, brother of a Marian exile, articulated identical sentiments.⁷¹

Participants typically expressed content and gratitude. Sir George Bowes, of a family of extreme Protestants, manifested secular indifference to the outcome: 'With the possessed contented, what befalleth welcome'. William Cecil did similarly.⁷² However, other Protestant posies affected submissiveness rather than indifference. 'As God will, so be it' observed Archbishop Parker's steward Thomas Colby. 'As God hath apointed, so am I contented' said Humfrey Toy 'of Carmarthen', either the London printer or his uncle, Carmarthen's former mayor (the ticket sold in London).⁷³ Goldsmith Richard Martin expressed similar sentiments, while his infant son's ticket directed 'If I have any Lot, God make me thankfull for it'. Marian exile John Bodleigh, printer of the Geneva Bible, stated:

⁶⁸ Tickets 264938 (Lucy) and 264944 (Edward)

⁶⁹ Ticket 332330; Hasler, 'CHAMPERNOWNE, Henry'

⁷⁰ Schama, *Embarrassment of Riches*, p. 307

⁷¹ Tickets 80251 (Dier), 126866 (Parker) and 294354 (Sayer); Bindoff, 'SMITH, alias DYER, John'; Hasler, 'PARKER, Thomas'; for Sayer, L. Higgs, *Godliness and Governance in Tudor Colchester*, pp. 30, 112, 170, 196–97, 208–09

⁷² Tickets 155441 (Bowes) and 100232 (Cecil)

⁷³ Ticket 265936; *DNB*, 'Toy, Humphrey (b. in or before 1537, d. 1577), bookseller'; *DWB*, 'TOY, HUMFREY (d. 1575), Carmarthen merchant', <http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-TOY0-HUM-1575.html> [accessed 16 Oct 2017]

‘Lord whether thou send a good lot or a blanck, yet for thy goodnesse I am bound thee to thanke.’⁷⁴

Strong Protestants’ posies were often loyal and positive, though not invariably: George Morrey, a leading Tewkesbury Reformist, expressed trust in God, something that seems sometimes to have insinuated distrust of the Queen.⁷⁵ Conversely, Sir John Zouche adapted the Garter motto to declare confidence: *Sans mal penser* (‘Without thinking ill of it’). John Culpeper, rector of Ardingley, Sussex, cited Ovid: *Careat successibus obto quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat* (*Heroides*, II, 85–86: ‘Let him come to naught, I pray, who thinks the deed should be condemned from its result’).⁷⁶ This reacted against posies that reserved judgment until the outcome was known (e.g., ‘As we like of this, it shalbe seene heereafter’).⁷⁷ *Vincit veritas* (‘The truth will win’), was Mint official Thomas Fleetwood of Chalfont St Giles’s choice, perhaps intended to rebut doubts about the Queen’s good faith in holding the lottery: in 1570 he bequeathed her £200 ‘to suppress rebels and to uphold the true religion’.⁷⁸

Overt statements of goodwill sometimes reflected a buyer’s office or relationships: Roger Slegg, controversial mayor of Cambridge but ‘of godly religion’, declared ‘For the towne of Cambridge in this open place, God save the Queene, & the Duke of Norffolks grace’ (Norfolk being the local magnate).⁷⁹ ‘The Queenes Majestie God hir preserve,’ ran the posy of Thomas Stafford, son of Henry Stafford, Constable of Dongarvan, ‘whose pay my father hath to serve.’⁸⁰ Mary, daughter of Sir William Fitzwilliam, puritan lord justice of Ireland, also stressed loyalty: ‘My portion smal with willing minde, I offer here as subject kinde.’⁸¹

Reformists might, nonetheless, articulate moral or practical reservations about games of chance. William Alley, Bishop of Exeter, deployed a proverb cited elsewhere to caution against cards and dice (‘Beware of had I wist’).⁸² ‘Nonconformist worthy’ Edward Underne, rector of Barnet, used the Latin equivalent *Sero sapiunt Phryges* (‘When Troy was sacked the

⁷⁴ Tickets 193347 (Martin senior), 111701 (junior) and 376395 (Bodley)

⁷⁵ Ticket 221910; C. Litzenberger, ‘The Coming of Protestantism to Elizabethan Tewkesbury’, pp. 90–91

⁷⁶ Tickets 38884 (Zouche) and 1809 (Culpeper); *CCEd* Person ID: 75022; Ovid, *Heroides and Amores*, p. 27

⁷⁷ Ticket 213477

⁷⁸ Ticket 189948; Hasler, ‘FLEETWOOD, Thomas’

⁷⁹ Ticket 105292; Hasler, ‘SLEGGE, Roger’

⁸⁰ Ticket 166872

⁸¹ Ticket 325894

⁸² Ticket 16961

citizens were wise').⁸³ 'If good hap, it is more than I loke for,' remarked Lord Gray gloomily. 'Wisedome liketh not chaunce' stated Sir Thomas Wroth. Though Puritan, Wroth had political reasons for disaffection: prominent under Edward VI, he had found himself ignored by Elizabeth. Dean has suggested his posy 'engaged critically' with the Lottery Chart's depiction of Solomon's wisdom. He may also have hinted at a common iconographic counterpart, King Midas, the 'unwise judge', likewise on a throne, with asses' ears, judging two women: Truth (being held back) and Calumny, to whom he was listening.⁸⁴

In short, zealous Protestants tended to invoke God rather than Fortune and evinced gratitude for divine providence whilst downplaying any hope of winning. Although they testified political loyalty and goodwill they sometimes evinced reservations about participating in a game of chance. In contrast, when Catholics expressed religious sentiments they sometimes affirmed ongoing Catholic faith. They were less wary of Fortune and less likely than Protestants to be ambivalent about gambling or winning. Participation in the lottery as a manifestation of political devotion, however, could be problematic.

Inasmuch as participants were supposed to perform loyalty to Elizabeth the lottery was more complex for Catholics and a different array of sentiments might be anticipated. The Northern Rising would demonstrate that not all were loyal, not even all lottery participants. The arrival of a Catholic pretender in England as tickets sold had potential to complicate allegiances, as did rumours the scheme might be raising money to support Protestant forces abroad.

Leading Catholics were expected to purchase tickets to encourage others but might be distrusted in an emergency: in 1569 the Earl of Cumberland ('Have with you for company') and Lord Scrope (*Aut mihi aut nulli*: 'To me or to nobody') were suspected of sympathy with the rebels.⁸⁵ One response to such circumstances was that of Sir John Arundel of Lanherne, Cornwall, a staunch Catholic, who adopted the widespread saying 'Feare God, obey the Queene, and serve thy country' to urge others to support the endeavour.⁸⁶ Arundel's father

⁸³ Ticket 50765; trans. from R. Greene, *The Royal Exchange* (London, 1590), STC (2nd ed.) / 12307, sig. B2^v; for Underne, W. Urwick, *Nonconformity in Herks.*, pp. 90, 260–61

⁸⁴ Tickets 255058 (Gray) and 10681 (Wroth); Dean, 'Elizabeth's Lottery', pp. 609; for Midas, D. Cast, *The Calumny of Apelles*, p. 45; R. Altrocchi, 'The Calumny of Apelles in the Literature of the Quattrocento', pp. 454–57

⁸⁵ Tickets 2419 (Cumberland) and 205854 (Scrope, adapting Cesar Borgia's motto *Aut caesar aut nullus*)

⁸⁶ Cf. Fleming, *Graffiti*, pp. 62–63

had been accused of supporting 1549's Prayer-Book Rebellion, which perhaps made exemplary loyalty necessary. Until 1577, when a seminary priest praised him extravagantly (perhaps mischievously) from the scaffold, the Crown recognised Arundel's trustworthiness, turning a blind eye to his recusancy, appointing him a Justice of the Peace even though his bishop had labelled him a hinderer of Protestantism, and making clear that his loyalty was not doubted during the Northern Rising, when he oversaw the Cornish muster, despite his failure to subscribe to the Act of Uniformity.⁸⁷

Others, however, withheld support. 'I serve God' declared William Chamberlayne of Thoraldby, esquire. Mary Tudor had made his father Leonard governor of Guernsey and, in 1554, Elizabeth's custodian at Woodstock; his son (also Leonard) appeared on a 1574 list compiled by Mary Stewart's supporters of 'Catholicks in Inglande' considered sympathetic to her, as did his brothers. His brother George fled abroad after the Northern Rising, later helping Edmund Campion and Robert Parsons enter England.⁸⁸ Chamberlayne's defiant tone seems to have reacted against demands he obey his Queen.

Robert Peerson, vicar of Sockburn, affirming a different rival loyalty, proclaimed allegiance to a regional magnate: 'God save the Bul of Westmerland.' This was the Neville Earls of Westmorelands' rallying cry. Peerson was also curate at Brancepeth, the Nevilles' seat, and Earl Charles's chaplain. His posy prefigured his active role in the Northern Rising, when he accompanied the rebels, preached Durham Cathedral's first Catholic sermon since Elizabeth's accession and was instrumental in restoring its Catholic masses and altars. According to Brancepeth tradition, its rector Nicholas Forster narrowly escaped hanging after the rebellion, but this possibly conflated Forster, who retained the living till his death, with Peerson, the curate he deputed to perform his duties.⁸⁹

Other Catholic buyers held fast to their faith without being overtly political. John Petre of Ingatestone Hall used the family motto *Sans Dieu rien* ('Nothing without God').⁹⁰ 'Health is

⁸⁷ *DNB*, 'Arundell family'

⁸⁸ Ticket 151789; *DNB*, 'Chamberlayne [Chamberlain], Sir Leonard'; Wainewright, 'Two Lists', pp. 101–02; Bindoff, 'CHAMBERLAIN, George'

⁸⁹ Ticket 146943; C. Sharp, *Memorials of the Rebellion of 1569*, p. 252–61; S. Tenno, 'Religious Deviance in the Elizabethan Diocese of Durham', unpublished PhD thesis, p. 30; R. Surtees, cited in G. Taylor, *A Memoir of Robert Surtees*, ed. J. Raine, pp. 64–65, inc. note; Peerson may also have been rural dean of Westmorland: *CCEd*, Person ID: 30110

⁹⁰ F. Emmison, *Tudor Secretary*, pp. 213 (for John), 302 (for the motto)

better than riches' asserted Sir John Talbot of Salesbury Hall, Lancashire, apparently paraphrasing Ecclesiasticus 30:15–16, which placed spiritual health above worldly wealth. Talbot perhaps alluded to a choice to pay recusancy fines rather than go to Protestant services: on 31 July 1568 he was one of eight Lancashire gentlemen tried on charges including not receiving Communion, not repairing to church and harbouring wilful persons. In the 1570s he was reckoned one of the twelve worst recusants in southern Lancashire and persistently sheltered priests, from William Allen in the early 1560s to Edmund Campion in 1581.⁹¹ If ten surviving tickets in the name of William Barker of London were bought by the Catholic scholar, MP and secretary of the Duke of Norfolk their posy, the emblem motto *Ditat servata fides*, was skilfully deployed: it could mean 'Tested fidelity enriches', gratifying Elizabeth with loyal sentiments, or 'Faith preserved enriches'. Barker had gone into exile under Edward VI; he was detained as a Catholic during the Northern Rising, then involved Norfolk in the Ridolfi Plot, only to betray him under threat of torture.⁹²

'Faith is a precious pearle' stated 'Mistresse Anne Parpoint' of Clifton.⁹³ Anne, future mother of recusant poet John Beaumont and playwright Francis, was recusant herself throughout life. She belonged within a Catholic network. The Pierreponts were uncompromising Catholics: Anne's brothers Gervase and Henry assisted Edmund Campion and she herself was questioned in regard to him. Their mother, Winifred née Thwaites, from a family of Marian sympathisers, had remarried Sir Gervase Clifton of Clifton, a man considered loyal but 'vearie cold' in religion, after Sir George Pierrepont's death; Winifred's recusancy made life awkward for him. Anne and her infant step-brother George Clifton (Ticket 275601: 'In time cometh grace') married Thomas and Winifred Thorold of Blankney, respectively: this family, too, had recusant associations, which its lottery posies conceivably reflected. Anne's second husband, Francis Beaumont senior, was noted for severity towards recusants after becoming a judge but earlier in life was seemingly recusant himself. His mother sheltered Campion; he was interrogated over the Throckmorton Plot, as was Anne.⁹⁴

⁹¹ J. Leatherbarrow, *The Lancashire Elizabethan Recusants*, pp. 21, 33–34, 46, 54, 85; Ryan, 'Diocesan Returns of Recusants', p. 69

⁹² Ticket 88864 and others; *DNB*, 'Barker, William (fl. 1540–1576)'; the proverb does not feature in his *Epitaphia et inscriptiones lugubres* (London, 1566), STC (2nd ed.) / 1427; for Mary Stewart's use of it: M. Bath, *Emblems for a Queen*, pp. 31, 142

⁹³ Ticket 289436

⁹⁴ R. Sell, 'Notes on the Religious and Family Background of Francis and Sir John Beaumont', pp. 299–307; Bateson, *Bishops' Letters*, p. 72; P. Finkelpearl, *Court and Country Politics in the Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher*, p. 11; Hasler, 'PIERREPONT, Henry'; Bindoff, 'CLIFTON, Gervase'

Where Protestant posies spoke of hope in God, Catholic ones were more likely to emphasise hope of *winning* or, like George Turpin, *trust* of God. Anthony Ducket of Grayrigg, Kendal, a man with strong Catholic ties, whose wife was a sister of rebel-to-be Leonard Dacre, remarked 'My trust is in God'. In 1564 Chester's Bishop had found him Catholic (although Carlisle's Bishop, advised by Ducket's kinsman Alan Bellingham, reported the opposite).⁹⁵ Lord Windsor (*In Domino confido*) was a banished Catholic in 1574 and supposed sympathiser of Mary Stewart; his wife and offspring continued in recusant lists after his 1575 death in Venice.⁹⁶ London's Anne Powtrel used the same posy. She was conceivably justice Nicholas Powtrel's wife, a kinswoman of the Catholic Mordaunt family. Nicholas, a northern judge, vanished from public life after the Bishop of Carlisle accused him in 1565 of hindering Protestantism despite outward conformity. As a serjeant-at-law he was one of the only barristers entitled to represent clients at the Court of Common Pleas at Westminster; it is possible he relocated to London after 1565 to do so. Under Edward VI he had been active in hiding from the Crown the wealth of dissolved chantries; his nephew, Walter Powtrel, sheltered Campion and other priests.⁹⁷

Catholics deployed *hope* differently, expressing hopes of winning rather than hope in God. 'Hope well and have wel' urged Sir William Hollys of Houghton, deemed Catholic in 1564. 'Hope and have' asserted John Hedworth of Harraton. The father of Edward Denis of Shobrooke ('I hope to heare the trumpet sound, a lot worth to me a thousand pound') was Catholic; though Elizabeth praised his elder brother Robert's loyalty, in 1574 a younger brother, Gabriell, was in Catholic exile in the Netherlands and later linked to the Babington Plot.⁹⁸ Edward Wotton's religious views around 1568 are unclear but his position has been described as 'interesting'. His father and grandfather were radical Protestants; he began negotiating a conversion with the Pope around 1610 but did not declare it until 1624, when a Privy Councillor. Wotton used a Latin posy: *Spes victoriæ prælij timorem adimit* ('Hope of victory in battle takes away fear').⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Bateson, *Bishops' Letters*, pp. 51, 80

⁹⁶ Wainwright, 'Two Lists', p. 116, 139; Ryan, 'Diocesan Returns of Recusants', p. 65

⁹⁷ Bindoff, 'POWTRELL, Nicholas'; D. Flynn, *John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility* (Bloomington, 1995), pp. 30–31; C. Kitching, 'Studies in the Redistribution of Collegiate and Chantry Property in the Diocese and County of York at the Dissolution', unpublished PhD thesis, p. 263

⁹⁸ Bindoff, 'DENYS, Sir Thomas'; Bindoff, 'DENYS, Robert'; Wainwright, 'Two Lists', p. 123

⁹⁹ Hasler, 'WOTTON, Edward'; *DNB*, 'Wotton, Edward, first Baron Wotton (1548–1628)'

Even when *hope* was not used, tickets with Catholic links regularly manifested a desire to win, whereas Protestants often professed indifference. Thomas Houghton of Grimsargh, Lancashire, one of the recusant Houghtons of Houghton Tower ('God sende me some money'), was conceivably differentiating himself from buyers who claimed they bought through goodwill without caring whether they won.¹⁰⁰ George Lathem of Irlam, Lancashire, declared 'With the help of God, have at the best'. John Worthington of Turton, Lancashire ('Have at the best prise'), an offshoot of the Blainscough Worthingtons, belonged to one of Lancashire's two major Catholic family networks.¹⁰¹ *Modo vel nunquam* ('Now or never') urged John Scudamore, esquire, of Holme Lacy, either the grandfather, 82 years old and firmly Catholic, or his 26-year-old grandson, whose religion is unclear: in 1574 Mary's partisans thought him sympathetic.¹⁰² 'Win it and weare it' declared Robert Long of South Wraxall.¹⁰³ This contrasted with reformist shamefacedness about appearing to want to win.

'Encrease and multiplie': Anthony Duckett's wife Alice, Leonard Dacre's sister, perhaps punned on her name (a ducat was ten shillings, the ticket price). Thomas Lewkenar of Selsey, loyal but a 'notorious papist', used the Latin equivalent: *Crescite et multiplicamini* (although Milo Sandys, the Bishop of Worcester's Puritan brother, did likewise).¹⁰⁴ Anne Waldegrave of Bures, Suffolk ('Seeing shillings ten, shall thousandes win, why should I feare to put them in?'), belonged to a prominent Catholic family. Her brother, Marian courtier Sir Edward, had died in the Tower in 1561 under arrest for sheltering priests; his son Charles featured on the 1574 list of English Catholics deemed supporters of Mary Stewart.¹⁰⁵ 'Many a small, maketh a great' remarked leading Tewkesbury Catholic William Wakman.¹⁰⁶ Various other Catholic posies called on God to send good luck, his blessing, the best lot, and so forth.

Optimism accompanied enthusiasm. 'God speed the plough', demanded Robert Prideaux of Ashburton, 'and we shall do wel ynough.' This was one of those tickets that featured 'Speed the plough' despite falling outside the region where Plough Monday was

¹⁰⁰ E. Honigmann (*Shakespeare*, pp. 12–13) supplies biographical details

¹⁰¹ G. Kilroy, *Edmund Campion*, p. 196

¹⁰² Ticket 14441; Bindoff, 'SCUDAMORE, (SKYDMORE), John'; Hasler, 'SCUDAMORE, John'; for the family's conservatism, W. Tighe, 'Country into Court, Court into Country', p. 160; Wainwright, 'Two Lists' (p. 112) confuses the two

¹⁰³ Ticket 87158; Bindoff, 'LONG, Robert'

¹⁰⁴ Tickets 156708 (Duckett), 310267 (Lewkenar) and 126401 (Sandys); Hasler, 'LEWKNOR, Thomas'

¹⁰⁵ Ticket 343775; *DNB*, 'Waldegrave, Sir Edward (1516/17–1561)'; Wainwright, 'Two Lists', p. 95

¹⁰⁶ Ticket 272092; Litzenberger, 'Coming of Protestantism', p. 90

celebrated.¹⁰⁷ Ashburton was in Dartmoor, a Catholic stronghold, and Prideaux's family history suggests religious conservatism. His father, prominent in parish life, spent a quarter-century overseeing the installation of elaborately carved wooden panels in Ashburton church, while his mother contributed similarly to the parish's vestments. The year after his father's death, reformist commissioners demanded the woodwork be stripped from the church; Robert (the ticket-buyer) salvaged much of it and installed it in the family's townhouse.¹⁰⁸ (The proverb was also used by Richard Carveth of Cuby, Cornwall, whose son was the sole MP to vote against the attainder of the Gunpowder Plotters, despite having no obvious recusant links.)¹⁰⁹

Whereas strong Protestants such as Thomas Wroth or Exeter's bishop discouraged potential buyers, Gabriel St Quintin of Harpham exhorted neighbours to 'Adventure boldly'. In 1572 Thomas Gargrave classed him as 'doubtful' in religion; in 1574 Mary Stewart's adherents considered him her supporter. As lottery tickets were selling a bishop's visitation charged him with 'wilful absence from sermons' and 'hindering his tenants from attending', although he 'denied the charge and was utterly submissive to the visitors'.¹¹⁰

Catholic posies held different attitudes towards chance. Protestants typically diminished or disparaged fortune's role. Catholics were more optimistic, despite the rumours undermining the scheme, and regularly addressed the goddess Fortuna. While Sir Humphrey Bradbury stated 'Chaunce is pearlesse' posies more usually spoke of fortune: 'God send good fortune' demanded Sir Robert Throckmorton of Coughton. Both men were described as Catholic in 1564 by their bishops and considered Marian sympathisers in 1574.¹¹¹ William Fitzwilliam of Clayworth used the same posy as Throckmorton: his relatives were counted as sympathisers in 1574; the Fitzwilliams had marital ties to prominent Catholic families.¹¹² Andrew Galwy ('The father of heaven sende me good fortune') was Catholic mayor of Cork in 1569.¹¹³ John Shirborne of Ribbleton ('Good lucke and fortune') belonged to another recusant family, his elder brother Sir Richard of Stonyhurst later Lancashire's preeminent

¹⁰⁷ Above, p. 166; ticket 203330

¹⁰⁸ P. Amery, 'Oak Carving', pp. 219–28

¹⁰⁹ Thrush and Ferris, 'CARVETH, Richard'

¹¹⁰ Ticket 342081; H. Aveling, *Post Reformation Catholicism in East Yorkshire*, p. 58; A. Dickens, 'The First Stages of Romanist Recusancy in Yorkshire, 1560–1590', pp. 163–64

¹¹¹ Tickets 349164 (Bradbury) and 15914 (Throckmorton); Bateson, *Bishops' Letters*, pp. 43, 46; Wainewright, 'Two Lists', pp. 90, 94

¹¹² Ticket 171085; Wainewright, 'Two Lists', p. 138

¹¹³ Ticket 204857; J. Fitzgerald (ed.), *The Cork Remembrancer* ('Roman Catholic Mayors of Cork')

Catholic.¹¹⁴ Protestant tickets sometimes featured such sentiments but they were more characteristically Catholic.

‘Fortune be our guide’ demanded Alexander Houghton of Pendleton, another recusant.¹¹⁵ Thomas Alcock of Rampton, Cambridgeshire (‘In neede, good fortune speed’) seems to have been a child: a gentleman of that name was admitted to the Inner Temple in 1578 and was a persistent recusant through the 1590s.¹¹⁶ John Cruse of Liskeard, Cornwall (‘Sith carke ne care may nought prevayle, let hap and fortune yet prevayle’) was raised by his maternal grandfather, John Bealbury, probably in a Catholic environment. Cruse later sued fellow-parliamentarian William Lower, to reclaim silver plate seized from Bealbury; Lower’s (successful) defence was that the goods had been confiscated because Bealbury was a ‘notable priest and rebel’ during 1549’s Prayer-Book Rebellion (in fact he seems to have been a merchant).¹¹⁷

Alexander Skrogge of Renhold (‘O Lord I am no craver, but as fortune shall favour’) also came from a Catholic family. Skrogge’s uncle, Sir Anthony Browne, author of a 1565 tract asserting Mary Stewart’s claim to the succession, became chief justice shortly before Mary Tudor’s death but was swiftly removed by Elizabeth for his religion. Before this happened he made Skrogge exigenter, a lucrative legal position; this provoked a controversy during which Skrogge was wrongfully imprisoned.¹¹⁸

Fortune possibly stood in for the Virgin Mary in certain cases. Medieval and early modern sources described gamblers who lost wagers and promptly blasphemed the Virgin or hurled objects at images of her; it seems likely they had appealed for her aid, then blamed her when they lost.¹¹⁹ However, while lottery posies frequently addressed God, Mary was never mentioned. Under a Protestant regime this was unsurprising, especially when Mary Stewart’s presence in the realm meant any allusion might be construed (mistakenly or

¹¹⁴ Ticket 42916; *Lord Burghley’s Map of Lancashire in 1590*, ed. J. Gillow, p. 16

¹¹⁵ Ticket 259137; *Lord Burghley’s Map*, p. 23

¹¹⁶ Ticket 104987; *Students Admitted to the Inner Temple, 1571–1625*, ed. W. Cooke ([London], [1868]), p26; Strype, *Annals*, vol. 4, pp. 258–59

¹¹⁷ Ticket 135764; Bindoff, ‘CRUWYS (CRUSE), John’; E. Shagan, ‘Confronting Compromise’, p. 55; *Visitation*, Cornwall 1620, p. 56 (inc. note)

¹¹⁸ Ticket 141928; J. Burgess, ‘The Social Structure of Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire 1524–1674’, unpublished PhD thesis, vol. 2, p. 89; *DNB*, ‘Browne, Sir Anthony (1509/10–1567)’

¹¹⁹ Cf. D. Carpenter, “‘Alea jacta est’”, pp. 334–35, 342–44

otherwise) as support for her. Dutch lottery posies too avoided the Virgin; it would be interesting to compare these with Italian ones.¹²⁰

Several factors might have facilitated an identification of Mary with Fortuna. *Mary-Fortune* had been a common ship's name since before the Reformation: in 1567–68 London's Port Books recorded nine different *Mary-Fortunes* unloading goods. Mary's words at the Annunciation (Luke 1:46–55), familiar from the liturgy as the Magnificat, provided an analogy for the making and unmaking power of Fortune's wheel: 'He hath put down the mighty from their seats, and exalted them of low degree. He hath filled the hungry with good things, and sent away the rich empty.' These words, applicable to a lottery and cited in several posies, were capable of establishing parallels between the two. That ticket-buyers could make comparable associations is demonstrated by William Iden of St Katherine's, who conflated the saint's wheel with that of Fortune: 'Howe so ever Saint Katherine's whele shall be running, the inhabitauntes therof will come home laughing.'¹²¹ Fortune's iconography shifted during the sixteenth century, the forbidding woman with the wheel merging with the figure of Opportunity, a beautiful young woman whose head was shaven behind but with a forelock one could grasp as she approached.¹²² This positive image was better reconcilable with the benevolent Virgin.

If Fortune possibly sometimes suggested the Virgin Mary, in a few cases it perhaps extended to Mary Stewart. 'Free Fortune favour Farmingham' (i.e., Farningham, Kent) declared one ticket. The posy's deviser is unnamed. However, three of Farningham's four manors belonged to William Roper, Thomas More's son-in-law, who left them to his son Anthony in 1578. By 1574 Anthony resided there and featured in the list of Mary's supporters. In July 1568, William was summoned by the Privy Council for providing financial support to foreign publishers of works denying Elizabeth's supremacy; in 1569 he paid two hundred marks rather than subscribe to the Act of Uniformity.¹²³ Whether or not the Ropers were responsible for the posy, their prominence locally had potential to encourage other Catholics. In this case the reference to 'free Fortune' might conceivably have implied Mary Stewart, presently captive.

¹²⁰ Cf. *Trecker*, ed. de Boer

¹²¹ Ticket 114878

¹²² F. Kiefer, 'The Conflation of Fortuna and Occasio in Renaissance Thought and Iconography', pp. 1–27

¹²³ Ticket 333351; Hasted, *Kent*, vol. 2, pp. 515–21; *DNB*, 'Roper, William (1495x8–1578)'; Wainwright, 'Two Lists', p. 99

Certainly, even if a few references to Fortune hinted at one or other Mary many did not. ‘If people stopped alluding to Fortune and destiny,’ theologian Jean Le Clerc observed a century later, ‘rhetoric would be deprived of an essential ornament.’¹²⁴ Sixteenth-century writing featured the term abundantly, with lottery posies no exception. Besides, sentiments were imperfectly partitioned between faiths. Protestant tickets, such as John King’s ‘God send me good fortune’, sometimes employed apparently Catholic formulations. Conversely, John Mery of Barton (‘Lots happen as it pleaseth God’) was Catholic; George Peckham’s *Non fortuna Deus* (‘Not Fortune, God’) echoed Protestant concerns though he too was Catholic, politically loyal though a harbourer of priests. Knighted in 1570, he later sought to found a colony in America where Catholics might practise their religion freely whilst remaining obedient to England’s ruler.¹²⁵ Fortune also featured in many posies whose authors’ religion is unclear.

In summary, while perhaps neither denomination was enthusiastic about paying tax, strong reformists were ambivalent about winning whereas Catholics had to balance political loyalty and religious devotion in a way Protestants did not. Puritan opposition to games is sometimes overstated, nor did Protestants have a monopoly on disapproval of greed or wagering.¹²⁶ However, Catholic posies registered fewer overt moral reservations. It was later Puritan attempts to ban Sabbath game-playing in Catholic-inclined Lancashire that prompted James I to begin easing anti-gaming regulation, something that implies difference of views.¹²⁷

Certain participants had potential links to the Family of Love. Unlike Catholics, familists were no political threat; it has been suggested Elizabeth was one herself.¹²⁸ While Catholic and Protestant regimes both considered the sect heretical, its approach to politics was non-confrontational, with emphasis on love: members conformed outwardly to their state’s established religion but remained internally familist. Edmund Pigeon of London punned on his surname whilst hinting at membership: ‘As the dove is without gall, so is love the beste

¹²⁴ Le Clerc, cited in H. Meeus, ‘Loterijen en literatuur in de Nederlanden (16de en 17de eeuw)’, p. 109

¹²⁵ Ticket 6500; *DNB*, ‘Peckham, Sir George (d. 1608)’

¹²⁶ T. Jable, ‘The English Puritans — Suppressors of Sport and Amusement?’, pp. 33–40

¹²⁷ Dougall, *Devil’s Book*, pp. 72–76

¹²⁸ D. Wootton, ‘Deities, Devils, and Dams: Elizabeth I, Dover Harbour and the Family of Love’, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 162 (2009), pp. 45–67

of all'.¹²⁹ Although Edmund senior, Elizabeth's Clerk of the Wardrobe, was not certainly familist, his wife and sons Nicholas, Bristow and Edmund junior were. Pigeon had also been an officer of the Jewel House from Henry VIII's time; later in Elizabeth's reign, and under James I, his sons held these and similar posts.¹³⁰ It seems doubtful Pigeon's use of the word *love* was coincidence. It is not impossible William Smith of Over ('Love fulfillleth the Lawe') was likewise familist. Even if not, his words encapsulated the group's ethos. Over, in Cambridgeshire, the sect's English centre, witnessed familist activity; a 1574 familist ballad by 'W.S.' expressed the same sentiment ('Let us obeye the Governours / And lyve under their Lawes').¹³¹ One familist hotspot was the Isle of Ely, where the Guntons of Sutton-in-the-Isle 'left behind an extensive trail of Familist connections'; Edward Gunton's posy, 'Gyve gladly', encouraging others, was as compliant as Smith's. Sutton's other posy, 'Cast my lotts gladly. p Tho. Cattell', may have been a humorous rejoinder and could signify Gunton was a ticket-seller.¹³² (The son of Mr Moys, the Surrey lottery collector John Johnson considered slack, was familist.¹³³)

Pigeon's use of the word *love* is significant: familists used it to identify themselves. The term 'loving friend' in a familist will frequently denoted a co-religionist. Edmund Pigeon senior's 1573 will, which mentioned his 'loving sone' Nicholas, may be an instance.¹³⁴ The Pigeon posy looks to have done likewise. Another lottery participant, Andrew Perne, Dean of Ely, was rector of Balsham, the epicentre of English familism, and protected members in his parish. While Perne has generally been considered crypto-Catholic Diarmaid MacCulloch has suggested he was familist himself, noting his will's resemblance to familist ones. Despite Perne's lottery posy being *Sors mea dominus* ('The Lord is my lot') he had what he called his personal posy: 'Speaking the truth in love' (Ephesians 4:15).¹³⁵ This supports MacCulloch's argument. It conformed to familist practice in wills and resembled Pigeon's ticket posy.

¹²⁹ Ticket 269448

¹³⁰ C. Marsh, *The Family of Love in English Society*, esp. pp. 281–82

¹³¹ Ticket 258064; Marsh, *Family*, p. 159; 'W.S.', 'Another, Out of Goodwill', in J. van Dorsten, *The Radical Arts*, p. 31

¹³² Tickets 156685 (Gunton) and 156694 (Cattell); D. Como, *Blown by the Spirit*, p. 170

¹³³ Marsh, *Family*, p. 185; *Visitation*, Surrey: 1530, 1572 and 1623, p. 186

¹³⁴ Marsh, *Family*, pp. 167, 276–82 and elsewhere; H. McEleney, 'Hampton Court, Hampton Wick and Hampton-on-Thames Wills and Administrations', *Genealogist* n.s. 36 (1919), pp. 21–22

¹³⁵ *DNB*, 'Perne, Andrew (1519?–1589)'; Marsh, *Family*, pp. 35–36; Ticket 139903; D. MacCulloch, 'The Latitude of the Church of England', pp. 49–50; D. MacCulloch, 'Faith of our Fathers? [review]', p. 60

Conclusions

Marshalling the available evidence about participants is not straightforward. Participant age provides a good illustration: the ability to represent the situation in numerical form is heavily impaired but demonstrating participants' typical age by running through individual cases is time-consuming. Not everyone is equally identifiable while the information surviving about different persons may relate to different aspects of their lives. Ticket-buyers' religious affiliations were complicated and often impossible to ascertain, in part because not all faiths could be expressed openly. One cannot assume everyone who went to church was Protestant. This interferes with efforts to isolate posies into religious sets and pinpoint common sentiments. The posies of 'Protestants by default', neither overtly Puritan nor Catholic, probably constituted a mishmash of beliefs, something that makes it hard to isolate characteristic sectarian sentiments.

Some observations can still be ventured. The lottery's circumstances affected the makeup of the participating cohort. Reluctance to take part meant many tickets were purchased under duress; the downward pressure this necessitated had a disproportionate effect on elite groups, broadly understood. Consequently, older men, more likely to have accrued responsibilities, bought more tickets than younger ones, reversing contemporary stereotypes about gambling. Engagement with society, which increased with age, rendered older men more susceptible to pressure to support the lottery, although it tended also to leave them less inclined to gamble excessively in other respects. The degree to which subalterns were involved seems to have varied regionally, reflecting things such as the degree of organisation and the willingness of local notables to cooperate.

Strongly Protestant and Catholic buyers used posies that showed evidence of different conflicts. Protestants had no objection to supporting Elizabeth's regime but had to overcome reservations about gambling and greed. Catholics had, in general, to reconcile political support of the monarch with religious attachment to Rome. Protestants expressed hope in God, asserting that he governed chance and fortune. Catholics spoke of trust in God instead or emphasised adherence to the true faith; they were more likely to invoke Fortune positively. It is conceivable *Fortune* was sometimes a coded allusion to the Virgin Mary, even Mary Stewart, deployed in a manner analogous to the Family of Love's use of

love. The association of specific sentiments with one or other religious group is not perfectly clear-cut; typically Catholic views can be found on some Protestant tickets, and vice versa, while for many tickets the buyers' religious affinities are unknown, muddying the waters. However, some differences between the two ends of the religious spectrum can be discerned.

CHAPTER NINE

THE POSIES: PUBLIC AND HIDDEN TRANSCRIPTS

Ticket-posies gave participants the opportunity to voice opinions about the lottery or the regime behind it, while the scheme's unpopularity provided a motive. Some took advantage of the opening. 'Even as though I would, "I could not"', declared Gilbert Flamank, 'even so, though I could, I would not.' This seems to have reacted against (possibly false) claims such as John Bromel's: 'If I had as I have not, I wold lay in more for my part.'¹ Flamank, in financial difficulties much of his life and who died in straitened circumstances in 1573, indicated he would not contribute more even if he could.² His uncooperative attitude perhaps reflected family history. The Flamanks, of Boscarne, Cornwall, were prominent in nearby Bodmin. Thomas Flamank, Gilbert's father's older brother, had led the 1497 Cornish Rebellion, which reacted against a levy to finance Henry VII's invasion of Scotland. Thomas's objections anticipated the scepticism about Elizabeth's lottery: legally speaking, 'subsidies were not to be granted [...] for wars of Scotland'; other resources must be drawn upon; besides, 'all was quiet and war was made but a pretence to poll and pill the people'.³ After Thomas's execution his estate passed to Gilbert's father, then Gilbert, his opposition to Tudor tax expedients apparently accompanying it.⁴

While Flamank's and Bromel's, with other posies, in effect debated the lottery this was not exactly an early instance of the public sphere.⁵ With persons spreading rumours about the scheme under order of arrest the posies did not constitute a secure forum for unbridled conversation. Still, surviving ticket lists demonstrate the existence and toleration of a surprising level of discontent.

Dissent may not have been so marked in the scheme's Continental models, perhaps because when people took part voluntarily they had less to complain about. The generalisation may not be wholly accurate. In Flanders, Philip II's *grande et générale loterie* coincided with the

¹ Tickets 339783 (Flamank) and 246069 (Bromel)

² Bindoff, 'FLAMANK (FLAMOKE), Gilbert'

³ A. Fletcher, *Tudor Rebellions*, 1st edn, pp. 15–16

⁴ Bindoff, 'FLAMANK (FLAMOKE), John'

⁵ Cf. P. Lake and S. Pincus, 'Rethinking the Public Sphere in Early Modern England', pp. 1–30

start of the Dutch Revolt, under conditions at least as fraught as those in England; the revenue generated was disappointing and people were pressured to buy tickets. Its posies too perhaps reflected tensions. Conversely, however, scholarship suggests Dutch lotteries helped unify communities in their struggle against Spain.⁶

For this reason the classificatory scheme Karel Bostoën devised for Leiden's 1596 lottery may be imperfectly applicable to England's. Bostoën grouped posies by the effect they sought to achieve at the draw. *Docere* were sententious messages that praised virtue or condemned vice, asserted God's might or the unpredictability of chance, or commented on contemporary society and politics. *Delectare* involved posies devised to entertain. *Movere* were stories of misfortune calculated to evoke their audience's sympathy.⁷ Although every English posy might probably fit within Bostoën's system it ignores factors specific to England's lottery, some of whose posies reflected its contentiousness, whether complaining or defending it. Nor does it allow for the point of sale's emergence as a site where opinions might be uttered; this meant participants addressed multiple audiences, not a single imagined spectatorship. Under these circumstances a taxonomy centred on posies' intended impact on their audience may not be the most illuminating.

The remainder of this thesis scrutinises the posies' attitudes to the lottery itself and the regime implementing it, drawing on ethnographer James Scott's distinction between public and hidden transcripts. The former constitute the openly expressed views of dominant and dominated social groups, with those in power asserting an official line and subjects either adhering to it or challenging it; hidden transcripts are what each group says in private.⁸ Not all ticket-buyers were equally confident or explicit; it seems likely Scott's formulation can help dissect the variety they displayed. This chapter's first half surveys those posies that were public transcripts, which ranged from neutral or enthusiastic to complaint and condemnation.

Its second part sets the scene for the next chapter's examination of tickets that perhaps involved hidden transcripts, describing circumstances capable of causing buyers to resort to them. Plainly, lottery tickets cannot have been hidden transcripts in the strict sense: they

⁶ See, for example, Kromm, 'Early Modern Lottery', pp. 51–62

⁷ Bostoën, "'Adieu, mijn geld!'", pp. 36–37

⁸ J. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*

were read aloud in public and some were printed. A few, though, seem perhaps to have been transcripts hidden in plain sight. Examination suggests they made political allusions not intended to be understood by Elizabethan authorities who, as tickets sold, were suppressing rumours about the scheme, themselves hidden transcripts. A property common to early modern subversive texts was their habit of cropping up when least expected or desired, hijacking an occasion's symbolism.⁹ To cite a single instance: on 27 June 1581 Oxford students entering St Mary's church to defend their divinity theses found Edmund Campion had contrived overnight to place a Catholic polemic tract on every seat.¹⁰ Cressy has suggested Elizabeth's regime abandoned public book-burning ceremonies because of this potential for official messages to be commandeered.¹¹ Ticket-posies offered anyone wanting to undermine the lottery reading a means, even if doing so enforced the adoption of other standard strategies of subversive genres: anonymity and ambiguity.

Why should anyone have bothered? The rumours made clear the lottery inspired distrust; the 1569 Rising revealed some subjects had been considering rebellion. Directions that elites should promote the scheme led some to do so using posies but prompted others to do the reverse. Statements too openly disloyal, though, risked punishment: those wishing to do more than grumble might need to hide their meanings. Did some posies read out under the Queen's nose hint at disaffected sentiments expressed in private (hidden transcripts) but hold esoteric messages meant only for an exclusive coterie? There are risks in trying to interpret possible examples but some buyers may still have engaged in covert dissent.

Roger Dunne of Shrewsbury's choice — 'A,B,C. non habet P. A dunne Cowe hath no petitow' [pig's trotter] — indicates what might be attempted. This played on Dunne's name and featured a phrase drawn from logic but made no obvious sense.¹² ABC and the dun cow, however, were terms from seditious prophecy, something banned by statute; in 1538 Yorkshire vicar John Dobson had been executed for spreading prophecies involving both. ABC stood for the reform party (Anne Boleyn and Cromwell, as against KLM: Katherine and Lady Mary), while the dun cow represented variously the sovereign or the Pope.¹³

⁹ J. Loxley, 'On Exegetical Duty', p. 91

¹⁰ Kilroy, *Campion*, pp. 201–04

¹¹ D. Cressy, 'Book Burning in Tudor and Stuart England', pp. 359–74

¹² Ticket 319056; cf. B. Bolzano, *Theory of Science*, ed. R. George, pp. 185–87

¹³ S. Jansen, *Political Protest and Prophecy under Henry VIII*, pp. 1–7; K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, pp. 398–401; F. Gladwin, 'Popular Prophecy in Sixteenth-Century England', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Adelaide, 1997), p. 75

There are echoes too, conceivably, of a vulgar proverb Thomas More reported as seen on walls: the posy's first part recalls More's bowdlerisation ('A DC hath no P'), while the second resembles the saying itself ('A drunk cunt hath no porter').¹⁴ Whether Dunne's posy held any message or just jumbled impudent terms is unclear; 'A,B,C. non habet P' also featured in Nicholas Breton's 1606 *Choice, Chance and Change*, whose 1881 editor remarked of the passage in question: 'I do not understand the allusions here, apparently made as if in drunken, inarticulate talk.'¹⁵ Nonsense or not, the posy was artfully constructed: if challenged Dunne could claim it was gibberish wordplay on his name. It is possible, besides, the ticket was purchased for a child by an unnamed adult to avoid penalty. In 1638 Shrewsbury's inaugural town council featured a Roger Donne. This leading citizen must have been young in 1568, if living, but his brother Edward was presumably already a reasonable age in 1604 when he served as bailiff (the town's pre-incorporation equivalent of mayor). This suggests Roger himself was potentially alive before 1570.¹⁶ Dunne's posy illustrates the scope tickets offered for disloyal comment, as well as the risks run and strategies taken to evade punishment.

Public Transcripts

Posies with no hidden message ranged from positive to overtly negative. Others were innocuous and did not directly relate to the lottery (Fig. 9.1). Peter Peterson, Norwich's pre-eminent Elizabethan goldsmith, alluded to his hallmark, a sun in splendour (Peter's sun: 'The Sunne that is so bright, is my lot both day and night'), while John Bowsey remarked that they brewed good ale at St James's, Chignell, a pun on his surname, otherwise spelt Booseye (i.e., boozy).¹⁷ Not all in-jokes are necessarily decipherable. Thomas Dawson's 'A Peacock is a faire birde' perhaps referenced a shop sign or hallmark, like Peterson's, but other possibilities exist. It might have signified some relationship with the Peacock family, likewise members of York's mercantile elite; Dawson co-leased a property with ticket-buyer and 1571 mayor Gregory Peacock.¹⁸ There were also nonsense posies, though some, like Dunne's, possibly harboured disrespectful meanings.

¹⁴ Cited from Jones, "Such Pretty Things", p. 456

¹⁵ N. Breton, *Choice, Chance and Change*, ed. A. Grosart, p. 14 and editor's note, p. vii.

¹⁶ For the family, H. Forrest, 'Some Old Shropshire Houses and their Owners III: Braggington', pp. 335–36

¹⁷ Tickets 129188 (Peterson) and 102953 (Bowsey); for Peterson: C. Manning, 'The Will and Codicil of Peter Peterson, Citizen and Goldsmith of Norwich, 1603', pp. 261–63; for Bowsey: F. Emmison, *Elizabethan Life*, vol. 5, p. 116

¹⁸ Ticket 229639; Cross, *York Clergy Wills*, vol. 2, p. 146

TICKET NO.	TICKET PARTICULARS	NOTES
261716	God feedeth the raven. John Raven. London.	Perhaps the herald named JR
184833	The Olive tree on Hil that growes, to have a share his name here shewes. p Oliver Hill. Madbury.	Esquire, of Modbury, Devon
266985	I am my fathers first begotten, in a good houre be it spoken. Sara Kettilwood. Lon.	Probably a child's ticket
11427	I will blowe my horne. p John Bordon of Heigh Hamton.	Middle French <i>bourdon</i> = horn
49027	<i>Nupida nobis impados tyrogansoma turgysio totnos.</i> Tho. Colby. Grays Inne.	Wealthy Puritan lawyer and MP; nonsense posy
207698	The head of a snake, with garlick is good meate. p Thomas Watson, Ville Cirencestr.	
310043	<i>Oxonia petit aequalia.</i> p Thom. Williams. Oxforde.	'Oxford seeks equals': former MP & mayor; syndicate ticket for town
323582	God save my Lord of Bedford. Jo. Stokes.	Among Irish tickets
335946	Musicke ministreth mirth, P Marche. p R.M. Ely.	Robt., esq., of Ely & Haddenham
198278	Harken al ye this lot perteyneth unto me. p Nich. Baker. Aust. Henburie.	Gloucestershire: Aust in Henbury parish
374015	Benedict Spynola, for the sonnes and daughters of Thomas Haselfoote. London.	Genoese merchant; TH possibly the Merchant Taylors' clerk.
335408	Fooles are all wittolds, though many wise men be cuckolds. p Thomas Winchester. Askot. Doily.	Possibly the yeoman of Ascott d'Oyley, Oxf., d. 1626
184196	At Venne, the wyves beare more rule than men. Per William Liston. Churstowe.	Hamlet of Venn in Churchstow parish, Devon

Figure 9.1: Examples of tickets whose posies seem not to have commented on the lottery itself

Other buyers displayed confidence in the scheme, detailing hopes, plans or needs in a manner that implied enthusiasm (Fig. 9.2). Some hopes were abstract and general ('I hope after hap').¹⁹ Others were highly specific. Prize-money was frequently desired, by young women especially, for marriage: 'Good lot, good mariage,' as Mary Brodman remarked succinctly.²⁰ Certain tickets corresponded to Bostoen's *movere* category; they asserted the buyer's wretched state, perhaps hoping God would grant a prize (although certain wealthy individuals such as Thomas Gargrave or Henry Cheiny also stressed their neediness). Some messages were obscure. 'Gybers, Cole, and Florida, have brought me into great decay', stated Londoner Thomas Parkins, 'I praye to God of his mercy and grace, that this may take better place.' Perhaps Parkins had lost money on Jean Ribault's ill-fated attempt some years previously to plant a Huguenot colony in Florida, which attracted English backers; this seems to have been the only locality or commodity called Florida in the 1560s.²¹ These

¹⁹ Ticket 5969

²⁰ Ticket 208019

²¹ Ticket 19037

participants' focus on winning and using prize money implied acceptance of the scheme, even if some perhaps diplomatically exaggerated their enthusiasm. Generally speaking, poorer participants, those least able to afford tickets, appeared most hopeful of winning something; gentlemen were more likely to affect indifference.

TICKET NO.	TICKET PARTICULARS	NOTES
276947	In hope, hope we. p the parishe of Bolder.	Boldre, Hampshire
348408	Helpe now or never if ye can, helpe nowe Dame Fortune and I am made a man. Cressent Buttrie. Marston.	Gent of Marston St Lawrence, Northants., d. c.1612
48211	Helpe handes, we have no landes. Rob. Thorolde, of Grayes Inne.	Admitted to Gray's Inn 1554; 2nd son of a 2nd marriage, with 3 elder half-brothers
351451	Here is for Besse, for Kate and Jone, for Doll and Besse our little one. p London.	
70794	God as thou arte the way and the dore, helpe Richarde Yong bothe lame and poore. p Ric. Yong. Gritworth.	Greatworth, Northants
268583	Mary Osmunde is my name, dwelling in London, not free, God sende me a good lotte, and then I may be. London.	Apprentice
190157	If hope have hap then am I glad, if hope lacke hap I am not sad, good hope I crave and hope for gayne, the which to have I hope certayne. Per Alice Nicols, Hendon, Buttermayde.	Middlesex
76954	Our number is great & money smal, God send us a lot to please us al. Grego. Lovel.	Among London tickets
213973	Once in a good Farme I did remaine, and now I am a pore widow to my paine, God send me a good lot to helpe me to a good Farme againe. per Christian Mitchel widow de Bere. Regis.	
216155	In all myne affaires I have many lettes, yet if a thousand pound come, I knowe it will pay my debtes. Anthony Rose. Lond.	
361691	Magdalena Verplancken hadde zy den hoochsten prijs zy zoude haer bedancken. p Wittenbeer Buttollane.	'If MV had the great prize she would be thankful' [to God?]
50457	Allarde Bartering. A maide and I am of advise, to marie, if we get the best prise. p London.	Hanse merchant Alard Bartrinck
106859	After evil hap by fire, to have good lucke is my desire. per Thurston Howet of Wadston in the countie of Hunt.	Thurston Hawet, bailiff of Woodston, d. 1573
241186	God send me good luck to kepe my loomes Going. Glouc.	
257143	<i>Si Fortuna volet, fies de rethore consul.</i> p William Brabin of Godmanchester in Com. Hunt.	Juvenal: 'If Fortune wants she will make you a consul from a schoolmaster'; related to 1604 schoolmaster Timothy Brabin?

Figure 9.2: Tickets whose posies exhibited implicit confidence in the lottery, detailing hopes, plans or needs

Another class of posy involved explicitly positive sentiments about the lottery or the regime behind it. These declared goodwill or trust, or that the lottery was worthwhile, or urged others to participate (Fig. 9.3; see also Fig. 5.3). William Cowth, merchant of Sherborne, Dorset, underlined that his purchase expressed good will, 'whyther it be to win or spill'. A range of tickets echoed his sentiment, even if some warned they could contribute little. Plymouth's Thomas Edmunds likewise asserted that 'This lotterie liberall, wil be beneficiall',

while John Marlow stated 'I trust well'.²² However, the fact community leaders were told to exhort neighbours to participate makes it hard to differentiate sincerely enthusiastic buyers from merely compliant ones: arguments such as 'Nothing venture, nothing win', devised to counter popular mistrust, may not exhibit their authors' real views. A few gentlemen, following Sir John Arundell, ordered participation: 'Obey thy Prince' demanded Waterford merchant William Leonard. Others, like Anne Patten, perhaps felt loyalty was in their interest: 'If this my lot come in frame,' urged Anthony Slatter, 'then do remember Slatters name', while Anthony Soper of Woodland made a similar claim on the Queen's attention: 'That I have done, it is of good will, take it in good parte, and thinke on me still.'²³ Various tickets stated 'God save the Queen.'

None of these involved conflict between what the authorities wanted to hear and what the authors decided to say. They mirrored the regime's public transcript: Elizabeth graciously instituted a lottery for the benefit of her realm; her subjects were duly thankful. Although the organisers conceded distrust, rumours and a boycott existed, in seeking to overcome them, they glossed over them. The posies followed suit. Participants were hopeful, grateful and trusting. They willingly surrendered money for the Queen's use. Those persuading others echoed Elizabeth's own assertions of her integrity.

²² Tickets 83882 (Cowth), 201996 (Edmunds) and 155765 (Marlow)

²³ Tickets 363279, (Leonard), 845 (Slatter) and 217705 (Soper)

TICKET NO.	TICKET PARTICULARS	NOTES
234201	Good wil and desire, makes two Flemmings to lay in heere. S.D.D. London.	
256763	I put in this lot with good intent, what ever God sends I am content. W. Depos.	Surname given as Dios on another ticket
226938	My money gladly I doe put in, trustyng thereby somewhat to win. p John Bucke de Kemsey.	Future MP: J. Buck of the Nash, Kempsey (1566–1648), Worcs.
132107	I hope and trust. p Robert Dowding of the parish of great Kington.	Kington Magna, Dorset: prob. the yeoman who d. 1597
357036	Willing the best. p Ri. Covert. Hascombe.	Surrey gentry
260091	I give adventure, with good will. John Davy. Bakensthorpe.	Norfolk gentry
111701	Whether I have it or have it not, I lay in my money with all my heart. Simon Hare. London.	
269950	Welcome be my fortune, what so ever it be, and ever I say, God save the Queenes majestie. p Arthur Anthony.	London tickets
260692	God save the Queene. John Harvy of Walden, in the Countie of Essex.	Ropemaker, yeoman; father of Gabriel Harvey; d. 1593
333345	Whether we loose or win, the towne of Dartford wil pray for the Queene. p the parish of Dartford. Kent.	
176179	God save my soveraigne and all hir well willers. John Plonket knight of Dunshangle. Irelande.	Sir John Plunkett of Dunsoghly, Co. Dublin
177023	In the Spring time trees waxe greene, God save Elizabeth our noble Queene. p William Trevell the elder. Exon.	cf. popular inscription: 'The rose is red, the leaves are green, God save Elizabeth our noble queen!'
326349	My Prince I honour, and ever shall, with hearte and minde. John Wakeley.	Among Irish tickets
280022	To the prince good will I beare, and put in money to this Affaire. p Rich. Grigge. Burges Teuxburie.	RG features in Tewkesbury churchwardens' accounts
181837	The favour of the Queene in this worlde I crave, and after my death heaven I may have. p Valentin Norton of Fordwich. Sandwich.	Gentleman; Fordwich mayor in 1552, 1562, 1578, & 1599; wordplay on havens
153122	I live in hope, I serve in feare, let truthe reporte what heart I beare. p James Clarkson. Hull.	Protestant merchant; mayor in 1568; MP in 1571 & 1572
73503	Soone ynough if well enough. Jo. Hatcher. Cambridge.	1512–87; Regius Professor of Physic from 1554
17495	Light is the paine, wherof commeth gaine. p W. Michell of Bremingeham.	Birmingham yeoman; sold Stramshall Hall, Uttoxeter 1566
107211	Liberalitie bringeth a man to honour. Tho. Spilwater, de Leighton.	Leighton Bromswold, Hunts; yeoman, will dated 1581
243624	Whosoever in this lottery the least sum hath ventured, with the greatest it if happen, can be contented. Silvanus Scory. p Hereford East.	MP, canon, soldier, son of the Bishop of Hereford
340629	He that will not regard a little, it will be long before he have much. Robert Langham of Wilgat.	Of Skilgate, Somerset; gent; will dated 1603
127626	The faythfull promise verily, encourageth me to this Lotterie. Christopher Some. Norwich.	Sheriff 1563, 1569; future mayor; d. 1600
374247	Nothing venture, nothing have, is commonly sayd, therefore to venture, wherfore should we be afrayd. P John Crome of Swanton. Abbot.	Swanton Abbott, Norfolk
100384	<i>Non pur baine.</i> Hugh Alington. Hampton court.	'Not through hatred': family motto; future Clerk of the Privy Seal

Figure 9.3: Tickets whose posies demonstrated explicit confidence, loyalty, trust and goodwill

Not all adhered to this official script, however. Certain subaltern buyers grumbled obscurely about having to participate. This took various forms (Fig. 9.4). When Hastings urged God to help a ‘poore Fisher towne’ win a big prize it also addressed the Queen, pressing its eligibility for repair money. However, the ‘pore parishioners’ of Reading, Brenchley and other inland communities stood to subsidise the upkeep of harbour towns without benefiting themselves.²⁴ Their allusions to poverty seem to have reproached Elizabeth for requisitioning their money. Places such as Malden, Surrey, stated expressly, sometimes exasperatedly, that they could not afford to contribute; Roger Ferris observed that Ashchurch was buying lots because it had no money. Shipdham hinted it would engage in retaliatory coin-clipping, something Elizabeth had lately attempted to stamp out.²⁵ Like Eastbourne, communities noted they were landlocked: Ashwell, Hertfordshire, was ‘an uplandishe [inland] town’; Pluckley, ‘Dunton upon the hill’ (St Dunstons, London) and West Sherbourn were located on hilltops, Syerston on a moor; Stokenchurch had ‘skant’ money or water. Others made clear they had their own upkeep to do. St Gennys’s steeple was ‘rente in twaine’; the parish of St Thomas (location uncertain) was ‘as poore as a louse’ and needed a prize to maintain its church house. Albright Taylour was a poor man with six daughters.²⁶ All implied reluctance to maintain far-off harbours.

Such tickets had a passive-aggressive quality: they allowed discontent to show without quite articulating the grievance. Their buyers generally belonged to the simpler sort, the subaltern crowd early modern elites characterised as the many-headed monster. Insofar as some were parish syndicates they were literally many-headed. The multitude was understood to express itself in a buzzing, humming hubbub of noise, a not-quite-audible mumble: the standard Latin descriptor was *murmuratio*.²⁷ Although each ticket bore a distinct, legible message the posies’ obliqueness and failure to articulate complaints resembled the stereotype of crowds muttering under their breath, such that their meaning could not quite be made out.

²⁴ Tickets 64935 (Hastings), 287336 (Reading) and 359647 (Brenchley)

²⁵ Tickets 161445 (Malden), 9351 (Ashchurch) and 88775 (Shipdham); C. Challis, *The Tudor Coinage*, p. 280

²⁶ Tickets 236961 (Eastbourne), 336247 (Ashwell), 352732 (Pluckley), 189291 (St Dunstan), 244525 (West Sherbourn), 254643 (Syerston), 274257 (Stokenchurch), 201882 (Egg Buckland), 340067 (St Gennys), 171246 (St Thomas), 14411 (A. Taylor); *OED*, ‘Uplandish’, sense 2

²⁷ J. Dumolyn and J. Haemers, “‘A Bad Chicken was Brooding’”, pp. 56–60

Proclamations and organisers' letters repeatedly said that doubtfulness deterred the simpler sort. While compelling people to take part did not necessarily remove their objections nor did it necessarily make them confident to state them outright. Buyers sometimes seem to have expressed them indirectly, mentioning as if incidentally that they were poor, lived inland or had their own rebuilding projects rather than say outright that they resented having to contribute. The cliché of the muttering crowd perhaps reflected a characteristic mode of communication. At the bottom of the social hierarchy, subalterns had too many people above them to hazard an explicit complaint.

TICKET NO.	TICKET PARTICULARS
161445	The parishe is to poore, it can venture no more. Tho. Rabis. Maldon.
178237	Little I have, and litle I put in. p John Barker. Stokland.
9351	We put in this for lack of store. p Roger Ferris Ashechurch. Tewxbery.
308454	Of money I have little store, I praye to God to send me more. By John Longston of S. Martins, iuxta Lowe.
84051	I have nothing, but with paynes, I have put in a lot hoping to have gaynes. p Jo Hicks de Horsemaden in Kent.
360043	God send us gayns, for our great paines. p Paroc. de Higham in Kent.
15789	Occupations doe lacke money to occupy, therfore God defend them from povertie. p Wil. Porter de Civi. Wigorne.
146372	We put in our money gotten with swet, with which we hope the best lot to get. By Michel Arrowsmith of Wolverhampton.
139597	A pore man I am, and money is with me bare. p Johannes Jones, Clarke, parson of Lanwarne.
241171	I am a pore man dwelling in Parton, I put in my lot, God send me good fortune. p John Minet Glouc.
222795	I am a poore husbande man, and till well lande, God sende me a good lot into my hande. Thom. Bayley. p Twicnam.
144629	I am a poore scholer, and go to my booke. By William Cokin of Worsop.
33968	God send good winning to the pore parishioners of S. Maries in Reading. Ric.Rolt. Reading.
334209	The parish of Frant, a good lot we wold have, money is skant. p Nicholas Foule. Frant. Sussex.
244525	The church standeth upon an hyll. p Westshearborne.
352732	Unto Pluckley on the hill, God send his good will. p Jo. Harris of Pluckley.
189291	Dunton upon the hill, would gayne with a good will. p John Barbor Dunton.
254643	Syriston towne standeth on a Moore, we lack money God send us store. p William Poole de Siriston.
336247	I dwell in Ashewell an uplandishe Towne, God sende me a good lot to bye a newe gowne. Per Wigan. Ashewell.
359882	O[f] Boughton Malherbe, we be pore men, among a great many of lottes, God send us one of ten. p Paroch. de Boughton Malherbe in comitatu Kanc.
359647	We ar pore men of Brencheley in Kent, if we have not good lottes, we shall be shent. p Paroch. de Brenchley, in com. predict.
68942	We aske the more, bycause we are poore. p Humfrey Hunt of Burseter, market ende.
163306	God sende us our lotte agayne. p Sholdon.
259914	I am content to be cleane. p John Shene of Shipham.
216833	Three Ewes that were olde, to make gaine for thys lot I sold, to parte lucke of the same now of all, as it fall, and hap as it may, if I lose all, farewell the play. p Rich. Boote of Bishop Myneth.

Figure 9.4: Tickets whose posies seemingly grumbled about poverty

Other tickets appealed for just and indifferent treatment (Fig. 9.5). These too sometimes involved subalterns; they expressed fears wealthy participants might bribe officials to award them the big prizes. Such anxieties were widespread in early modern Europe and conditioned lottery design. The public readings, in which every ticket was drawn, often by supposedly incorruptible blind men or children, in sleeveless garments to stop false prize slips being substituted, then read aloud to prove it had entered the draw; the specification in advance of the number and value of prizes, with the exact number of tickets to be sold, to stop sellers overselling and pocketing money given for tickets that never reached the draw: all operated to maximise transparency and minimise corruption. Contemporary Continental lotteries and later English ones demonstrated such fears were well-founded.²⁸

These demands for fair, impartial treatment seem intended for lottery officials' ears. Several echoed Proverbs 22: 22–23: 'Rob not the poor, because he is poor, neither oppress the afflicted in judgment. For the Lord will defend their cause, and spoil the soul of those that spoil them.' The word *judgment*, unexpectedly prominent, was perhaps suggested by the lottery Chart's woodcut of the Judgment of Solomon: ticket-sellers displayed the Chart behind their stalls, so the image was before buyers' eyes; many posies alluded to Solomon or cited Proverbs, which was attributed to him. While the image was apparently selected to stress Elizabeth's wisdom in instituting a lottery some participants seem to have interpreted it more literally: as Solomon awarding the contested child like a lottery prize. Consequently the officials superintending the draw were themselves characterised as judges. Such 'acts of reading', whereby readers interpreted inscriptions differently from the ways their authors intended, were not uncommon at this period.²⁹ John Wright, rector of Clyst Hydon, Devon, took as his posy the words of the bad mother from Solomon's judgment, who agreed to have the child cut in half and shared ('Nor thyne nor myne, but let it be devided'); John Archarde cited her words in Latin. This probably reflected the prevalent desire that prizes be fairly apportioned. If Wright insinuated wealthy individuals would monopolise the major prizes this perhaps expressed disaffection with Elizabeth's regime. His former master, John Blaxton, ex-treasurer of Exeter cathedral, had appointed him to Clyst Hydon in 1544. The two remained close: in 1574 Blaxton bequeathed him a clock.³⁰ Blaxton was a leader in

²⁸ Woodhall, 'British State Lotteries', p. 501

²⁹ Gordon, 'Act of Libel', pp. 375–97; also N. Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realm*, pp. 105–06

³⁰ Tickets 17013 (Wright) and 120767 (Archarde); CCEd Record ID: 81420; R. Pole, *The Correspondence of Reginald Pole*, vol. 4, p. 65

Exeter's recusant circles until expelled from the diocese; he moved to Hereford, assuming a similar role there.³¹ Their closeness suggests Wright's sympathies too lay with Rome.

TICKET NO.	TICKET PARTICULARS	NOTES
1186	Use eche degree indifferently, hinder no man, it were pitie. p Hurst Perpoint parish. Sussex.	Hurstpierpoint
268397	My trust is to have indifferencie, and here is ten shillings and my posie. Roger Bougham. Hereforde East.	
333174	Justly pronounce you, what God doth sende us. p the parishe of Eyton bridge.	Edenbridge, Kent
252084	Do justly and truly as ye may, as you will be judged an other day. Joseph Brodestocke. Southhampton.	
215113	Do as you would be done unto. F. Caplin. South Hampton.	A prominent family
252250	Deale truly with me. Rich. Spence of Linne.	1565 mayor, d. 1568
208755	Deale truly. p John Morris. Cleric. Vic. de Lanbedare. Pont. Steph[en] in Com. Cardigan.	Vicar of Lampeter
244804	True dealing is best. p John Darrell. great Wycombe.	Great Witcombe, Gloucs.
321184	Deale justely. Nicholas Dobbin of Waterforde.	Locally notable family
145050	Wrong dealing is to be punished. By Patreake Sacheverel of Gresley. Gent.	Greasley, Notts.
351056	Honest dealing helpe true meaning. p Henr. Lane. London.	Perh. the Muscovy Co. agent then accompanying a Russian embassy to London as interpreter
134277	Trust be true, else I rue. p William King. Boddiswill.	Loddiswell, Devon; WK from nearby Ugborough?
110870	Trust be true or else adieu. p Edmund Tremain. Milton. Abbot.	Puritan MP of Collacombe?
362611	Oppresse not simple people with wrong judgment. By Christofer Wadsworth of Maunsfield in Sherwood.	Notable yeoman family; posy from Proverbs 22:22
56010	Ellis Martin. Give right judgement, for God will revenge. p London.	Proverbs 22: 22–23
146400	Just judgement in Judges is joyfull. p Edmund James of Swineford. Regis.	Esquire; Kingswinford, Staff.
360103	Just men shall live for ever. p Joh. Holte parson of Clibury. North.	Cleobury North, Salop; parson from 1563
85406	God is a righteous judge. p Rob. Eveligh, Gent. of S. Laurence. Clifte.	Clyst St Lawrence, Devon; possibly an MP's son

Figure 9.5: Tickets whose posies appear to have appealed for fair and impartial treatment

Other posies reinforce the sense corruption was feared. 'The wealthy seekes by subtile meanes, their substance to increase,' began Richard Warde's, while Thomas Calton surmised darkly 'One no doubt of the great lot shall hit, and peradventure one that shall have lest neede of it'. Calton omitted to state a locality that might identify him. Others humorously characterised the readers officiating at the draw as rogues: 'Be good to me reader, as to thy brother, one knave should ever helpe an other' (Thomas Efforde, Mount

³¹ C. Haigh, *English Reformations*, p. 255

Edgecombe); ‘Hap wel, or hap yll, he is a K. that reades the bill’ (Anon., London).³² ‘The covetous devoure the poore’ declared John Warren. Not every buyer anxious about corruption or the lottery’s impact on the poor was subaltern. ‘Provide the prise for the pore’ urged Nicholas Plomtree, esquire, of Nottingham. One of Thomas Colby’s posies ran ‘[*Sinite*] *nummos venire ad parvulos*’ (‘Suffer the money to come to the little ones’), a modification of Mark 10:14 (*Sinite parvulos venite ad me*: ‘Suffer the little ones to come unto me’). ‘C of G.L.’ (‘Lord help the litle ones’) may also have been a gentleman.³³

Generally speaking, however, elite sentiments differed somewhat from the concerns of the simpler sort, who found tickets scarcely affordable and feared being tricked out of their prizes. Something akin to Maslow’s hierarchy of needs may have applied: gentlemen could afford to respond to the lottery in political or moral terms; poorer individuals faced direct problems of subsistence. Elite buyers were more likely to express criticism openly, even when holding sentiments similar to subaltern ones. Just as Gilbert Flamank, esquire, declared he would not buy more tickets if he could afford to, when others diplomatically suggested they might, gentleman Patreake Sacheverel’s declaration that wrong dealing would be punished was a more peremptory equivalent of Hurstpierpoint parish’s petition for indifferent treatment. Not all elite criticisms were explicit; some were snide or metaphorical; nor were all expressed as strongly as Ralph Stead’s accusation that he was being robbed, but their displeasure was typically more overt than that of subaltern tickets. While Stead’s directness was matched with a prudent vagueness as to where he lived, Thomas Rider of Wembury was also critical but gave a precise location (Fig. 9.6).

If some feared officials would favour richer participants unfairly others objected to being targeted for their wealth. John Offemal of Eastbourne’s discontent perhaps underlay Eastbourne parish’s negative posy. While Anne Ashby’s complaint that greater ‘abundance’ meant proportionately less ‘assurance’ conflicted with her relative Marie’s posy (‘Unworthy are they so to gayne, that lots will not adventure twayne’) John Bier, who used the same posy as Anne, was supported by Anne Bere, likewise of Dartford (not his wife but probably related), who insinuated that extravagance underlay Elizabeth’s demand for money.³⁴ Marie Bentham of Eccleshall, who stressed that her money was loaned only,

³² Tickets 304254 (Warde), 1667[0/9]6 (Calton), 292636 (Efforde), 57856 (Anon.)

³³ Tickets 150727 (Warren), 10899 (Plomtree), 19289 (Colby), 201444 (‘C’)

³⁴ Ticket 257996 (M. Ashby); fig. 9.6 for others

was presumably related to the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield: the bishop's palace was at Eccleshall. Thomas Bentham, in dire financial straits through the 1560s, had begged the Queen to release him from the obligation to pay 'first fruits' on succeeding to the bishopric. Elizabeth's response is unknown but Bentham reportedly died £1000 in her debt. The posy conceivably indicates she agreed to treat the sum as a loan but not remit it.³⁵

TICKET NO.	TICKET PARTICULARS	NOTES
120869	A new fine. p Thom. Rider of Wenburie.	Wembury gentry
138489	Steale no more. p Stead. Radulphum Stead de Stoke.	Unidentifiable
123327	A sharpe share for a thick hide. Thomas Barnes London.	Uncertain identity
137907	The sheepe beareth wool. p Ric. Tapping Preston.	Unidentifiable
352234	The lambe bleateth. P John Flouredewe of Hetherset.	Knight, landowner and encloser
232226	This beare is strong brued. p Jo. Trevelian de S. Eleds. Armiger.	Esquire, St Clether
63510	This do I nowe lende. Marie Bentham de Eccleshall.	Probable bishop's relative
42299	Although of riches I beare the fame, sure I am not worthie the same, yet neverthesse God may sende, the second prise, me to amend. p Arthurum Radclif of Langley in Com. Lan.	Gentleman, younger son
30882	The having of riches is not so commodious, as the departure from them is odious. By John Offemal of the hundred, and parish of Estborne. Sussex.	
255459	The more one hath of aboundaunce, so much the lesse is their assurance. By Anne Ashby of Loseby.	Wife of Thomas Ashby, esq.; father a Surveyor of Leics.
1784	The more that a man hath of abundance, the less he hath of assurance. p Jo. Bier Esquier. Dartford. Kent.	Esquire; prominent local philanthropist
1791	Great expenses oftentimes used consumeth great riches. Anne Bere. Dartf. Kent	Probably related to John Bier (above)
166587	The trees that lowe do stande, the winde doth seldom blow, but they that are grown up on high do often overthrow. William Mildhal. London.	
135852	Where nothing is due, small rekenings ensue. per George Keckwich, S. Germa.	Former MP with a history of resisting payments
90007	Poverty parteth fellowship. p J. Frie. Hamlerice.	Hamble le Rice, Hampshire
103250	Richard Stockmar of Walden his pose. Poverty parts Companie. Essex.	Saffron Walden, Essex
251675	Poverty parteth company. P P. Humfrey de Whitlackington.	Whitelackington, Somerset
145640	Fortune is hard, and frendship is deere. Per West Whitteringhey parish. Sussex.	West Wittering
466	S. Laurence spake not in boast, eate the one side, while the other doth roast. p John More. Ipswich.	Cloth merchant, MP 1572
301213	S. Laurence was a Martir. p Laurence Singleton. Glouc.	Mayor 1563, 1577
159853	Saint Laurence is an angry Saint. By the parish of S. Laur. [on the Isle?] of Tanet.	Isle of Thanet, Ramsgate, Kent
339970	Where good order fayleth, obedience decayeth. per Georgie Rolles, paroc. de S. Mary Weak[e]. Ar.	Esquire; second son of the Stevenstone Rolle family
300426	Long loked for lottery. Per William Laur[enc?]e Barkel.	Gloucs sequence: Berkeley?

Figure 9.6: Tickets that featured more direct complaints, often from social elites

³⁵ J. Berlatsky, 'Thomas Bentham and the Plight of Early Elizabethan Bishops', pp. 325, 331–32; R. O'Day, 'Thomas Bentham', pp. 141–43; R. O'Day, 'Cumulative Debt', pp. 82–3

Individuals such as Sir John Flowerdew employed a sheep-shearing analogy. The *Treatise of Treasons* would soon claim, in reference to the lottery, that William Cecil believed ‘the yearly fleesing of the Subiect by extraordinary payments to be as necessary a policie for the Prince, as is the yearly shearing of the sheepe a needefull prouision for the Subiect’.³⁶ Puritan merchant John More was one of several who alluded to St Lawrence (almost the only saint mentioned on tickets): roasted on an enormous griddle, Lawrence had joked that his executioners should turn him over, as he was done on one side. The contentious 1566 subsidy was still being collected as the lottery occurred, with a further subsidy threatened if insufficient tickets sold. Those expected to support two levies simultaneously conceivably felt that, like Lawrence, they were being burned at both ends.³⁷

Gloucester’s foremost citizen, Richard Pates, quoted the motto on Elizabeth’s great seal: *Pulchrum pro patria pati* (‘It is beautiful to suffer for one’s country’). His tomb’s Latin inscription too punned on his surname: *Patebit tum quod latuit* (‘What was hidden will be unfolded’, itself a suitable lottery posy). Under Mary Tudor Pates had ignored a demand for a forced loan of £100 under the Privy Seal until Mary’s Council threatened him with imprisonment. He had a history of perceived outspokenness: as a Lincoln’s Inn student he had been accused of posting an anonymous lampoon, though this was never proven.³⁸ Pates’s many public offices, including Gloucester’s recorder, possibly obliged him to urge people to participate. The posy he used, though, was ambivalent at best.

Certain posies alluded to the low sales. George Rolles, esquire, of Week St Mary explained the disobedience as a failure of good order, reversing the reasoning of Odiham parish (site of a royal park: ‘Obedience causeth order’): the latter paraphrased the Homily on Obedience.³⁹ George Keckwich of St Germans’ attributed it to the fact nothing was owed. His history perhaps informed the posy: in the 1550s he had been sued and forced to pay the duchy of Cornwall nine years of rental arrears for which he denied he was liable.⁴⁰ While some posies excused the draw’s continual postponement (e.g., ‘Soone ynough if well

³⁶ *Treatise of Treasons*, f. 101^v

³⁷ Hasler, ‘MORE, John II’

³⁸ A. Browne, ‘Richard Pates, M.P. for Gloucester’, pp. 202–03, 209–10; Hasler, ‘PATE, Richard’

³⁹ Ticket 244032 (Odiham); *Homilies*, pp. 95–107

⁴⁰ Bindoff, ‘KEKEWICH, George’

enough') others complained.⁴¹ Perhaps Archbishop Loftus's demand, *Domine usquequo?* ('O Lord, how long?': Psalm 6:3), was part of his longstanding petition to be allowed to leave Dublin and return to England but 'Tir' of Southampton's 'Beginne in Gods name' looks unambiguous.⁴²

Some people disliked being expected to flatter Elizabeth (Fig. 9.7). 'The unitie of brethren pleaseth the Lord' urged prominent Shrewsbury mercer Richard Powell but John Hungerford of Down Ampney felt the Queen wanted 'wicked flatterie', not unity.⁴³ Roberts Leche and Monne resisted pressure to praise, respectively using two sentences sometimes united as ring inscriptions: 'I favour as I find / and love as I like'.⁴⁴ Others demanded the right to speak. Alice Evered of Huish Champflower recycled a line from 'Speake Parrot', John Skelton's enigmatic critique of 1520s society, newly published in 1568.⁴⁵ On one level, 'Speake Paret I praye you' addressed the draw official charged with reading out her ticket. However, the poem's context, that of young women wheedling their pets to say something amusing, was fitting:

These maidens ful mekely with many a diuers flour
Freshly they dresse, and make swete my boure
With speke parrot I prai you, ful courteously thei say
Parrot is a goodly byrd, a prety Popagey

Skelton's avian narrator repeatedly demanded freedom to denounce abuses: 'I pray you, let parrot haue lybertie to speke'.⁴⁶ Similarly, Ann Hogan of London (*Tempus tacendi, tempusquè loquendi*) reversed Ecclesiastes 3:7 ('There is a time to speak and a time to remain silent'), changing the emphasis.⁴⁷

⁴¹ Ticket 73503

⁴² Tickets 324581 (Loftus) and 177995 (Tir); *DNB*, 'Loftus, Adam (1533/4–1605)'

⁴³ Tickets 122460 (Powell) and 209630 (Hungerford), Powell referencing Psalm 133 and 1 Corinthians 1

⁴⁴ Tickets 290452 (Leche) and 170982 (Monne); Jones, "Such Pretty Things", p. 456

⁴⁵ Ticket 106977; cf. W. Nelson, 'Skelton's *Speak, Parrot*', pp. 59–82 (my thanks to Paul Salzman for drawing the poem to my attention)

⁴⁶ J. Skelton, *Pithy, Pleasant and Profitable Works*, sigs G4, G8

⁴⁷ Ticket 261576

TICKET NO.	TICKET PARTICULARS	NOTES
209630	Perfect unitie is voyde of wicked flatterie. p Joh. Hungerforde de Downeamney.	Down Ampney, Gloucs.
279620	Spare to speake, spare to speede. p Tho. Greeneway. Tirlle Dearehurst.	Proverbial, sometimes coupled with 'Naught venture, naught have'
134537	The crowe is white. p Ric. Garvington of Bere. Ferres.	R. Cervington, esquire; proverb: 'If the master say the crow is white the servant must not say tis black'
283746	The Crowfoot is black. p John Cook. Claphorn.	John Johnson's successor as tenant and bailiff at Glapthorn, Northants.
263642	Gentle jestyng is not geason. p John Adlam of Harningsham.	<i>Geason</i> = scarce, rare; might a line ending <i>treason</i> have originally accompanied this?

Figure 9.7: Tickets whose posies appear to react against expectations that their authors would flatter the Queen

The circumstances may have reinforced any tendency for the gentry to express themselves more frankly than subalterns. They comprised a parliamentary caste, accustomed to address the monarch. The tradition of parliamentary privilege only dated back to 1523, when Sir Thomas More first requested that members be free to speak with impunity, but by Elizabeth's accession was considered an immemorial custom requested by the Speaker at the opening of each parliament. Besides, in 1566 Elizabeth had reconvened her 1563 parliament to request a subsidy that had been resisted. She ultimately waived her demand for a third of the money, to obtain the remainder. The sum had been wanted for defence. In essence, she was now sidestepping Parliament to raise the outstanding third. Moreover, the original insistence participation would be voluntary was being abandoned; it was intimated another subsidy would be levied if insufficient tickets sold. One ground of opposition in 1566 had been that subsidies were granted only for purposes of warfare: England continued at peace as the lottery was held. This context may have emboldened gentry to exercise their habitual right to speak on matters of taxation. They would have been able to object in Parliament had the Queen not circumvented Parliament.

Other tickets registered moral reservations. 'Good deedes if they be evill placed,' observed Edward Trevor of Bromfield, 'evil deedes I accompt, and cleane disgraced.'⁴⁸ He conceivably meant good works financed by games of chance. Other buyers more certainly disapproved, criticising gambling, idleness, avarice and vice in general. Some urged against undue greed. Wisdom and happiness resided not in delusive hopes of gain but in repentance,

⁴⁸ Ticket 125792

fear of God and contentment with one's lot (Fig. 9.8). These urged people to seek Heaven, remember they must die, live within their means and (if they did win) spend their money wisely. They should remember the poor. Directly or implicitly, all accused the lottery of promoting avarice.

Such posies implied their authors were unwilling participants, although some (such as Richard Philips's 'Fye upon filthie gayne') seem tongue-in-cheek. Certain denunciations of greed, among them John Philip's remark that 'covetous people' were better off dead, were perhaps levelled as much at Elizabeth's regime as at fellow participants. The same held true of reflections on good husbandry, such as Thomas Prideaux of Modbury's 'Pollicie preventeth povertie' or Andrew Holcome of Symondsbury's 'He that hath but little must spend the lesse'.⁴⁹ These discouraged people from purchasing tickets whilst criticising the royal profligacy that necessitated a lottery.

Not every seemingly pointed remark, though, necessarily involved political commentary. Nynuiian Chaleoner of Cuckfield's 'Desire not to enrich thy self with thy neighbours goods' is a case in point. Cuckfield was riven by local tensions following the mid-1560s arrival of a well-connected outsider, Henry Bowyer, whose brother was one of Elizabeth's gentleman ushers. Bowyer's associations rendered him powerful; Cressy has suggested established gentry perhaps resented his ascendancy. He was later accused of having taken stones from the churchyard in the 1570s to build his house. Chaleoner, of the anti-Bowyer faction, was gaoled in 1581 for defaming Bowyer's wife. It is conceivable his posy attacked Bowyer, not the lottery, especially if, as seems plausible, Bowyer's court connections obliged him to promote the scheme in Cuckfield, associating him with the ticket-selling.⁵⁰ Other critical posies too may have had a local focus no longer apparent. The elusive Ralph Stead of Stoke's 'Steal no more', for instance, if he came from Stoke Newington where Anne Patten's husband was in disgrace for embezzlement, might have addressed Patten.

For such individuals to use posies for local infighting without reflecting that they might be taken as slurs on the Queen would have been naïve. It is conceivable they sought to kill two birds with one stone: they could denounce Elizabeth's lottery but claim if challenged that they were merely slandering a neighbour. If so, their posies would have functioned like

⁴⁹ Tickets 206517 (Philips), 50736 (Philip), 309730 (Prideaux) and 2098[3]5 (Holcome)

⁵⁰ Cressy, 'Mercy Gould', pp. 51–72, esp. pp. 55, 70

catch-riddles, popular in the period, which tricked hearers into assuming they had an obscene meaning, only to embarrass them with an innocent one.⁵¹ Subversive works frequently left room to disavow seditious intent. It would be unwise, though, to discount the possibility messages sometimes reflected purely local politics.⁵²

TICKET NO.	TICKET PARTICULARS	NOTES
217307	I will learne to be wise, as good thus, as at dyce. Gloucester.	Anonymous
267053	I woulde be loth to buie repentance to deere. Tho. Hedgies. London.	
215909	Christ exhorteth us to abstayne from sinne, and to spende no time in vice. p John Chapman. Lon.	Possibly the strongly pious tallow-chandler of this name, d. 1577
81033	God blesse us everlastingly, and kepe us from sinne perpetually. p Richard Virall Dicing in Sussex.	Perhaps husbandman Richard Verall of Ditchling, alive c.1615
265785	Abstaine from slouth and evil wayes, so shalt thou come to eternall joyes. p Elizabeth Hil. London.	Perh. wife of Puritan mercer Richard H. (d. 1568) who married Bishop Bullingham in 1569
326849	He is neither rich, happie, nor wise, that is a bondman to his owne avarice. Mary Draycote.	Among Irish tickets; perh. related to Irish official Henry Draycote
50736	John Philip. For covetous people to die it is best, the longer they live, the lesser is their rest. per London.	Perhaps anti-Papist writer John Philips; wife also buys a ticket
270346	He that coveteth all to have, doth oftentimes his stocke not save. George. Harker. London.	
68676	All worldly things are but vanity. p John Wade of Broughton.	Broughton, Hampshire
303275	Beniamine Beard. He that coveteth nothing, shal have all things. p London.	Perhaps the anti-Catholic spy of the 1580s and 1590s
59568	Nor hee that hath little, but he that desireth muche is poore. Mathew Fielde. Lond.	Perh. the Puritan mercer; Common Councillor in the 1570s
278519	God send us grace, for money is but trash. p Christopher Helme of Chilmarke. Wiltshire.	
16270	Repentaunce with grace of God we crave, a better lot what man can have? p George Whitton of Woodstocke.	MP & future mayor; in charge of W's royal park from 1550; loyalist
40172	<i>Miseri sunt qui ex spe pendunt. Io. Wright. Magna Leveso Oxford.</i>	'Unhappy those who depend on hope': a University ticket?
303978	Wisdom is better, than riches. p Ellis Evans of Ludlowe.	Shropshire gent, d. 1572
217325	Forget thy well doings, remember thy ende. Gloucester.	Anonymous
94413	<i>Memento mori Maline.</i> p Tho. Malyn of London. Grocer.	'Remember that you must die'
293954	<i>In medio consistit virtus.</i> By Roger Michel of Henfield.	Sussex: occupied Wantley manor
349480	Meane is a mery note. William Killing de Fladbury.	
51479	Johan Jones. Seeke the kingdome of heaven, and all things shall be given unto you. p Oxfordshire.	
57526	Richard Proctor. Temporal benefites, to al men God doth sende, but to the godly, well to use them is the ende. p London.	Prob. Merchant Taylor, d. 1609; Protestant but not Puritan
310319	John Hewet. If God hath blessed thy goodes and chest, give him thanks for it, and remember the pore. p London.	Gent, clothworker, d. 1602; Strype says he was 'pitiful to the poor'.
135882	Be helping to the afflicted. By John Trelawny. Menhiniot parishe.	Protestant, High Sheriff of Cornwall 1567; d. 1568
267569	Melchior of Aldenicke wisheth to the poore, the greatest lot, or any other, if it please God. London.	Melchior van Aldenek, Hanse merchant, Rhenish wine importer
93387	If Adams speede, he wil in deede, relieve the neede. p Ric. Adams of London. Sadler.	Common Councillor in the 1570s
194197	First deserve, and then desire. p J.E.M.M.S. Wood. London.	Unidentifiable; a ring posy

Figure 9.8: Tickets whose posies raise moral objections to lottery participation

⁵¹ Jones, "Such Pretty Things", p. 460

⁵² Dean, 'Locality and Self', pp. 2–7–27, considers posies and local identity

One final and important category of negative posy has been described in Chapter Five, namely active discouragement of potential buyers by notables supposed to urge neighbours to take part. This might involve moral dissuasion from gambling, insinuations the scheme should not be trusted, or reminders of the low chance of winning (Fig. 5.6). Half-hearted encouragement, such as Richard Pates's observation that suffering for one's country was beautiful, fell into the same category. Similarly, Sir Thomas Woodhouse's offering — 'Although I can not well see, yet will I venture in the lotterie' — insinuated participation was shortsighted.⁵³ Such messages were public transcripts that defied the Queen's transcript, the opposite of compliant ones that promoted her scheme.

Several concluding remarks can be ventured about these posies. While many participants did not complain, individuals across the social spectrum did. There was a rough association between the type of concern, the confidence with which it was expressed and the speaker's social status: subalterns were typically less bold than elites even when their sentiments coincided. Higher-status individuals felt they were being penalised (accurately, in the sense they ultimately had to buy most tickets); however, their greater affluence left them free to hold moral or political scruples, whereas poorer buyers had to think in monetary terms. Insofar as Scott's public transcripts constitute the open articulation of opinion, subalterns' posies departed somewhat from his definition: they indicated concerns obliquely rather than directly. Nonetheless, elite posies too sometimes adopted strategies to avoid punishment for speaking out: they were anonymous or vague as to identity; they left room to disclaim offensive sentiments; and so forth. Such strategies were common to all the period's subversive genres: 'To the degree structures of domination can be demonstrated to operate in comparable ways,' Scott has noted, 'they will, other things equal, elicit reactions and patterns of resistance that are also broadly comparable.'⁵⁴ These diverse criticisms were, nonetheless, fundamentally explicit. The fact they were permitted, even published, probably reflected the weakness of Elizabeth's position: she had obliged mistrustful subjects to buy tickets, then broken important commitments; she had also made them supply a posy. She could not reasonably object if they used it to complain, especially when it was common knowledge discontent was widely shared.

⁵³ Ticket 36927

⁵⁴ Scott, *Domination*, p. xi

Hidden Transcripts

There were, however, sentiments against which Elizabeth might legitimately proceed. She swiftly commanded that rumourmongers undermining the lottery be imprisoned. Discussion of such matters as the succession was already prohibited. Persons using seditious posies would have no defence against reprisal so had to ensure their identities, or their meaning, could not be detected or, at least, proved.

Several factors might nonetheless have inclined buyers to subversiveness. The absence of continental schemes' subsidiary attractions reduced participation to a display of loyalty — a tax contribution and a flattering posy — but having people buy under duress meant not all necessarily approved lottery or regime: political adversaries might have to participate. Compulsion could aggravate people; awareness disaffection was widely shared had potential to embolden those who might not otherwise complain. Chris Wickham has described how 'slippage of consent' could affect rulers who would not normally be challenged, if gossip revealed consensus their power was waning.⁵⁵ Elizabeth's backdown on plans to prolong the sales period, presented as an expression of her 'naturall accustomed grace and benignitie', was a concession of weakness. She had been 'newly informed' by her Council that 'generally the people desire very much to haue the daye of the reading with speede, thinking Candlemas [1569] ouer long, with diuerse other opinions raised among her said people, as it seemeth, by disquiet and curious heads, contrary to her Maiesties sincere will and meaning.'⁵⁶ The public mood probably encouraged critical messages; it inspired Elizabeth's own device, which observed that she watched but kept silent.⁵⁷ The Northern Rising would soon demonstrate not all Catholics were loyal; even staunch Protestants, such as Bishop Alley or Sir Thomas Wroth, expressed moral reservations. Malcontents forced to buy tickets might wish to voice sentiments too offensive to utter openly.

There seems, besides, to have been a developing suspicion that the Lottery surreptitiously raised money for a Protestant war effort. This had potential to evoke a rebellious counter-reaction. The idea's progress can most readily be traced by beginning after the Lottery,

⁵⁵ Wickham, 'Gossip', pp. 18–20

⁵⁶ *TRP*, vol. 2: #552: 'Advancing Lottery Date to 3 November' (13 Jul 1568), pp. 295

⁵⁷ For Elizabeth's device (*Video et taceo*), above, pp. 8–9

when it was asserted explicitly, and working forward to when tickets were still on sale, when it was less clearly signalled.

The 1572 *Treatise of Treasons* situated the Lottery within Europe's Reformation struggle. This anonymous Catholic polemic, ascribed usually either to John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, Mary's champion and go-between with Roberto Ridolfi, or William Allen, founder of the seminary at Douai and intimately involved in schemes to invade England, sought to refute charges of treason against Mary Stewart and the Duke of Norfolk, following the exposure of Ridolfi's plot to marry them and crown Mary.⁵⁸ It claimed the allegations against them were a cover to hide the real treason against Elizabeth and England, which emanated from the Queen's ministers, Cecil and Bacon, upstarts bent on self-aggrandisement. These 'Machiavel Catilines' aimed to advance their own relatives, estrange the Queen from established noble families and snuff out the royal line itself, 'extincting' other persons with royal blood, such as Mary and Norfolk, whilst persuading Elizabeth herself never to marry.⁵⁹

Cecil and Bacon were attacking Catholicism too, clandestinely taxing the English to bankroll religious uprisings in neighbouring states:

Who seeth not, what infinite summes of money by lying persuasions haue ben wonne from your Q[ueen] carried out of your Realme, [and employed] as wel for corrupting the subiectes of [neighbouring] Countreies by present mony & pensions to renounce their alleagance, as for waging the Rebels and souldiers that haue bene in armes [...] to the great diminishing of her owne treasures, and to the great impouerishing of the whole Realme.

Who hath not tasted and felt to his cost the new inuentions to pill your people for these purposes: & (bysides accustomed Subsidies, Fifteenes, and lones) to leuie new exactions of them *by forcible Tasking and Collections, under false names of Lotteries*, of Building of Poules Steeple, of Charitie for the afflicted Brethern, and suche other feined titles, imploied to the raising and maintenance of Rebellion in all Prouinces adioining.⁶⁰

This passage explains the lottery's earlier presence in the *Treatise's* catalogue of Cecil and Bacon's lying propaganda. Their other lies related squarely to Europe's political and religious struggle: the Duke of Guise, leader of the Catholic faction in France's religious

⁵⁸ P. Holmes (*Resistance and Compromise*, p. 25) assesses the authorship

⁵⁹ *Treatise of Treasons*, citations from f. 83 and the third page of the (unpaginated) 'Preface'

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, ff. 100–101^v (emphasis added)

wars, planned to invade England; Spain's Duke of Alva, in the Netherlands to suppress unrest, would do likewise; Alva himself was responsible for the pillaging of Philip II's Flemish subjects; Elizabeth had only impounded Spain's treasure ships to stop the French seizing them; privateers would not be permitted to operate from English ports; England's 1562 Newhaven expedition had been merely to preserve Le Havre from the Guise faction for France's king; Charles IX had consistently been defeated by Huguenot generals; William of Orange would drive Alva from the Netherlands; Philip II had poisoned his wife; a 'Portugal Physition' was to have poisoned Elizabeth; the Spanish Ambassador's steward had tried to have Cecil and Leicester murdered; men arrested with 'balles of wilde fier' had planned to burn London; Mary Stewart was with child by the Earl of Shrewsbury, her gaoler. Somewhat incongruously, item four on this list claimed that Cecil and Bacon had guaranteed that in the lottery 'no man should leese aboue two shillings & six pence, and greate numbers should winne large summes'.⁶¹ The passage already cited, however, indicates the author understood the scheme as an integral part of the Reformation Great Game.

The work's perspective was particular. Its author, engaged himself in Reformation intrigue, favoured conspiratorial interpretations and perhaps addressed a sympathetic readership familiar with the rumours he repeated.⁶² Though avowedly printed in London it came from Rheims. Its reference to nobody losing more than two shillings sixpence may be evidence it was also written abroad, by someone imperfectly acquainted with the scheme: the lottery's terms actually guaranteed every ticket would win at least that sum. Significantly, the *Treatise* was written in 1572: the rumour it repeated had had time to evolve after the event.

A despatch sent to Charles IX by England's French ambassador, Bertrand de Salignac de La Mothe Fénelon, as the reading took place may indicate that the idea crystallised around that time. Fénelon too located the Lottery within the broader context of European religious conflict. Just as a Spanish envoy arrived to conciliate the dispute over the gold seized by Elizabeth Rouen had impounded English merchants' goods, raising the prospect of war with France.⁶³ The ambassador's report, which mentioned the lottery, can be paraphrased as follows:

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, ff. 70^v–71^v

⁶² For an analysis: P. Lake, *Bad Queen Bess*, pp. 69–93

⁶³ For the 'capricious' Rouennais: Benedict, 'Rouen's Foreign Trade', p. 45

The Privy Council was divided. None of its principal noblemen, even Catholics, wanted the Queen to provoke the French or Spanish kings, which she seemed inclined to. Those of the New Religion [i.e., Cecil and Bacon] felt this was the moment to make her declare herself and were playing on her fears and hopes. There was reason to fear that, to bring the Prince of Orange back to the war in Flanders, they might successfully induce her to make an open declaration of support for France's [Protestant] Prince de Condé, either to force Charles to make peace or to divert his troops to France, releasing Orange to launch a risky and final combat on the Flemish front. Sir Henry Killigrew had been sent to the King of Denmark and the German princes and Imperial towns to learn their intentions respecting these wars. Meantime, Elizabeth was hurrying to raise money on all sides. He had even heard she would withdraw for her own use more than £100,000 from the lottery being drawn: there was a fair deal of grumbling about this, as people discovered the winnings they had anticipated were being reduced. Indeed, a publication on the subject gave them some ground for concern [the 9 January proclamation that devalued the prizes]. He would inform Charles promptly of all happenings and pay attention to the Spanish legation's success and the Queen of Scots's affairs.⁶⁴

This too located the lottery within international politics, foreshadowing the *Treatise's* assertion that it bankrolled Protestant wars. The ambassador implied the declaration that only a twelfth of tickets had sold was untrue. By justifying Elizabeth's reduction of all prize values to one twelfth it enabled her to commandeer eleven twelfths of the money paid for tickets, which would realise approximately £100,000 for despatch abroad. While Killigrew's mission was indeed to discuss a proposal, ultimately abortive, that Elizabeth should contribute 100,000 crowns towards a Protestant campaign in France and the Netherlands the ticket data argue against premeditated fraud.⁶⁵ However, the reduction in prize values at that moment perhaps gave impetus to a suspicion, which the *Treatise* later reported as fact, that the lottery financed a Protestant International.

Since this occurred after ticket sales ceased posies could not refer to it. Nevertheless, from the outset the main deterrent to participation had been popular doubt about 'th'end' for

⁶⁴ Despatch 14, 24 January 1569, Fénelon, *Correspondance diplomatique*, vol. 1, pp. 154–55

⁶⁵ Miller, *Killigrew*, pp. 101–02

which the money was destined.⁶⁶ One posy at least seems to insinuate, albeit obliquely, that the lottery generated revenue underhandedly for purposes not those proclaimed. This suggests that amongst the rumours Elizabeth did not intend to release the prizes or use the money to repair England's harbours were forerunners of Fénelon's and the *Treatise's* views.

William Benloes of Essex bought ticket 225,180 using the posy 'Blessed be God and his people, and I give three of my best lotts to the buildyng of Poules steeple.' The promise to donate part of his winnings to a good cause was unremarkable. Various participants did this. 'If I speede well, the poore shall speede the better' stated John Waldron the elder, clothier of Tiverton. George Sayer of Colchester made a similar commitment. Both were sincere: in the 1570s each founded almshouses, Waldron's prominently featuring the inscriptions 'Remember the poor' and 'God save Queen Elizabeth'.⁶⁷ Other instances might be cited.

Benloes's choice, though, looks sardonic. The *Treatise* later bracketed the lottery and the rebuilding fund for St Paul's together as covert Protestant war levies. Lightning had struck Old St Paul's in 1561, destroying its roof and steeple. Although the roof was rapidly refitted and by 1566 a collection levied to reconstruct the steeple, when the Cathedral burnt down altogether a century later nothing had been attempted.⁶⁸ Collections to repair Paul's Steeple swiftly became a source of derision as they periodically took place but no work eventuated. It was suspected money was raised without any intention of using it for rebuilding.⁶⁹ In this context Benloes's charitable promise was possibly sarcastic. Popular reluctance to buy tickets, Dean argues, arose because Elizabeth's earlier economic actions had inspired distrust.⁷⁰ There were doubts prizes would be disbursed; there were doubts the revenue would refurbish harbours. Benloes seems to have insinuated that if he should, against expectation, win something he would donate it to an equally shady cause. His juxtaposition of the two funds anticipated the *Treatise's* explicit linkage.

⁶⁶ Johnson to More, 10 Jul 1568, SHC 6729/7/144j

⁶⁷ Tickets 82063 (Waldron) and 294354 (Sayer); Bindoff, 'SAYER, George'; 'John Waldron's Almshouse', in *The Report of the Commissioners Concerning Charities, Containing that Part which Relates to the County of Devon*, vol. 1, pp. 79–80; F. Snell, *The Chronicles of Twyford*, pp. 41–42

⁶⁸ Kitching, 'Re-roofing Old St. Paul's', pp. 123–33; R. Hentschell, "'Paul's Work'", pp. 363–67

⁶⁹ e.g.s, Hentschell, "'Paul's Work'", p. 361; P. Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal 1519–1583*, p. 161

⁷⁰ Dean, 'Elizabeth's Lottery', p. 604

Furthermore, he seems to have been Catholic. This again aligns him with the *Treatise*, suggesting something like its view of the situation existed in 1568. Numerically, the 'Benloes of Essex' ticket belongs to a sequence sold in London. It followed one purchased by Robert Monson in his role as Lincoln's Inn's treasurer and preceded one by John Heath, perhaps the man admitted to the Inn on 30 January 1566/67.⁷¹ Like other corporate bodies Gray's and Lincoln's Inns bought blocs of tickets, which suggests the buyer was William Bendlowes, serjeant at law and bencher at the Inn, a former treasurer himself, or else his son William junior, a future bencher admitted 1561.⁷² Bendlowes was an Essex landowner whose estates included Finchingfield and Great Bardfield, the family home, explaining why a London ticket should describe its purchaser as 'of Essex'. 'Benloes' was a variant spelling of the surname.

Bendlowes the serjeant at law was staunchly Catholic. Under Mary Tudor he founded a chantry and served as Commissioner for Heresy. He was debarred in 1564 as Justice of the Peace after his bishop named him a 'hinderer' of religion. In 1567 he was barred from attending assizes on the same grounds; it has been suggested his faith prevented his appointment as a judge.⁷³ While the buyer was conceivably his son, a recusant, this makes no difference for purposes of interpreting the posy: each was from Essex, Catholic and based at the Inn; each had reason to be disenchanted with William senior's deprivations.⁷⁴ However, the posy's disaffected overtones suggest its author bought unwillingly; the Inn's more senior member may have been less able to evade involvement.

Benloes's probable Catholicism increases the likelihood his association of the lottery with Paul's steeple was satirical allusion, which implies that the idea which acquired its final form in the *Treatise of Treasons* existed already. The posy was more circumspect than the *Treatise*, which was anonymous and published abroad. It was obscure. Even if its message was more obvious in 1568 than now it could be disavowed if necessary. There was, besides, a vagueness to the author's identity. Benloes's claim to come from Essex did not necessarily set out to hide who he was but there were two men with this name: moves to penalise the

⁷¹ Tickets 225127 (Monson) and 225291 (Heath); *Lincoln's Inn Admissions*, vol 1, p. 74

⁷² *DNB*, 'Bendlowes, William (1516–1584)'; *Lincoln's Inn Admissions*, vol 1, p. 68

⁷³ *DNB*, 'Bendlowes, William'; Bindoff, 'BENDLOWES, William'; Bateson, *Bishops' Letters*, p. 62

⁷⁴ For Bendlowes junior's recusancy: Essex Archives Online: T/A 418/78/54 Calendar of Essex Assize File (ASS 35/51/2) Assizes held at Chelmsford 24 July 1609, available at http://seax.essexcc.gov.uk/result_details.aspx?DocID=340860 (accessed 18 Oct 2017); for the family's continued Catholicism: *DNB*, 'Benlowes, Edward (1602–1676)'

author might have had trouble proving which it was. Shortly after the draw concluded the Inns of Court were ordered by the Privy Council to expel members; it is not impossible such individuals used posies politically. Around this time Cecil included papists at the Inns of Court among a number of perils threatening the realm.⁷⁵

However, it is not certain this cynicism had sectarian overtones yet. Other buyers mentioned steeples, among them Tenterden's bailiff Edward Hales: 'Of many people it hath ben said, that Tenderden Steeple, Sandwich Haven hath decayd.'⁷⁶ This evoked the local tradition that money collected for a wall to prevent Sandwich harbour from silting had been redirected by Rochester's bishop to construct Tenterden church steeple.⁷⁷ It seems plausible Hales and Benloes made the same association of lotteries, steeples and misappropriation of funds. However, though Hales's religious leanings are unclear his uncle John Hales was staunchly Protestant.⁷⁸ At this point scepticism about Elizabeth's fundraising may have been non-denominational.

By 1572, however, conspiratorial Catholics saw the lottery as part of a strategy to raise money to support Protestant wars. Although the idea seems to have gained currency with the slashing of prize values just before the draw Benloes's posy may indicate it already existed. The Privy Council characterised the rumours undermining the scheme as the 'sinister disswasions of some not well disposed persons'.⁷⁹ It is conceivable some Catholics, fearing they were being forced to contribute money for deployment against co-religionists, responded by using posies disloyally rather than to affirm trust and loyalty.

The Queen of Scots's arrival had further potential to politicize matters. Her history coincided with that of the lottery at several points. She abdicated (24 Jul 1567) exactly a month before it opened and escaped captivity in Scotland (2 May 1568) the day after sales had been scheduled to conclude. Following defeat in the Battle of Langside (13 May), she fled into England on 16 May, reaching Carlisle on the 18th. Her appearance generated excitement and anxiety; the circumstances left Elizabeth unsure how to receive her. The Queen despatched Francis Knollys and Lord Scrope to welcome her into custody; the two

⁷⁵ G. Parmiter, 'Elizabethan Popish Recusancy at the Inns of Court', p. 1, 9–13

⁷⁶ Ticket 40884

⁷⁷ Dean, 'Locality and Self', p. 213

⁷⁸ *DNB*, 'Hales, John'

⁷⁹ Privy Council circular letter, 22 Jul 1568, SHC, 6729/7/1441

reached Carlisle on 29 May, where Scrope bought Cumberland's sole surviving ticket. Meantime, Catholic gentlemen, among them the Earl of Northumberland, travelled to Carlisle to meet her.

Mid-year Elizabeth modified her lottery arrangements and simultaneously changed tack regarding Mary. In mid-July, just as popular unhappiness obliged her to abandon thoughts of extending ticket-selling into 1569 and instead use coercion to boost sales, concerns about Mary's popularity and fears of a rescue raid from Scotland led to her removal against her wishes to Bolton Castle, Scrope's Yorkshire home. Bolton was considered more defensible than Carlisle Castle, being farther from the border and supposed to have the highest walls in England.⁸⁰ With the North still strongly Catholic, her presence was potentially destabilising. Magnates such as Northumberland, who had feared her as Queen of Scotland, changed their views once she arrived in England as Elizabeth's potential Catholic successor.⁸¹ Shortly before they rebelled in 1569 the Northern Earls seem to have contemplated trying to free her from captivity; Knollys observed that if she escaped people living near Bolton Castle would 'laugh in their sleeves' rather than recapture her.⁸² During the Rising Ralph Sadler reported that fewer than ten gentlemen in the North were Protestant, while the people were ignorant, superstitious and 'altogither blynded with tholde popish doctryne' so would follow rebel leaders.⁸³

Catholicism was prompting anxiety even before Mary appeared. On 31 July 1568, a fortnight after her removal to Yorkshire, eight prominent Lancashire recusants went on trial, following warnings from late 1567 that rebellion was brewing there: Elizabeth had demanded an investigation in February.⁸⁴ Elsewhere in the North bishops were conducting visitations into potential recusants. Mary exacerbated an already difficult situation.

The extension of ticketselling to 30 September meant that instead of entering England just too late to feature in posies Mary arrived over four months before sales ceased. Moreover, she did so soon after efforts to boost sales commenced in April, well before they intensified in July. Consequently, subjects uncomfortable with Elizabeth's Protestant regime found

⁸⁰ Holmes, 'Mary Stewart', pp. 207–08

⁸¹ *DNB*, 'Percy, Thomas, seventh earl of Northumberland (1528–1572)'

⁸² Holmes, 'Mary Stewart', p. 201

⁸³ Sadler, *State Papers and Letters*, vol. 2, pp. 324–25

⁸⁴ Leatherbarrow, *Lancashire Elizabethan Recusants*, pp. 31–38

themselves expected to buy tickets and to flatter her when a more palatable alternative was present. Gabriel St Quintin, for example, a collector of the 1563 subsidy so conceivably also involved in ticket-selling, was interrogated as an alleged recusant as it took place. His name featured on the 1574 list Mary's supporters prepared of possible sympathisers. Under these circumstances his posy's positivity ('Adventure boldly') may be misleading.⁸⁵

Catholicism, though, was not synonymous with political disloyalty or support for Mary. In 1569 England's government distrusted Catholic ticket-buyers Scrope and the Earl of Cumberland but both remained loyal; further south the strongly Catholic Sir John Arundell's loyalty went unquestioned.⁸⁶ The Rising arose indirectly from Elizabeth's discovery of the court intrigue to marry Mary to Norfolk, which had support at the highest levels, including from Robert Dudley.⁸⁷ An English husband, raised Protestant, would neutralise Mary as a threat; the problem of the succession would be solved since she came with an heir; there may have been hopes Cecil's influence with Elizabeth could be weakened. In short, even Protestants such as Leicester were factoring her into their plans.

Nor was Mary herself as closely aligned with Catholicism as she became. Though a niece of France's ultra-Catholic Guises she had been raised among *politiques* at the French court; as Queen of Scotland she had not sought to enforce Catholicism; in England she showed herself prepared to temporize, attending Protestant services whilst assuring Catholic powers she was merely telling her captors what they wanted to hear. The Pope expressed doubt as to whether Mary or Elizabeth would make a worse queen of England. The extent to which English Catholics supported her at this time has been questioned.⁸⁸ Nevertheless, her arrival in England gave those disenchanted with Elizabeth a stick with which to beat her regime, just as rumours Richard II was alive and about to return to England were repeated to destabilise Henry IV's reign without necessarily being believed.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ The National Archives Website: Discovery: MD229/78 Release: By Gabriel St Quintin, collector of a subsidy of a 15th and 10th from the wapentakes of Dicker, Buckrose and Holderness 1563–1564, Description available at <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/8a02a37d-8353-4213-a5fe-ba4585f27b53> (accessed 22 Oct 2017)

⁸⁶ Above, pp. 208–09

⁸⁷ Kesselring, *Northern Rebellion*, pp. 35–38, 46–50

⁸⁸ Holmes, 'Mary Stewart', pp. 198–99

⁸⁹ S. Walker, 'Rumour, Sedition and Popular Protest in the Reign of Henry IV', pp. 31–65

While tickets' dates of purchase are unknown there is reason to believe many were bought after Mary arrived, with posies devised knowing she was in England. Tickets whose posies objected to the lottery were presumably taken unwillingly after pressure was applied: such pressure seems to have intensified only in July 1568. Before then, proclamations and letters did not contradict early assurances participation was voluntary. Many Yorkshire tickets seem to have sold in response to Thomas Gargrave's directive of 3 May, only a fortnight before Mary's appearance. Equally, posies geared to the moment of purchase were probably devised after community leaders began buying tickets publicly to encourage others. John Johnson's remarks from July onward that there had been 'slackness' in instituting this practice suggest it was slow to get underway. Similarly, although some Middlesex parishes bought syndicate tickets in 1567 suggestions that people do this elsewhere seem to have begun in April 1568 and not been enforced before July. Johnson sent William More his precepts 'for animating or moving the people' on 10 July; he reported on 21 August that in Kent Mr Wotton had had results with them; on 8 September, however, collector Robert Moys had still not organised parish syndicates around Banstead.⁹⁰ Consequently, many syndicate tickets too were probably bought after her arrival.

Since even after strenuous measures were taken to improve sales only a twelfth of tickets sold it seems likely purchases were lower still before pressure commenced. The proportion of tickets bought knowing Mary was in England may therefore be significant. This raises the likelihood their posies reflected the transformed political climate. It is possible the greater stress from July onward on loyalty in participation and posies, with demands for information about which community leaders were not helping promote the scheme, responded in part to Mary's presence.

When ticket sales stopped on 30 September participants' chance to comment on political developments came to an end but Mary's history and the Lottery's continued to unfold in parallel. An inquiry into whether she had been complicit in her second husband's murder opened on 10 October at York. It had been hoped to have it underway before August; then a date of 25 September had been set. These would have coincided with the final phase of ticket-selling. The inquiry relocated to Westminster on 3 November, distancing proceedings from Mary herself, who remained at Bolton, and her possible adherents in Scotland and

⁹⁰ Johnson to More, 10 Jul 1568, with precepts, SHC, 6729/7/144j; 6729/7/144k; 21 August, 6729/7/144m; 8 September, 6729/7/144n; cf. also Gerrard and Offley to Cecil, 14 Jul 1568, SP 12/47/13, f. 28

northern England. Rebels interrogated after the 1569 Rising spoke of plans to assassinate Scotland's regent, the Earl of Moray, as he travelled south to the trial.⁹¹ November 3 had also been the revised date for the opening of the draw until a proclamation of 2 November deferred it to 10 January 1569. On the 10th the investigation into the Queen of Scots was abruptly terminated, with Elizabeth pronouncing that as neither side had 'as yet' proven its allegations against the other the Earl of Moray might return to Scotland.⁹² This event may explain the draw's apparent further delay to 11 January. The reading continued to 6 May. Towards its close, the scheme to marry Mary and Norfolk, which originated in August 1568, advanced. Although the two intrigues were perhaps not intimately linked Elizabeth's discovery of it helped trigger the Northern Rebellion in November 1569, six months after the reading ended; the northern Earls had some idea of liberating Mary herself.⁹³

Mary was therefore in England for months as an unenthusiastic populace was pushed to purchase tickets whose posies were expected to flatter Elizabeth. However, while these posies might respond to England's political situation they could themselves have political implications. Interrogations after the Northern Rising revealed that disaffected northern gentlemen had indulged for years in desultory talk about rebellion.⁹⁴ There was the potential for such 'chatter' to manifest on lottery tickets, especially given the excitement Mary's arrival generated.

If a rival queen, coercion to participate and suspicion the lottery served reformist needs were all capable of inclining participants uneasy with Elizabeth's Protestant regime to use posies subversively, the period had traditions of similar behaviour too. Posies as a genre have not been closely scrutinised for political content, although Fleming has noted wall inscriptions' potential for carrying Catholic messages. Scholarship has typically accepted the contemporary verdict they were ephemeral.⁹⁵ In Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, for instance, Gratiano defended giving away his engagement ring directly after his marriage on the grounds that it was a 'paltry ring [...] whose posy was / For all the world like cutlers' poetry / Upon a knife — "Love me and leave me not".' (V, i, 147–50) In fact, the moments such rings commemorated — betrothals, funerals and so forth — were often significant.

⁹¹ G. Donaldson, *The First Trial of Mary, Queen of Scots*, pp. 106–112 and more generally

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 191–209

⁹³ This can be overemphasised: Holmes, 'Mary Stewart', pp. 201–02; Kesselring, *Northern Rebellion*, p. 49

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 49–52

⁹⁵ Fleming, *Graffiti*, pp. 9–25; Jones, "Such Pretty Things", pp. 442–63

Besides, Jacobite toasts to 'the king over the water' witness that political comment could take seemingly trivial forms. Ring posies were typically invisible, engraved on the interior of the band. Spies and messengers were given seals by their masters to serve as proofs of authenticity; inscribed rings were equally capable of marking identity (as they did in plays).⁹⁶

Besides, as noted, subversive genres were characterised by their unexpected hijacking of spectacle. Libels on deceased figures such as Robert Cecil circulated alongside eulogies; one was found attached to Archbishop Whitgift's hearse. They were posted where public proclamations appeared or pinned to the doors of their victims, masquerading as some other notice. A paper accusing Francis Bacon of sodomy was thrown into his household. In 1570 John Felton was caught fixing the papal bull that excommunicated Elizabeth to the bishop of London's palace gates.⁹⁷ Lottery tickets had the capacity to be used in comparable ways.

Conclusion

Despite attempts to extend Habermas's concept of the public sphere to the sixteenth century it is doubtful that the lottery was an example. It was not a forum in which views could be expressed with impunity. A surprising degree of criticism was tolerated: gentlemen who instead of persuading neighbours to participate urged them not to were not merely insubordinate; they impugned the Queen's honesty. The occasion's peculiar circumstances, exacerbated by Mary Stewart's presence, handicapped Elizabeth when it came to penalising critics. Nonetheless, complaining ran risks, which posies' authors tried to minimise.

Several factors governed the form posies took. The degree of a buyer's opposition to the lottery conditioned the strength of any criticism, which in turn determined the mode of expression: more offensive views needed to be softened or disguised. Participants' social status perhaps influenced both the nature of their concerns and the assurance with which they expressed them.

⁹⁶ Cf. D. Scarisbrick, 'Sir Thomas Gresham and the "Grasshopper" rings', pp. 57-58; for the use of seals: S. Alford, *The Watchers*, pp. 79, 83; other Shakespearean allusions to posies: *Hamlet*, III, ii, 145; *As You Like It*, III, ii, 265-66

⁹⁷ A. Bellany, 'Railing Rhymes Revisited', pp. 1136-79; Gordon, 'Act of Libel', pp. 375-97; J. Knowles, 'To "Scourge the Arse"', pp. 74-77;

If these considerations affected complaint about the scheme itself, something excusable in the circumstances, any political remarks had to be covert. Cynicism over the purpose of the levy, however, plus the appearance of a Catholic pretender, had the potential to embolden unwilling participants. Seditious rumours certainly circulated about the scheme; posies gave people the chance to air such grievances openly, even if they had to be camouflaged and addressed to an audience in the know. The requirement there be posies opened a space for conversation in which forbidden sentiment might be articulated under the Queen's nose. The next chapter investigates whether there is evidence people actually took advantage of that opening.

CHAPTER TEN

'HAIL MARY!' — HIDDEN TRANSCRIPTS?

'No one', asserted Geoffrey Elton, 'ever forged evidence to deceive historians; the intention, nearly always, is to deceive contemporaries.'¹ What, though, can historians do if sources deceived contemporaries so well scholars cannot now be certain what was happening? This chapter assesses the posies for evidence of dissident content. It seems plausible there was some, considering the 400,000 tickets, the fraught political climate and discontent over the scheme itself. However, no treasonous sentiments could have been risked openly, nor was it in the regime's interests to print any. Consequently, to be preserved such messages would have to pass undetected. This hampers their identification now. Cryptic posies were not necessarily seditious; not every possible double meaning was intentional. Evaluating messages for political statements would be easier if one knew the authors' religious leanings, which are typically unclear.

This study has suggested Catholic posies cited *fortune* positively and that Fortuna stood in sometimes for the Virgin Mary, even Mary Stewart (whose embroidery involving Fortune was interpreted as political comment).² That proposition regarded buyers of known religion, though. Many persons of indeterminate faith used the word (Fig. 10.1). If Farningham's 'Free Fortune favour Farmingham [*sic*]' possibly hinted at Mary Stewart, given More's descendants' presence there, how should Cullompton notable John Cockram's choice — 'Fortune be thou our friende, whether we lose or win' — be interpreted? How could Fortune be friendly if one lost? Cockram's faith, however, is unclear.³ Such posies diverged from traditional delineations of Fortune but it is hard to determine what this may have signified.

Other Devon tickets were comparably ambiguous. They featured military discourse but made unimpeachable lottery posies. Cullompton's former rector Richard Gammon had opposed the Elizabethan Settlement: a canon at Exeter Cathedral, he had 'maynteend certyn

¹ G. Elton, *The Practice of History*, p. 75.

² Bath, *Emblems for a Queen*, p. 17

³ Ticket 82193

artycles of popery which upon sondeay the X of marche [1560] by Order he was commanded to recant it, and dyd.⁴ In 1568 he was rector of Brixham (where John Dawes used the posy ‘God send us good luck’), Rockbeare, and Staverton (where Edward Lapthorne declared ‘Have at the best’). Staverton was on the verge of Dartmoor, where Catholicism continued strong, next to Ashburton (Robert Prideaux: ‘God speed the plough, and we shall do wel ynough’). Beyond Ashburton lay Buckland (Nic Withicom: ‘God sende it good speed’) and Widecombe in the Moor (‘God sende winning’: Richard Rug).⁵ These were potentially fighting words. However, even ‘God speed the plough’, intimately connected with Catholic risings, when used more generally invoked success in some venture.

As this chapter canvasses the possibility some messages envisaged rebellion it should be stated immediately that although the Northern Rising happened just after the lottery there is no suggestion extant posies reveal preparation for it. Kesselring has argued persuasively that Elizabeth’s and the northern earls’ mutual alarm sparked the Rising: it was neither planned in advance nor closely linked to the court intrigue to marry Mary to Norfolk. Nonetheless, northern Catholics had discussed rebelling casually for years: talk at a 1561 dinner hosted by William Copeland, for instance, York’s 1568 mayor and no friend of Protestantism, prompted an inquiry.⁶ It is conceivable the posies preserve evidence of similar ‘chatter’, perhaps stimulated by the arrival of a longstanding Catholic pretender.

If so their authors had to telegraph support covertly to those in the know. In this they recall emblems: Italian theorists spoke approvingly of *impresas*’ ability to convey meaning secretly whilst looking innocuous to the uninitiated.⁷ This returns us to the question of how to be sure hidden sentiments existed. The chapter has two parts. The first examines various posies to assess the likelihood they concealed political messages. The second addresses the proverb Time Trieth Truth, first arguing that almost all non-lottery usages during Mary’s time in England had connections to herself or militant Catholicism, then investigating the backgrounds of people who used it on their lottery tickets.

⁴ *CCEd*, Location ID: 16118; *CCEd*, Record ID: 128206; Exeter City Muniments, cited in W. MacCaffrey, *Exeter, 1540–1640*, p. 193

⁵ *CCEd*, Person ID: 96966; tickets 203514 (Dawes), 248633 (Lapthorne), 203330 (Prideaux), 17851 (Withicom) and 17861 (Rug); for Dartmouth’s conservatism: M. Stoye, *Loyalty and Locality*, pp. 208–12

⁶ Kesselring, *Northern Rebellion*, pp. 35–38, 48–52; Aveling, *Catholic Recusancy in the City of York*, p. 333

⁷ Bath, *Emblems for a Queen*, p. 42

TICKET NO.	TICKET PARTICULARS	NOTES
139023	O fortune be our friend & send to us good chaunce. p Jo. Bayles of Bereford.	Probably Barford, Warwickshire; cf. John Bayly, Salisbury's 1578 mayor: 'Fortune be friendly'
266433	God sende them good fortune. Frauncis Griffen. London.	Referring to his tickets
124982	My fortune hath bene wel ynough, as fortune me frame God speede the plough. p Alice Wever of S. Martins.	St Martin's parish, London
1477	Good hap helpe fortune. p the parishe of Horton Kirby. Kent.	
208784	Fortune favour Cheriton. The deanrie of Dover.	Charlton by Dover; vicar John Burnell, former brother at Dover's Maison Dieu, resigned his other living late 1569
178032	If fortune favour friendes, I shall have the moe. p Jo. Wil. Brodwinsore.	Broadwindsor, Dorset
300489	<i>Si fortuna favet oia nobis prosperè succedēt.</i> p William Blowmer Hetherope. Brightwelles Barrowe.	'If Fortune favours us all things will go well'; later Blomers of Hatherop manor were recusants
52151	<i>Virtus etiam fortunæ ope indiget.</i> p. Thom. Alforde London.	'Virtue/strength also needs the help of Fortune'
318397	In my beginning God be my speede, in grace and good fortune to procede. p Ambrose Corbet de Moreton Corbet in Comitato Salop.	Son of well-regarded Protestant Andrew (posy: <i>In utrumque paratus</i> : 'Ready for either alternative'); a 1574 list compiled by Mary's supporters had one of Andrew's sons Catholic. A common child's posy.
28563	If fortune wil, and God be pleased, I shal rejoyce. John Allot. p Emlod parish in Com. Eborne.	Yeoman family of Bentley Grange, Yorks; son of Robert (posy: 'In the Lord I trust')
314952	Praised be God for good fortune. p Thom. Sale de Dingley.	Similar Worcs tickets: Richard Gower of Bradley; John Greene of Grimley; Richard Smith of Upton upon Severn
317156	God send us good fortune, chaunce, grace, & speede, and in all godly vertues to proceede. per George Piers de villa Salop.	Posies often coupled grace with fortune
138898	Maydens be Fortunate, if they call to God for grace, therfore I desire his helpe in this place. p Alice Reynoldes. Aderbury.	cf. Agnes Cooper of Burghfield, Berks ('A maide, her fortune doth abide')
164890	Desiring the almighty such fortune me send, that for it we may all rejoyce at the end. Per Henry Daves. Bristol.	
140976	God that created and made all things, sende good luck and good Fortune to Wichehampton. William Brodestoke de Wichehampton.	William Bradstock, gent, originally of Worcester
279412	Fortune, fortune, fortune, I crave. p Thom. Skeley. Rodington. Teukesbury.	Boddington, Tewkesbury hundred, Gloucs
177838	<i>Ob fælix Fortuna.</i> p Wi. Bradock Southhampton.	

Figure 10.1: Posies mentioning Fortune bought by persons of unknown faith (for similar, Catholic purchases see Chapter Eight)

Rival Queens

‘God save Queene Elizabeth from hir foes’: Cork alderman William Galway considered she had them. John Kempe of London declared ‘God save the Queene and confounde her foes’, while Richard Leach of Hornby, Oxfordshire, stated ‘God save our Queene we all so pray, and beshrew them that will say nay.’ ‘God save the Queene, and sende us peace’ appealed John Smalwood of Dursley, Gloucestershire.⁸ Tellingly, of England’s 52 extant posies featuring the word *queen* the farthest north was sold in Ketteringham, Norfolk. Higher latitudes either refused to declare goodwill or feared ambiguity: there was a queen in the North. In Exeter William Trevell specified ‘Elizabeth our noble Queene’. Less specific statements, such as John Plonket’s ‘God save my soveraigne and all hir well willers’ or ‘Send good lucke, God save the Queene’, from ‘John of Applepen’ (Ipplpen, Devon) might conceivably have referred to Mary Stewart. Jacobite toasts to ‘The king over the water’ would later demonstrate that ambiguity could be exploited.⁹

Appeals to God themselves might be ambiguous. Henry Beard’s ‘God save the Queene and realme’ may indicate exasperation. Did England need rescue from ‘voluntary’ taxation? Robert Lederen’s ‘God save the counsell’ perhaps anticipated its downfall. Some ‘save the Queen’ posies may have been similar.¹⁰

These instances suggest participants knew Elizabeth had enemies and that there was an alternative whom posies might be misconstrued (or construed accurately) as supporting. In short, they appreciated the possibility of equivocation. No posy, though, overtly endorsed Mary. Urging the claims of potential heirs already attracted Elizabeth’s ire.

While Mary could have been hinted at, through her namesake the Virgin Mary, there is limited evidence she was. The Virgin had a cousin Elizabeth, who conceived John the Baptist at an advanced age, having been thought barren. That Mary was not named in posies but could be invoked implicitly (Fig. 10.2). Several ticket-buyers quoted Luke 1, in which the angel informed her she had found favour with God and would bear a son, who would inherit his ancestor’s throne and reign forever over the house of Jacob, perhaps why James I liked to call himself ‘Prince of Peace’. The Virgin’s cousin Elizabeth, too, had

⁸ Tickets 350404 (Galway), 52826 (Kempe), 68950 (Leach) and 300392 (Smalwood)

⁹ Tickets 177023 (Trevell), 325007 (Plonket), 17997 (Applepen)

¹⁰ Tickets 198177 (Beard) and 203859 (Lederen)

conceived, 'for with God shall nothing be impossible'; it was rumoured Elizabeth I had borne Robert Dudley illegitimate children.¹¹ The Virgin visited Elizabeth, who greeted her 'Blessed art thou among women, because the fruit of thy womb is blessed.' She replied: 'He that is mighty has done great things for me. His mercy is on them that fear him. He has showed strength with his arm, scattered the proud, put down the mighty and raised the humble. He has filled the hungry with good things and sent the rich away empty.' Such allusions could not be faulted. Claims all was possible with God were fitting ahead of the prize draw; Mary's words characterised God's actions as a Christian counterpart of Fortune's wheel. Still, the passage resonated with contemporary politics. Its declaration God would depose the mighty and raise the humble could apply to England's queens.

If Nicholas Mulier chose *Benedicta tu in mulieribus* ('Blessed art thou among women') to flatter Elizabeth, for example, he was tactless. Gabriel's salutation to Mary, it drew attention to Elizabeth's childlessness (unless rumours were true), a matter of present concern, implicitly contrasting it with Mary's son. Elizabeth herself, when informed of the future James I's birth, had exclaimed 'The Queen of Scotland is mother of a fair son, and I am but a barren stock'.¹² Mulier's choice featured in the *Ave Maria*, which (until expanded in 1568) ran 'Hail Mary full of grace, the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou among women and blessed is the fruit of thy womb'. It might thus have been used to express sectarian support for Mary Stewart. However, as the posy punned on Mulier's surname he could deny this if challenged.¹³

In fact Mulier's backing of Mary is doubtful. His two tickets fell within a sequence purchased by Flemish merchants, directly preceding two from 'Joos vander plancken'. A 1568 Return of Aliens recorded that both inhabited the same London alley: 'Nicholas Mulere', merchant, was a Dutchman (i.e., Flemish) born at Antwerp, who attended the French (i.e., Huguenot) church. He seems to have been the 'Nicholas Mollier, of Rissell (Lille), in the Lowe Countrie' named in a 1571 list, who had entered England 'with merchundize' around 1562 but was not a denizen.¹⁴ While some Catholics attended the foreign Protestant churches there is no evidence Mulier was one of them, even if his arrival

¹¹ A. Somerset, *Elizabeth I*, pp. 130–31

¹² Cited in M. Perry (ed.), *The Word of a Prince*, p. 189

¹³ Ticket 361635

¹⁴ *Returns of Aliens*, vol. 2, p. 77; vol. 3, p. 358

before the Netherlands' troubles began suggests he was not a religious refugee.¹⁵ If Protestant he had no motive to support Mary.

Mulier's case was typical. Posies alluding to the Virgin were predominantly Protestant, which suggests Catholic allusions were also innocuous. Although he postulates it was sometimes used 'polemically' to signify opposition to reform Siegenthaler notes it took time for the *Ave Maria* to disappear from Protestant thinking.¹⁶ Some posies may reflect this persistence. Pious individuals perhaps focused so firmly on a quotation's devotional meaning that they overlooked potential political readings. The buyer named O.D., whose posies suggested intense Protestantism, also quoted Mary: 'He that is mighty, hath done great things for me.' Manchester's rural deanery, a bastion of Protestantism in otherwise Catholic Lancashire, did likewise: *Nil apud Deum impossibile* (Luke 1:37: 'Nothing impossible with God').¹⁷ Perhaps English Catholics' failure to mention the Virgin paralleled northern buyers' failure to mention the Queen: they wanted to avoid appearing subversive. Two buyers used the first half of a line from the *Salve Regina*: 'O clemens, O pia, O dulcis Virgo Maria.' Both were Italians, probably Catholic, but their choice perhaps simply reflected Italian lottery usages.

TICKET NO.	TICKET DETAILS	SOURCE	NOTES
28749	<i>O clemens, ô pia. Acerbo Velutelli de Luca.</i>	Salve Regina	Italian merchant from Lucca
268334	<i>O clemens, ô pia. Elizabeth Brisket. London.</i>	Salve Regina	Wife of Italian merchant Antonio Bruschetto; mother of Lodowick Briskett
366404	<i>Fecit potentiam in Brachio suo. p. G.I.D.L.H.M.W. The Musitians of my L. Marques.</i>	Luke 1:51; Magnificat	William Parr's musicians, who seem to have been Italian Jews
210558	He hath put downe the mightie from their seate, and hath exalted the humble and meeke. Lewis Richard, Senior.	Luke 1:52; Magnificat	'Senior' probably a misprint for Seamer, Yorkshire
286393	<i>Regina nutrix nostra. Westm.</i>	St Anselm	Anonymous

Figure 10.2: Selection of tickets whose posies cited scriptural or liturgical passages relating to the Virgin Mary

¹⁵ cf. A. Spicer, "'Of No Church'", pp. 208–10

¹⁶ D. Siegenthaler, 'Popular Devotion and the English Reformation', p. 10

¹⁷ Tickets 238119 (O.D.) and 364324 (Manchester)

Few allusions to the Virgin can be considered suggestive. A possible candidate is John Thorold of Blankney's cryptic *Bene fortunet spiritus almus*: 'The nourishing spirit will fortune well.' *Bene fortunet* seems rare: online instances are confined to three sentences from Erasmus. The second part (*spiritus almus*), comparably specific, derived from the Marian responsory Stirps Jesse:

Stirps Jesse virgam produxit, virgaque florem: et super hunc florem requiescit spiritus almus. Virga Dei genetrix virgo est, flos filius est eius.

The tree of Jesse brought forth a twig, and the twig a flower: and upon this flower rests the nourishing spirit. The twig is the Virgin, the mother of God, the flower her son.¹⁸

John's posy buckled together an allusion to the Virgin and her son — capable of extension to Mary Stewart and hers — and a reference to Fortune.

The Thorolds were of variable religion. John's brother Thomas (*Huic sorti faveat qui omnia potest*: 'You who can do all things, favour this lot') became recusant Anne Parpoint's first husband, while her half-brother married their sister; their father Anthony, though, was considered Protestant. William Thorold ('Launche out lustily') was either a third brother or John's grandfather, a 'hinderer' of Protestantism.¹⁹ This background could indicate Thorold's cryptic reference to the Virgin had political overtones but, if so, it seems atypical.

Evidence of allusions to deposed or captive monarchs is equally elusive. Ticket 10,577, although obscure, seems the likeliest candidate: 'When your farse is had and all your warde is won, then shall your selfe be glad to ende that you begon. p William Barbage, Harowe Hill'. This was a poorly spelt excerpt from Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey's 'To the Ladie that Scorned her Louer':

And when your ferse is had,
And all your warre is done:
Then shall your selfe be glad
To ende that you begon.²⁰

Ferse was the archaic term for the chess queen. Howard's declared intent of capturing his lady's queen resembled Elizabethan drama, which used chess-play as a metaphor for

¹⁸ Translation from R. Nosow, *Ritual Meanings in the Fifteenth-Century Motet*, p. 110

¹⁹ Bateson, *Bishops' Letters*, p. 26; *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, ed. A Maddison, vol. 3, pp. 982-83

²⁰ *Tottel's Miscellany*, vol. 1, p. 20

seduction.²¹ The game, though, lent itself to political intrigue too: Thomas Middleton's 1624 *Game at Chess* was, notoriously, overt political allegory.²² Burbage most probably cited Howard in a political sense: 'When your queen is taken and your wars lost you will regret having started this.'

He was the younger brother of Robert Burbage of Hayes Park, Middlesex. Most memorable as a difficult lodger with the Shakespeare family in the 1580s, in the 1570s William was Anthony Bacon's 'troublesome tenant' at Pinner Park, Harrow; presumably his wife Amy Bird belonged to the local family that had leased the Park in the 1550s. Tension persisted. In 1590 Francis Bacon defended his brother against Burbage's lawsuit over Pinner; their mother warned Anthony (1592) 'Do yow think on your stock with Burbage. I heare he challengeth liberally your father'; in 1593 Burbage's son Edward, Anthony's 'unthankful' servant, was causing the Bacons further trouble.²³

This suggests Burbage's addressee. The Privy Council had demanded that each parish's 'principal men' convince neighbours to buy tickets. Anthony's father Nicholas, Elizabeth's Lord Keeper and unquestionably Harrow's foremost inhabitant, was probably responsible for Harrow gentry's strong participation: Burbage himself; Thomas Page and his son John; a ticket for sisters Anne and Frauncis Wightman. If Bacon was pressing local elites to participate he was a natural contender for Burbage's 'you', especially if the families' relationship were already testy.

Moreover, Burbage was in dispute with Elizabeth's other chief minister. In 1564 his brother Robert sold the family manor Theobalds to William Cecil, who built his mansion there. Robert Cecil was informed in the late 1590s from Stratford upon Avon that Burbage was slandering the family, alleging the manor was rightfully his and the purchase unlawful (the Burbage pedigree in William Cecil's notes on the manor's descent omits William).²⁴ Cecil and Bacon were felt to be involving Elizabeth in Protestant conflicts the *Treatise of Treasons*

²¹ M. Yalom, *Birth of the Chess Queen*, pp. 95–96; D. Solem, 'Some Elizabethan Game Scenes', pp. 18–19

²² T. Middleton, *The Collected Works*, pp. 1773–79; P. Yachnin, 'A Game at Chess and Chess Allegory', pp. 317–330

²³ *Middlesex pedigrees*, pp. 78–80; D. du Maurier, *Golden Lads*, pp. 45, 48, 51, 102 (while this argues Francis Bacon wrote Shakespeare's plays it contains valuable detail about Anthony); *VCH*, Middlesex 4, 'Harrow, including Pinner', pp. 215; A. Bacon, *The Letters of Lady Anne Bacon*, ed. G. Allen, pp. 107–08; Chancery Decrees and Orders, cited by C. Stopes, *Burbage and Shakespeare's Stage*, p. 243

²⁴ *VCH*, Hertford 3, 'Cheshunt', pp. 447–48; Robert Browne to Robert Cecil, [7 Jan?] [1599?], CP 204/99; 'Rentals etc. of lands in Theobalds, Cheshunt, etc., Herts, 1491 to 1563', CP 285/1

would shortly claim the lottery financed. If Burbage's threat to capture 'your' queen and end 'your' wars was indeed political it most likely targeted them. (In fact the posy changed Howard's *warre* to *warde*; this, though, argues forcibly that he addressed Bacon — Attorney of the Court of Wards from 1546, a job that occupied most of his time — which implies Elizabeth was the threatened chesspiece.)²⁵

Moreover, Burbage's circle interested itself in Mary's affairs. In 1583 his brother-in-law, fencing-master Rocco di Bonetti, let England's ambassador to Edinburgh copy letters about her that he was carrying between Scotland's and England's French ambassadors. Bonetti had served as courier for the French before and was trusted; he had also previously supplied intelligence to England's spymasters.²⁶

Other tickets' potential references to captive monarchs seem less plausible. Two buyers used 'Thus til then'. In isolation these words are meaningless; this was not a family motto. Digital searches only uncover two Elizabethan usages, suggesting it was not a common saying. Each, though, appeared in a text's closing lines, perhaps indicating it was a leave-taking utterance. If so the words conceivably addressed the coins paid for the ticket, with the buyer hoping to see them return with interest as a prize (suggestively, one of the Elizabethan works featuring the phrase was Thomas Wilson's 1569 *Discourse upon Usury*). This would have resembled William Reder's 'Farewell good gentle Ryal, except thou come agayne, to plucke me out of the myre' or Thomas Leonard's 'I would not have thee goe in vaine, but to come againe, and bring some gaine'.²⁷

The other Elizabethan usage pre-dated the lottery and related to imprisonment. This was a ballad Sir John Harington's father sent Bishop Gardiner while in the Tower for carrying a letter for Elizabeth during the Wyatt Rebellion. It complained of unjust incarceration (analogous to Mary's position vis-à-vis Elizabeth): Gardiner's behaviour was especially reprehensible because he (like Elizabeth) had formerly been imprisoned himself. The final stanza trusted this cruelty would rebound on the oppressor, who might then expect treatment of the kind (s)he had dealt out: 'And thus, till then, I end my song.' The poem

²⁵ R. Tittler, *Nicholas Bacon*, pp. 41–46

²⁶ D. Fett, 'Information, Intelligence and Negotiation in the West European Diplomatic World, 1558-1588', unpublished PhD thesis (Ohio State University 2009), pp. 136-40; for a Shakespearean reference to Bonetti's 1587 stabbing murder: I. Borden, 'The Blackfriars Gladiators', pp. 137–38

²⁷ Tickets 307088 (Reder) and 65678 (Leonard)

circulated in manuscript in the sixteenth century: Harington junior described its composition in a work containing a copy.²⁸ Although the Haringtons were Protestant the son's poetry, at least, circulated in recusant circles; the family had militant Catholic ties through his mother; John junior strongly opposed Mary's eventual execution while his father admired Edmund Campion.²⁹

However, there is no guarantee participants using the posy thought of Mary or were necessarily Catholic. One, the Buckinghamshire parish Aston Clinton, had a pronounced Catholic heritage but who selected its posy is unknown. For much of the century Cardinal Pole's family had been the dominant landowners; Mary Tudor later returned the manor to their descendant Winifred Pole, a suspected recusant who held it in 1568. In 1549 Edward VI granted Mary Tudor the advowson of the rectory and she appointed staunch Catholics: first Dominican John Hopton, her former chaplain, who celebrated mass in her household in defiance of Edward and, according to Foxe, was a 'pitiless tormentor' of Protestants when Bishop of Norwich, then in 1554 theologian Richard Smyth, 'the greatest pillar for the Catholic cause in his time', chaplain-extraordinary to Mary and Philip, who was arrested after Elizabeth's accession. Aston Clinton's gentry conceivably knew the Haringtons and their poetry: John junior cited an early memory of Catholic Lord Hastings of Loughborough offending his mother, when invited for dinner, by walking into the garden as Protestant prayers were said; Winifred Pole's first husband was Hastings's brother.³⁰

The posy's other user, however, was possibly Protestant. Francis Wilford of Westcliffe, Kent, was probably Francis Wilford of Nonington, also near Dover, whose background was Puritan. Like his brothers and brother-in-law, Bishop Edwin Sandys, he had been a Marian exile.³¹ Sandys's brother Milo's posy *Crescite et multiplicamini* ('Increase and multiply') apparently addressed his ticket-money. If Wilford's 'Thus til then' did so too then so may Aston Clinton's have.

²⁸ J. Harington (senior), in R. Hughey, *John Harington of Stepney, Tudor Gentleman*, pp. 92–93; J. Harington (junior), 'Of Stephen Gardiner', pp. 67–71

²⁹ Kilroy, 'Courtier', pp. 5–9, 55–56

³⁰ *VCH*, Buckingham 2, 'Aston Clinton', pp. 313–16, 318; *CCED*, Location ID 7074; *DNB*, 'Hopton, John (d. 1558)'; *DNB*, 'Smyth [Smith], Richard (1499/1500–1563)' (citing Anthony Wood); Kilroy, 'Courtier', p. 7

³¹ C. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles*, p. 332; cf. *DNB*, 'Wilford, Sir Thomas (c.1530–1610)'

A different uncertainty surrounds paraphrases of Daniel 4:14: 'The most High hath power over the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and appointeth over it the most abject among men.' This came from Nebuchadnezzar's dream foretelling he would go mad and lose his kingdom. The words could be used to insinuate God might depose Elizabeth. However, buyers' reasons for choosing it seem variable.

Derrick Anthony (c.1522–1599) was chief engraver to the Mint. The lottery prizes were displayed at his shop. Six of his eight tickets used the posy *Deus dat cui vult* ('God gives to whomever he pleases').³² This was not the Vulgate's Latin but associated with Sweden's Erik XIV (1533–77). Erik selected it as his motto to justify his status as Sweden's first hereditary monarch: he held the throne through divine sanction, not human election.³³ He put it on his currency, something Anthony perhaps knew given his position at the Mint: in 1568 it featured on Sweden's first gold coins; in 1561 Erik had presented Mary Stewart with specimens of his new silver thalers. England's ambassador to Scotland obtained one, reporting that they had '[Erik's] own image upon one side, [...] upon the other side are his arms, with a crown with an order about it [...] Deus dat cui vult'.³⁴ Erik was courting Mary but had formerly been Elizabeth's suitor, twice preparing to sail to England to woo her in person when prevented by storms and his father's death. Elizabeth construed these setbacks as divine deliverance, perhaps remembering his motto: it did not please God to grant him her own kingdom.³⁵

Erik's citation of Nebuchadnezzar was injudicious: his nobility deposed him in 1568 on grounds of insanity. His dethronement was therefore topical and the motto ironic. Anthony, Elizabeth's goldsmith, possibly chose the posy to amuse her. It seems doubtful he knew the words were also inscribed above the entrance to Falkland Palace, Mary's favourite residence — the only other (probably) pre-seventeenth-century use this study has located — but this further instance of a sovereign with designs on England who lost her own kingdom at this time might have caused Elizabeth additional pleasure.³⁶

³² Challis, *Tudor Coinage*, pp. 34 and 36; for the family, *DNB*, 'Anthony, Francis (1550–1623)'

³³ M. Roberts, *The Early Vasas*, p. 201

³⁴ Thomas Randolph to Cecil, 3 May 1562, *CSP Foreign, Elizabeth*, vol. 5, pp. 7–8

³⁵ Perry, *Word of a Prince*, pp. 154–55; Roberts, *Early Vasas*, pp. 199–214

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 233–41; C. Mackie, *The Castles of Mary, Queen of Scots*, pp. 149, 153 (descriptions of the castle leave it unclear where the inscription was or when it originated)

Six other ticket-buyers cited Daniel 4:14 in English, French or Latin. However, there were sufficient Protestant buyers to indicate it was not necessarily deployed politically; Erik's own use indicates the original context (dethronement) was not always foremost in users' minds. John Bradshawe of Darcy Lever, Lancashire ('God gyveth his gifts where it pleaseth hym') belonged to a family inclining to Puritanism. Thomas Walker, 'Vintener of London' ('God giveth to whom he will, as God will so be it, in God is all my trust.'), seems also to have been strongly Protestant. Thomas Monox of Hallow, Worcestershire (*Dieu donne a luy qui plaist*) was perhaps related to Richard Monox, vicar of Grimley parish (which contained Hallow) so at least outwardly a Protestant clergyman.³⁷

Not all were necessarily Protestant. What little can be unearthed about Thomas Fletcher of Barton under Needwood, Staffordshire (*Dieu don a qui luy plaist*) suggests potential Catholic sympathies. 'I.B.' observed that God might rescind his gifts, 'God giveth and taketh as he beste liketh', conflating Daniel 4:14 with Job 1:21, another commonly cited verse: 'The Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away.' The addition was ominous; I.B.'s failure to give a name or location may reflect the more daring message.³⁸

P.L.I. vande Wall (*Dat cui vult Deus*) seems to have been Antwerp merchant Pieter van de Wall, perhaps buying with relatives Lucas and Jostus. Pieter appeared regularly in lists of London aliens. Though in 1561 he was on a register of members of the Dutch church he was attending the Italian church in 1568/69.³⁹ Although these churches were reformist not all their congregations were; there are indications van de Wall may not have been. In 1569 the leaders of the Dutch, French and Italian churches were instructed to name members born in Philip II's dominions, specifying which were Protestant refugees and which just 'factors' for Continental companies. Strype, writing later and perhaps exaggerating, asserted that factors were 'a sort of spies' on Elizabeth's government and common in all the foreign churches.⁴⁰ Philip had retaliated to Elizabeth's seizure of his gold by impounding English merchants' goods throughout his territories: Elizabeth was responding in kind but did not want to harm religious refugees. Only non-Protestant agents, his regular subjects,

³⁷ Tickets 289412 (Bradshawe), 224724 (Walker) and 349747 (Monox); C. Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire*, pp. 173, 176–77 (for Bradshawe); Hickman, 'Religious Allegiance', p. 266 (for Walker); CCED, Person ID: 66553 (for Monox)

³⁸ Tickets 230576 (Fletcher) and 240777 (I.B.)

³⁹ *Returns of Aliens*, vol. 1, pp. 283, 387–88

⁴⁰ Strype, *Grindal*, pp. 197–200

would have their goods detained. Van de Wall did not feature in the Dutch church's list of persons 'persecuted for religion'; he was described as a 'factour for the Lowbells' (the L'Obels of Lille, then in the Netherlands).⁴¹ Perhaps he did deploy *Deus dat cui vult* against Elizabeth; other buyers, however, plainly did not.

Other tickets may have alluded to combat but, if so, did not do so straightforwardly. 'Be happy to the helme' urged John Smith of Sowerby, Yorkshire. The Baron of Delvin quoted Catullus (64, 339) on Achilles: *Hostibus homo [sic] tergo sed forti pectore notus* ('Known to his enemies not by his back but by his stout breast'). Though recusant, Delvin, who died in prison in 1602 awaiting trial for treason, was understood to be loyal. Oliverum Breres ('A brushe makes cleane') recalled the proverbial new broom.⁴² 'S.P.' of London (*Non in multitudine victoria*) cited Maccabees 3:18–19: 'With the God of heaven it is all one, to deliver with a great multitude, or a small company: For the victory of battle standeth not in the multitude of an host; but strength cometh from heaven.' This perhaps merely signified S.P. hoped to win despite having bought few lots, although in fact he (or she) seems to have taken plenty: another four tickets survive under these initials, bearing another Latin posy and two Dutch ones. The Dutch were pious in a way that implied Protestantism: 'God ghevet all' (God gives all); 'Wat Godt belieft, my belieft' (What pleases God pleases me).

John Darley of Suffolk's *Ausus depone etiam vitam pro principe* ('Be ready even to lay down one's life for the prince') belonged to a set taken by Norwich diocese ecclesiastics, suggesting he was clerical, probably the rector of Henstead (from 1558 or earlier) whom Elizabeth appointed in 1567 to North Cove and Willingham St Mary.⁴³ That might suggest strongly loyal sentiments. Interpretation is confused, however, by a monk named John Darley in London's Charterhouse, who in 1534, until Thomas Cromwell threatened him into silence, described politically-charged visions of a deceased fellow-monk who had returned from Heaven to press him to martyr himself for the faith.⁴⁴ Perhaps these were manifestations of guilt: the prior had already been executed and all but a handful of the brothers followed him to martyrdom; Darley, though, a 'monastic misfit', found a 'service at Salisbury' and became

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 528–30; *Returns of Aliens*, vol. 1, pp. 387–88

⁴² Tickets 176206 (Delvin), 295939 (Smith), 353201 (Breres); *DNB*, 'Nugent, Christopher, fifth Baron Delvin (1544–1602)'; *Catullus Tibullus and Pervigilium Veneris*, trans. F. Cornish, p. 121

⁴³ Ticket 313648; *CCEd*, Location ID: 21267 (Willingham St Mary); for North Cove, A. Suckling, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Suffolk*, vol. 1, p. 52; for Henstead, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, part 1, vol. 2, p. 10

⁴⁴ L. Hendriks, *The London Charterhouse*, pp. 181–84; *Three Chapters of Letters Relating to the Suppression of Monasteries*, pp. 34–35; *Henry VIII: Letters and Papers*, vol. 9, pp. 230 (Dr Ortiz to the Empress, 24 Oct 1535)

a secular priest.⁴⁵ Difficulties tracing both men farther have prevented elucidation of whether they were the same but if they were the posy may have been less loyal than it looked. Certainly it resonated with the vision about sacrificing oneself.

More intriguing are tickets that suggest possible awareness some kind of rising was under discussion. It must be remembered that Catholic gentlemen had engaged in desultory chat about rebellion since Elizabeth's accession, something Mary Stewart's arrival had the potential to intensify. Posies that conceivably expressed support for rebellion present a specific interpretive challenge: the idiom of wagering resembled that of warfare. Both involved hope of victory; gamblers hazarded themselves, in the same relationship to Fortune as warriors; games of chance had long been associated with soldiers, partly because survival in combat was random.⁴⁶ Innocently or otherwise, many tickets used quasi-military language, calling on God to support their venture, and so forth. 'God speed the plough', a traditional invocation of success used by Catholic rebels and lottery participants alike, has been mentioned already.⁴⁷ Several participants demanded 'God send us a faire day', a battle-cry found in a song current during John Cade's rebellion (1450) and that of Robin of Redesdale (1469):

God be oure gyde,
and then schull we spede.
Who-so-euer say nay,
ffalse for ther money reuleth!
Trewth for his tales spolleth!
God seend vs a fayre day!
a-wey traytours, a-wey!⁴⁸

The play *Ralph Roister Doister* used this phrase in a martial context (IV, viii, 13; c.1566); similarly, one sympathiser with the Pilgrimage of Grace observed that he 'trusted to see a good day'.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ *DNB*, 'Houghton, John [St John Houghton] (1486/7–1535)'; *VCH*, Middlesex 1, 'House of Carthusian monks', pp. 166–68; *Henry VIII: Letters and Papers* 9, p. 95 (#284, Jasper Fyloll to [Cromwell])

⁴⁶ Cf. Buttay, "*Miles Fortunae*", pp. 451–77

⁴⁷ Cf. its use in *Homilies*, p. 518 ('Homily against Disobedience and Wilful Rebellion')

⁴⁸ For Cade, *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, p. 63; for Redesdale: J. Halliwell, 'Observations upon the History of Certain Events in England during the Reign of King Edward the Fourth', p. 138

⁴⁹ N. Udall, *Ralph Roister Doister*; William Gibson, cited in S. Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 251

Other tickets bore similar sentiments: ‘God be our speede’; ‘God be our friend’; ‘We trust to speede wel’; ‘Good luck be with us’; ‘God be good unto us. Amen’; ‘God send it good hap’; ‘God sende us good speede’; ‘God it gyve luck’; ‘Good fortune good lucke’. These were all suitable lottery posies. Similarly, cries such as ‘Have at you!’, common on lottery tickets, were used by assailants but also game-players.⁵⁰ If these expressed support for some mooted rising it cannot be proven: perfect ambiguity was achieved.

Figure 10.3 lists similar but less generic statements. ‘If God be with us, who can be against us?’ asked diocesan official William Marwood of Totnes, among others; this was a political question cited sometimes to support Mary, sometimes Elizabeth.⁵¹ ‘Ric. York’ chose Bishop Gardiner’s former motto *Vana salus hominis* (‘Vain is the help of man’). It came from Psalm 60, which predicted victory in battle for the faithful with God’s assistance:

1 O God, thou hast cast us off, thou hast scattered us, thou hast been displeased; O turn thyself to us again. [...] 3 Thou hast shewed thy people hard things [...] 9 Who will bring me into the strong city? who will lead me into Edom? 10 Wilt not thou, O God, which hadst cast us off? and thou, O God, which didst not go out with our armies? 11 Give us help from trouble: for vain is the help of man. 12 Through God we shall do valiantly: for he it is that shall tread down our enemies.

The ticket fell within a London sequence, suggesting ‘York’ was the buyer’s surname. If so, he was perhaps the seventh son of Sir John Yorke of Gouthwaite (d. Jan 1568/69), London’s Sheriff in 1549 and under-treasurer of the Mint. Sir John was unquestionably Protestant but his family was not. Peter, eldest of his eleven sons, was ‘at heart a Catholic’, with a recusant wife; Peter’s brother Rowland betrayed Zutphen to Spain in 1586/87; another brother took part in the Northern Rising; a Jesuit Edmund of the next generation tried to assassinate Elizabeth in 1595. In Yorkshire, Sir John’s elder brother’s line remained Catholic, sponsoring subversive plays.⁵² While ‘Ric. York’ cannot be certainly identified the vagueness as to identity, like the posy, is itself suggestive.

⁵⁰ Cf. *Shakespeare Lexicon*, vol. 2, p. 519; R. Holdsworth, ‘Shakespeare and Middleton: A Chronology for 1605–6’, p. 374

⁵¹ Bath, *Emblems for a Queen*, pp. 30–31, 57

⁵² ‘Pedigree of Yorke, of Bewerley, co. York.’, in J. Foster, *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, vol. 2, n.p. (final pedigree); *DNB*, ‘York, Sir John (d. 1569)’; Hasler, ‘YORK, Sir John’; Hasler, ‘YORK, Peter’; *DNB*, ‘Yorke [York], Rowland (d. 1588)’; H. Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, p. 289

TICKET	TICKET PARTICULARS	NOTES
147556	The time is come. Thomas Hawford. Navesby North.	Read directly before his prize was drawn. Perhaps TH of adjacent Clipston, whose son, Cambridge proctor Edward, was religiously conservative
106822	Now or never. Edward Emery of Stranground.	Used by others and, in Latin, by Catholic Sir John Scudamore of Holme (<i>Modo vel nunquam</i>)
12262	Do well and doubt not. p Richardum Dutton de Chester.	1567 mayor; urges people to buy: used by others
338546	Prosper, proceede. Per Thomas Turner, Bishops Cleve.	Rector of Bishops Cleeve; addressing his ticket?
92453	Have in for company. P Hugh Gorton of Middleton.	'I'll ride with you': used by the Earl of Cumberland
9308	The more, the more welcome. p Richard Weller Godrington Cleve.	Various similar posies, inc. that of conforming Catholic Roger Woodhouse of Kimberley
272092	Many a small, maketh a great. p William Wakman of Teukesbury. Glouc.	Wakeman was a leading Tewkesbury Catholic.
222418	Increase and multiply. Per Bramley.	Addressing coins paid for ticket; used by other buyers
289229	With the help of God, have at the best. p George Latham de Yerleham in Com. Lanc.	Irlam manor, Barton township
85955	The Lorde is God, and governeth all, and as he will the prise shall fall. p William Littelbury. Dedham.	Essex
50937	Henry Ayer. Whether we misse or whether we hit, as God will so be it. p Lon.	
375853	The Lorde giveth, and the Lorde taketh, as the Lorde willeth it commeth to passe. p William Preme of London.	Job 1:21; common posy, perhaps alluding wryly to Elizabeth's rapacity (cf. car bumper stickers 'The Lord giveth and the government taketh away')
1040	The wil of God be fulfilled. p Jo. Russell. Alfriston. Sussex.	A common sentiment
130445	God be on our side. Per the parish of Wilcot.	Manor of Draycot Fitzpayne later a recusant centre
118826	As God wil. John Talbot. Grafton.	23 years old, later a prominent Catholic recusant
356994	God give us his blessing. p John Waston. Sende.	The Westons of Send, Surrey, were likely Catholic.
275703	God send us good lucke, Amen. p John Cotten. Ar. Bradley.	Catholic John Cotton of Lanwade owned land around Great and Little Bradley, Suffolk
105907	God save the Queene, whether we lose or win. p William Anderson. Sussex.	Absence of a location prevents identification
257117	Faythfull friends are fewe to finde. p Thomas Fryer of Godmanchester in Com. Hunt.	Catholic family
16062	For the reliefe of many. p Radulphum Cawdry de Stretford super Alven.	Catholic butcher and alderman
131407	Welstede of Wimborne wyseth it well. Per John Welstede of Wimborne minster.	Reginald Pole was penultimate dean of Wimborne
204660	I hope to gaine by the Queenes maiestie. James Unake. Filz Thomas of Youghal, Gentleman.	Cf. William Walshe of Youghal, Ireland: 'God send the Queene good issue'
60274	Hap well and have well God speede the plough, to do well and say well God will gyve ynough. p Harry Sutton. London.	Various tickets used 'God speed the plough'; 'Hap well and have well' popular with Catholic buyers
89901	Be mery, whatsoever chaunce. p John Powel. Sokawinton.	Winchester; various similar posies
91290	<i>Si le ventura viendra, le cinque de gaya participa.</i> London.	'If the venture comes off the Five [Cinque Ports] will share in the joy': anonymous
374247	Nothing venture, nothing have, is commonly sayd, therefore to venture, wherfore should we be afrayd. P John Crome of Swanton. Abbot.	'Nothing venture, nothing have' a very common posy: probably used in many cases by notables to encourage others to participate
125823	Happe well or happe ill, in God I will hope still. p Marie Trevour of Trevallin.	Probably Catholic but Valentine Brown of Norwich who helped quell the Northern Rising had a similar posy
89175	Hope casteth out feare. By Joh. Brian of Northhampton.	1567 mayor. Many posies juxtaposed fear and hope.
223820	<i>Fortuna citius reperias, quam retineas.</i> Wil. Bridges. Oxforde.	'It is easier to meet with Fortune than to keep hold of her'
213623	Who first beginneth, he laugheth that winneth. George Shelborne, Midleton. Cheynie.	Middleton Cheyney, Northamptonshire

Figure 10.3: Examples of posies with apparent reference to the lottery that were capable of holding an alternative, political meaning

In such cases rebellious intent is unproveable, even for ‘Speed the plough’ whose links to Catholic insurrection are undisputed. Alongside them, however, were less camouflaged statements that more plausibly referred to some contemplated rising. These raise the prospect other posies did likewise even if it is less demonstrable.

Some were unexpectedly positive given what is known of their buyers. Two cases have been mentioned already. Gabriel St Quintin’s ‘Adventure boldly’ urged people to participate though his bishop was investigating complaints he was a recusant who hindered tenants from attending church. Mary’s partisans later classed him as a Catholic sympathetic to her. While some Protestants used the posy ‘Increase and multiply’ so did recusant Alice Duckett of Kendal, sister of Leonard Dacre, who launched his own rising, having been in London during the Northern Rebellion. Whereas her husband Anthony’s posy (‘My trust is in God’) perhaps insinuated distrust of the organisers Alice’s looked positively enthusiastic. Like St Quintin’s her message was capable of being addressed to prospective rebels. Thomas Lewkenar of Selsey, Sussex, a ‘notorious papist’, albeit one scholars consider loyal, used a Latin equivalent.⁵³ Other positive messages from known Catholics such as Sir Robert Throckmorton (‘God send good fortune’) and John Scudamore (*Modo vel nunquam*: ‘Now or never’) have been covered in Chapter Eight.⁵⁴ Such individuals might have been expected to be less favourable towards an unpopular lottery possibly already suspected of funding Protestant wars.

Other tickets merely hoped for change. John Allen of Thornton, Lancashire, demanded ‘God send us good knowledge’, a variant of the commoner ‘God send us good fortune’. John presumably knew his son William was presently establishing Douai’s English Seminary, to provide Catholics an alternative to Oxford and Cambridge where priests might be trained in proper doctrine ahead of England’s return to Rome.⁵⁵ In Longney, Gloucestershire, William Pace felt that ‘When things be at the worste, they commonly amende’. London’s ‘J.G.’ cited Job 17:12 from the Vulgate Bible: *Post tenebras spero lucem* (‘After darkness I hope for light’): it seems likely this was Catholic hope since Protestant scholars rejected the line

⁵³ Tickets 334926 (Alice), 334918 (Anthony) and 310267 (Lewkenar); for the Duckets: G. Duckett, *Duchetiana*, pp. 25–27; for Lewkenar: Hasler, ‘LEWKNOR, Thomas’

⁵⁴ Above, pp. 212–13

⁵⁵ Ticket 220399; for the Allens, H. Fishwick, *The History of the Parish of Poulton-le-Fylde*, pp. 125–57, esp. 128–29

as mistranslated from Hebrew, adapting it into the reformist slogan ‘After darkness, light’.⁵⁶ The point of Frauncis Eston’s *Nemo letificatur in patria, quem fides non consolatur in via* ([‘Nothing will gladden him] in his home country whom faith does not console on the way’) is obscure; it derived from Saint Augustine and concerned religious matters.⁵⁷ Richard Davis of Cirencester (*Converte nos, Deus salutaris nostri*) cited Psalm 85: ‘Turn us, O God of our salvation, and release thine anger toward us. [...] Wilt thou be angry with us forever? [...] Surely his salvation is near to them that fear him, that glory may dwell in our land.’⁵⁸ By 1569 prophecies of an approaching Catholic restoration circulated in northern England, some concerning a so-called ‘golden day’: some of these posies were perhaps connected with them.⁵⁹

Certain participants seem to have counselled against anything precipitate, indirect evidence something was contemplated. The ticket of ‘Will Duxfield, parson of Botley’, fell within a set of clerical ones from Durham diocese. This identified him as rector of Bothal, Northumberland. Duxfield quoted Sallust: *Nam et priusquam incipias opus est consulto, et ubi consulueris, facto mature*. The context is significant. These were prefatory remarks from *The War with Catiline*:

Yet for a long time mortal men have discussed the question whether success in arms depends more on strength of body or excellence of mind; for before you begin, deliberation is necessary, when you have deliberated, prompt action. Thus each of these, being incomplete in itself, requires the other’s aid.⁶⁰

In short, military success required not just decisive action but proper planning. Sallust felt Catiline, the archetypal conspirator to Renaissance thinking, had failed through poor preparation. It is hard to see what non-political meaning Duxfield’s posy could have had. If, as appears, his objection was only to half-cocked rebellion it was treasonous.

There is no proof Duxfield was Catholic, though. He was notable in Durham mainly for holding many benefices at once. His patrons were the Ogle family; Cuthbert Ogle, who appointed him to Bothal, helped suppress the Northern Rising and consequently joined the

⁵⁶ Tickets 280116 (Pace), 366084 (J.G.)

⁵⁷ Ticket 50506; Augustine, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini, hipponensis episcopi, opera omnia, post Iovaniensium theologorum rescensionem*, vol. 5, pt 1, col. 541; trans. adapted from *Sermons on Selected Lessons of the New Testament by S. Augustine*, vol. 1, p. 307

⁵⁸ Ticket 198898

⁵⁹ Kesselring, *Northern Rebellion*, p. 45

⁶⁰ Ticket 156934; CCEd, Person ID: 116710; ‘The War with Catiline’, I, 5–7, in *Sallust*, trans. J. Rolfe

Council of the North. Duxfield was never penalised for Catholic sympathies. Although in 1578 Cuthbert deprived him of Bothal rectory Freeman felt this was 'presumably for pluralism and non-residence': he retained and acquired other livings and held preaching positions in the diocese.⁶¹ If he opposed Elizabeth's regime he was apparently so discreet nobody noticed.

However, Duxfield's was not the only posy to stress the importance of preparation or advise against rash action (Fig. 10.4). While Sir Richard Sherbourne of Stonyhurst ('Wel begin, wel end'), one of the Earl of Derby's stewards, later emerged as a leading Lancashire Catholic, in 1568 Elizabeth's government trusted him: he was also a servant of the Crown and sat in July on a tribunal over eight Catholic gentlemen suspected of plotting rebellion. Leatherbarrow describes him as 'one of the border-line squires [...] who, from one action or appearance, seem to be conformists, and from another, recusants'. In 1591 diverse allegations were laid against him, among them: incest; adultery; threats; levying 'too high taxes' and keeping the excess money himself; refusal to lend Elizabeth money; failure to disburse prizes won in the 1586 lottery; and a range of reprehensible Catholic activities, including blocking his ears with wool if obliged to attend church. His recusant younger brother John, of Ribbleton Hall, used the posy 'Good lucke and fortune.'⁶²

In construction and sentiment William Hancotes of Rowington's posy closely resembled that of John Gibbotts, the village's other ticket-buyer. Rowington retained a strong Catholic presence into the seventeenth century: at least sixty recusants lived there at the time of the Gunpowder Plot. Gibbotts's message — 'Better it is at neede a little thing to have, than utterly nothing that may thy life save' — expressed unwillingness to risk money on tickets in hope of winning more. Hancotes's ('Better is leysure what chaunce so betide, than hastily to climbe, and sodeinly to slide') displayed comparable reluctance to engage in actions that might backfire. These men were probably parish leader William Hancoxe of Poundley End, married to one of the strongly Catholic Oldnalls, and possibly John Tybbotts, village bailiff.⁶³

⁶¹ J. Freeman, 'The Parish Ministry in the Diocese of Durham, c. 1570–1640', unpublished PhD thesis (Durham University, 1979), pp. 83, 166; *CCEd*, Person ID: 116710; H. Ogle, *Ogle and Bothal*, pp. 67–70

⁶² Tickets 259002 (Richard) and 42916 (John); Bindoff, 'SHERBORN, Sir Richard'; Leatherbarrow, *Lancashire Elizabethan Recusants*, pp. 32, 86; *CSP Domestic, Elizabeth: 1591–94*, pp. 159–60; *Lord Burghley's Map*, p. 16

⁶³ Tickets 260393 (Gibbotts) and 16042 (Hancotes); V. Arkell, 'An Enquiry into the Frequency of the Parochial Registration of Catholics in a 17th Century Warwickshire Parish', pp. 24–25; *Records of Rowington*, vol. 2, ed. J. Ryland, pp. 121–22, 125

Francis Littleton's *Festina lente* ('Hasten slowly') was a favourite saying of Augustus; Erasmus discussed it at length in his *Adagia* (citing Sallust) as a warning to think before acting.⁶⁴ The Littletons of Pillaton Hall, Penkridge, were tenants of the Catholic Pagets, Mary Stewart's partisans, who owned the land.⁶⁵ In terms of faith they were borderline. Edward Littleton (d. 1558) seems to have been conservative in religion but took advantage of the Dissolution; he has been described as 'acquiescing' in Mary Tudor's restoration of Catholicism, rather than welcoming it. His daughter Constance was imprisoned for recusancy in the 1580s; his son Edward (d. 1574) was father of Francis (born around 1558). Edward's heir, likewise Edward (c.1548–1610), though initially a Paget client, was considered loyal and seems to have been Protestant. Another ticket, for Francis's sister Marie, born around 1568, used the posy 'Fortune be favourable'. Marie's future husband, Walter Vernon (b. 1552) of Houndshill, Staffordshire, was possibly the Walter Vernon 'of Darbyshire' whose ticket urged 'Worke wisely with wisdom': the Vernons, religiously conservative, owned land in both counties; Walter was a frequent Vernon name but the Houndshill individual seems to have had no namesake around that time. If Vernon's posy cautioned against foolish action it was highly circumspect: non-specific and perhaps misleading as to where the buyer lived; possibly taken in the name of a child.⁶⁶

TICKET NO.	TICKET DETAILS	NOTES
160558	A good beginning hath a good ending. Per Henry Hedger de Ifeld.	Religion unknown; held land in Isfield, Sussex
187032	Hast, maketh wast. p John Roberts of Swalclif.	Swallowcliff, Wilts; possibly Rabbetts, a local surname
30281	<i>In rebus adversis, esto fortis et prudens.</i> p Rob. Rogeley of Hemyock.	'In adverse circumstances be steadfast and prudent'; cf. <i>Fortis et fidelis</i> (steadfast and faithful)
366047	Good counsell is the ende and begynning of every worke. Hugh Gybon of Lond.	Quotation from Xenophon
279983	<i>Sat cito, si sat bene.</i> p Edwarde Pearte Burges Tewxburie.	Peart's daughter married the son of leading local Catholic, ticket-buyer William Wakeman
73503	Soone ynough if well enough. Jo. Hatcher. Cambridge.	Regius Professor of Physic; suggestions he was Protestant
211975	Better late than never. Joane Philips. London.	
91133	Thomas Went. Better late than never. London.	

Figure 10.4: Posies that may caution against rash or precipitate action

⁶⁴ Ticket 147158; M. Phillips, *The 'Adages' of Erasmus*, pp. 187–88; cf. also E. Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, pp. 100–03

⁶⁵ *VCH*, Stafford 5, 'Penkridge', pp. 118–19; Bindoff, 'LITTLETON, Edward'; Thrush and Ferris, 'LITTLETON, Sir Edward I'; Burke, *Commoners*, vol. 1, p. 390

⁶⁶ Tickets 147179 (Marie) and 167542 (Vernon)

However, if those posies possibly cautioned against overhasty rebellion not all analogous ones can have done so. Chaddeley Corbett, Worcestershire, was a strongly recusant parish but Thomas Lawley ('All is well, that endeth well') its married rector, presumably Protestant.⁶⁷ Lawley's emphasis was arguably subtly different: he urged patience, perhaps excusing the periodic postponements of the draw. This seems equally likely as regards Roger Alford of Buckinghamshire, reliably Protestant and Cecil's longtime servant: *Sat cito, si sat bene* quoted Cato ('It is done soon enough if it is done well enough'). Erasmus used it to illustrate a different sense of *Festina lente*: seeking to accomplish matters too quickly leads to error and repentance.⁶⁸

Other participants apparently urged discretion. Frauncis Allen of Uttoxeter ('Hold fast the Hauke') chose a proverb used to warn people to hold their tongues: 'The first point of hawking is hold fast'. The Allens were a gentry family with 'strongly Catholic connexions', close relatives of Mary's supporters the Pagets.⁶⁹ Thomas Aglionby's *Taciturnitate* ('With silence') was one of two posies: his other remarked that Fortune was either good or bad. Aglionby (d. 1584), an MP, was the son of a Mint official from Carlisle whose brother, at least, was Catholic.⁷⁰ Ascribing political sentiment to these statements requires caution. Laurence Wellington of Burghill, Herefordshire, urged 'Heare muche, speake little' and Norfolk's Robert Smalpece of Hockering 'Thinke well and say little'; however, the Queen's own tickets observed that she watched whilst saying nothing. Given widespread complaint about the lottery it is possible Thomas Mansel of Spaldwick ('He that kepeth his mouth, kepeth his life') tried to quell discontent, as posies such as 'Obey thy prince' did.⁷¹ Nevertheless, if Robert Bedel's *Malum signum perdere totum* ('A bad sign will lose everything') was wise advice for poker players its relevance to lotteries is unclear.⁷² One reading of such messages is as equivalents of the wartime slogan 'Loose lips sink ships'.

⁶⁷ Ticket 232859; *VCH*, Worcester 3, 'Chaddeley Corbett', p. 36; *CCEd*, Record ID: 306283; *CCEd*, Record ID: 155654; Location ID: 16510

⁶⁸ Ticket 66080; for Alford, R. Barnett: *Place, Profit, and Power*, pp. 24–28; Phillips, '*Adages*' of Erasmus, pp. 189–90

⁶⁹ Ticket 157168; Tilley, *Proverbs*, p. 548; citation from M. Foster, 'Thomas Allen (1540–1632), Gloucester Hall and the Survival of Catholicism in Post-Reformation Oxford', p. 102; *Visitation, Staffordshire, 1583*, p. 123

⁷⁰ Tickets 368939 and 245613; Hasler, 'AGLIONBY, Thomas'; Bindoff, 'AGLIONBY, John' (for Catholic relations)

⁷¹ Tickets 206923 (Wellington), 88795 (Smalpece) and 63807 (Mansel)

⁷² Ticket 338697

If posies recommending better preparation or greater discretion perhaps reacted against talk of rebelling there is little evidence for comparable loyalist reactions. That could indicate there was nothing to react against or that it was not realised insurrection was imagined. Even supposing Mary was identified with Fortune, disparaging comments on Fortune and those trusting her most probably just referred to the lottery. The same held true of Puritan prebendary of Gloucester Cathedral Arthur Saule's citation of Proverbs 10:28, The hope of the righteous shall be gladness: but the expectation of the wicked shall perish (*Iustorum expectatio letitia*). Marie Maundy of the Isle of Wight (*Mala mulier pessimum*) paraphrased St Ephraem on sinful women (*O malum malorum pessimum, mala mulier!*: 'A bad woman is the worst of all evils!').⁷³ Maundy conceivably meant Mary, suspected of having married her husband's murderer, but might equally have targeted Elizabeth. It is possible, nevertheless, that Edward Stansfield of Stansfield's 'Stande in the fielde like a man' did more than just pun on his name. From Halifax in the Catholic north, his religion is unclear; however, seventeenth-century Stansfields drifted towards nonconformism, suggesting he was more likely Protestant than Catholic, while family members seem to have been Crown servants.⁷⁴ Stansfield possibly challenged seditious posies' authors to emerge from the shadows and declare themselves.

Elizabeth's own *Videō et taceo* ('I see and hold my peace') requires similar caution. According to Whitney's *Emblema* this was selected to indicate she would not punish subjects for a first offence. However, people were boycotting the lottery and using posies to complain at having to buy tickets, as rumours circulated about her integrity; the offences alluded to may have been these. In 1665 David Lloyd asserted that the device was Francis Walsingham's 'before it was his mistress' motto'. That might imply some counter-espionage signification. However, there seems no evidence Lloyd was correct. Elizabeth appears to have devised the motto for the lottery; Walsingham, who rose to prominence afterward, seems never to have used it.⁷⁵

All told, the posies yield little firm evidence for covert chatter about a rising that ultimately never happened. If anything, participants steered well clear of statements that might have been thought subversive, although any sense double meanings might be suspected implies

⁷³ Tickets 217250 (Saule) and 32890 (Maundy)

⁷⁴ Ticket 86875; Stansfield, *Family of Stansfeld*, pp. 323–24; for nonconformists, pp. 157, 202, 294, 405, etc.

⁷⁵ D. Lloyd, *The States-Men and Favourites of England since the Reformation*, Wing (2nd ed.) / L2648, p. 329

awareness they could be deployed. The difficulty of locating adequate information about ticket-buyers (especially regarding religious views) compounds the tickets' built-in problems of ambiguity, anonymity and obscurity, frustrating efforts to make sense of them. The fact gambling and war involved similar language renders certain posies impenetrably ambiguous, deliberately or otherwise. The proverb 'Speed the plough', impossible to fault on a ticket but used repeatedly in religious revolts, epitomises the problem: as Clifford Geertz has noted, a wink, strictly speaking, is identical to a facial twitch.⁷⁶

Nevertheless, slight departures from the norm may be revealing. Themselves suggestive, they raise the possibility that more unchallengeable tickets may also have been less innocent than they looked. These include: incongruous appeals to Fortune ('Smile on us even if we lose!'); surprising enthusiasm given the widespread objections to the lottery and the individual's background; and sets of posies whose argument potentially made sense in regard to a debated rising but less so in regard to a lottery: hopes for a spiritual regeneration; cautions not to act rashly; warnings that careless talk cost lives. Drawing a confident conclusion is unfeasible. Although a few posies, William Burbage's for example, look liable to have been political, in other cases, such as William Duxfield's, the posy's suggestiveness is not borne out by what is known of the author.

Time Trieth Truth

Prosecuting the Gunpowder Plotters, Sir Edward Coke observed '*Veritas temporis filia*, Truth is the daughter of Time; especially in this case'.⁷⁷ He might have said 'Time trieth Truth'. This had a double connotation. It was associated with plots revealed: 'Time heretikes declares' noted Thomas Palmer's 1560s exposition of the proverb.⁷⁸ Heretics themselves used it to affirm fidelity under adverse circumstances. Since it seems to have been connected with plots against Elizabeth on behalf of James's mother Coke perhaps felt it was best avoided. Indeed, among lottery tickets alluding to the proverb had been one taken for the infant Robert Key of Glatton, one of the conspirators on trial. Coke instead used Elizabeth's own motto, associating James with her Protestant regime.

⁷⁶ C. Geertz, 'Thick Description', pp. 6–7

⁷⁷ Howell, *State Trials*, vol. 2, col. 166

⁷⁸ T. Palmer, *The Emblems of Thomas Palmer*, p. 72

The posy, which also featured on rings (Fig. 10.5), was one of several lottery posies with a time/truth theme. Five ticket-buyers cited it directly; others adapted a poem titled 'Time Trieth Truth'. At the close of Elizabeth's reign, when she had outlasted her enemies, flattery concerning Time's revelation of Truth was commonplace.⁷⁹ In the 1560s its deployment involved bravado: her staying power was not assured. The 'Time and Truth' trope had been associated with Mary Tudor. It proliferated on Mary's accession. She chose *Veritas Filia Temporis* as her device, asserting her personal triumph and that of Catholicism: 'Time was fulfilled and had brought with it Truth, long banished from the realm' according to Otto Saxl, who first explored the imprese's particular significance in Reformation England.⁸⁰ Elizabeth promptly commandeered it: her ceremonial entry to London, prior to coronation, paused at an allegorical tableau of Father Time and his daughter; they presented the Queen with truth in the form of an English Bible.⁸¹ Elizabeth adapted Mary's device as her own: *Veritas Temporis Filia*. In the 1560s, however, it was not certain her Protestant triumph would outlast her sister's Catholic one. Mary Stewart might conceivably have appropriated the motto had Elizabeth been dethroned in her favour.

While Elizabeth reigned, though, it denoted herself and Protestantism. The Archbishop of York, former Marian exile Thomas Young, used it as his lottery posy. So did Christopher Athe of Aldin Grange, Durham. Although Athe's religion and politics are unknown Elizabeth's device could hardly have been used to indicate solidarity with another faith or queen.

Time Trieth Truth, however, possibly represented a feasible alternative. Although the proverb dated from the Middle Ages there is no evidence of a religious sense to early sixteenth-century usages, notwithstanding the proverb's modern associations with Thomas More. His 1529 Catholic polemic *The Supplication of Soules* cited it parenthetically — '(as time always trieth out the truth)' — but without special emphasis; More used many proverbs in a similar way. The journal of More studies is titled *Moreana: Time Trieth Truth*. This choice

⁷⁹ P. Howard, 'Time in Entertainments for Queen Elizabeth I', pp. 467–81; for instances, H. Lees-Jeffries, 'Location as Metaphor in Queen Elizabeth's Coronation Entry (1559)', pp. 84–85

⁸⁰ Saxl, 'Veritas Filia Temporis', p. 207

⁸¹ Nichols, *Progresses and Processions*, vol. 1, pp. 49–52

was apparently fortuitous, however: suggested by the *Supplication* but reflecting the proverb's applicability to More rather than adopting his motto.⁸²

glevumdetecting.co.uk

TMDC: Posie Ring



Figure 10.5: Ring with the posy 'Time trieth truth' on the interior of the band, from glevumdetecting.co.uk [Pinterest]

John Heywood's *Proverbs* (1546) gave it a secular definition akin to 'wait and see':

Let time try! Time trieth truth in every doubt
And deem the best till time hath tried the truth out.⁸³

⁸² T. More, 'The Supplication of Souls', pp. 298b-299a; for *Moreana's* use: 'G. M.', 'Amicus amicorum', pp. 2-3 (My thanks to Hubert Baudet for this reference and information on More's [non]-use of the proverb.)

⁸³ J. Heywood, *The Proverbs, Epigrams, and Miscellanies*, p. 72

This was perhaps significant. Heywood was strongly Catholic. A protégé of More and married to his niece, he was attainted in 1544 for conspiring against Cranmer, then favoured by Mary Tudor. His brother, a former friar, was arrested for celebrating mass in 1574; both his sons became Jesuits; he went into religious exile in Brabant in 1564. Had Time Trieth Truth been a catch-cry of Catholic steadfastness, perhaps used as such by More, Heywood would probably have known. However, his work's many editions, which sought to record every English proverb, never suggested it had religious implications.⁸⁴

Other Henrician instances were similarly non-sectarian. Hugh Rhodes's 1545 *Boke of Nurture for Men, Servantes and Chylðren* was a courtesy guide that advised servants 'neuer sweare thou oath [...] for tyme tryeth thy troth'. Rhodes's life is poorly known. A gentleman of the Chapel Royal, his other known work, a lost panegyric on Queen Mary performed in her presence in 1555 by the 'Chyld-byshope of Paules Church', does not suggest reformist zeal.⁸⁵ However, like More he seems to have deployed the proverb innocuously. Nor was Protestant Thomas Wyatt's 'Greeting to you Both in Hearty Wise' overtly religious: a supposedly anonymous warning, it counselled two companions to beware false friends who would betray them: 'Such as ye think your frinde maye fortune be your ffoe [...] For tyme tryeth trothe'.⁸⁶ In short, until mid-century Time Trieth Truth had secular uses even when the authors or works citing it were themselves Catholic.

The proverb conceivably began to acquire religious connotations under Mary Tudor. However, the Time and Truth motif flourished after Mary's adoption of *Veritas Filia Temporis*: uses of Time Trieth Truth may simply have gestured at that motto. Thus, the proverb featured in *Respublica*, a play performed at court over Christmas 1553, soon after her accession. The prologue announced that the villains Insolence, Flattery, Oppression and Avarice had lately been misgoverning England. The proverb introduced Time's daughter and the queen's device:

Yet tyme trieth all and tyme bringeth truth to lyght
that wronge maye not ever still reigne in place of right
[...] veritee the daughter of sage old Father Tyme
Shewith all as yt ys bee ytt vertue or Cryme.

⁸⁴ Editions of 1546, 1549, 1550, 1555, 1556, 1560, 1561, 1562, 1566, 1577, 1587 and 1598 have been consulted; *DNB*, 'Heywood, John (b. 1496/7, d. in or after 1578)'; also *DNB*, 'Heywood, Jasper (1535–1598)'

⁸⁵ Rhodes, *Boke of Nurture*, p. 247, l. 80 (as regards the line the 1577 edition cited is the same as the original); for Rhodes' life, Furnivall's 'Preface to Rhodes' (pp. i–xxviii); *DNB*, 'Rhodes, Hugh (fl. 1545?)'

⁸⁶ Wyatt, *Collected Poems*, pp. 225–26

It is doubtful anyway, despite its praise of Mary, that the play's sentiments were straightforwardly Catholic. Anonymous, it is attributed to Nicholas Udall on account of persuasive similarities to his *Ralph Roister Doister*. Udall, strongly Protestant, was not necessarily overjoyed at Catholicism's return.⁸⁷

The other Marian publications involving Time Trieth Truth were both published in 1557 by Richard Tottel. While the first iteration of Thomas Tusser's *Five Hundreth Points of Good Husbandry* hinted at the proverb, since Tusser first cited it outright after revising the work under Elizabeth it will be discussed later. The other work was Tottel's *Miscellany*. Alongside authors such as Henry Howard and Thomas Wyatt this featured anonymous poems, including one titled 'Time Trieth Truth'. Another anthology, 1578's *Gorgeous Gallery*, had a different version, one that survives also in two manuscript copies (one, from the seventeenth century, with another lottery posy in its title: *Festina Lente: Tempus Probat Omnium*).⁸⁸ Several lottery posies later adapted its closing lines, seemingly referencing the proverb covertly. These derived from the *Gorgeous Gallery's* version despite pre-dating it, which may indicate that one was the original. The author is unknown; while Tottel himself has traditionally been considered Catholic a recent monograph argues that his *Miscellany* incorporated newly written work by Protestants at the Inns of Court.⁸⁹ If so, the poem might date either from Mary's reign or earlier, Protestant ones, rendering any religious signification uncertain. However, it appears merely to be a love lyric (Appendix A).

The proverb acquired discernable politico-religious undertones only under Elizabeth and not immediately. John Phillips's play *Patient Grissell*, published 1569 but written around 1560, referenced it. The work's subtext was perhaps political, urging the Queen to marry an Englishman, but not subversively so. Phillips was probably the individual whose ballads in 1569 denounced the rebels and their prophecies of a 'golden day', although his later published epitaphs were for Catholics: Sir William Garrard; the Earl of Southampton; Margaret, Countess of Lennox (the religion of his other subject, the wife of Alexander

⁸⁷ N. Udall [attrib.], *Respublica*; DNB, 'Udall [Yevedale], Nicholas (1504–1556)'

⁸⁸ *Tottel's Miscellany*, vol. 1, p. 160; vol. 2, pp. 280–81; T. Proctor, *A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions*, pp. 47–48

⁸⁹ J. Warner, *The Making and Marketing of Tottel's Miscellany*, pp. 14–25, 181–94 (in 1557 Tottel also reprinted More's 'Supplication of Souls')

Avenon, London's lord mayor, is unclear: her husband's faith has been called 'hard to determine').⁹⁰

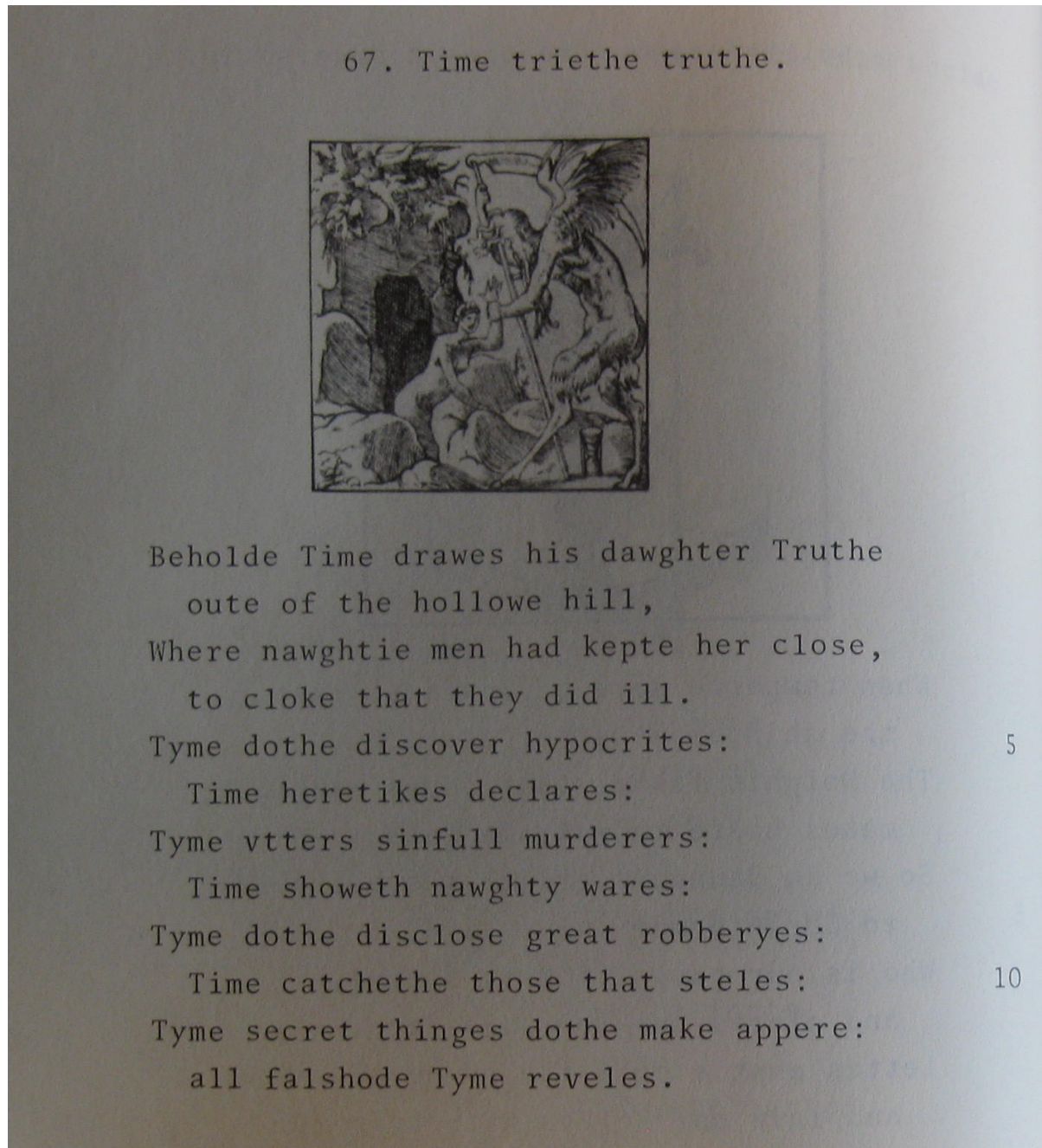


Figure 10.6: Thomas Palmer's exposition of the emblem 'Time Trieth Truth' from his *Two Hundred Poesies*, ed. Manning, p. 72

⁹⁰ J. Phillips, *The Play of Patient Grissell*, l. 368; *DNB*, 'Phillips [Phillip], John (d. 1594x1617)'; L. Wright, 'A Political Reflection in Phillip's Patient Grissell', pp. 424–28; for Garrard's religion: Hickman, 'Religious Allegiance', p. 161; citation re. Avenon from M. Ingram, *Carnal Knowledge*, p. 365

It featured in England's first emblem book, Thomas Palmer's *Two Hundred Poosees*, which Dean has plausibly argued was inspired by the lottery, not written beforehand as formerly believed.⁹¹ Illustrating Palmer's explication of the proverb was the image generally associated with *Veritas Filia Temporis*: Time freeing Truth from the cave where she had been imprisoned (Fig. 10.6). This image was pasted into Palmer's manuscript. The woodcut originated from the title page of the 1557 Geneva Bible (although this may not have been the work Palmer cut it from), where it was surrounded by the inscription 'God by Tyme restoreth Truth and maketh her victoriov's'.⁹² No other lottery posy featured in the manuscript. If Dean is correct the proverb's use on lottery tickets perhaps inspired the emblem: it would be good to be certain when Palmer wrote. His rhyme, though, still had no strong religious emphasis: the statement that Time uncovered heretics was just one in a catalogue of assertions that 'all falshode Tyme reveles'. In the 1560s secret heresy might have occurred readily to someone compiling a list of hidden wickednesses, alongside Palmer's hypocrites, criminals and sellers of shoddy wares. Modern scholars question seventeenth-century antiquarian Anthony Wood's portrayal of Palmer as a staunch Catholic ejected from St John's College, Oxford, for his faith and later persecuted further. Certainly, a letter survives giving the true reason for the dismissal; besides, the College's founder, responsible for it, was Catholic himself.⁹³ Nonetheless, Palmer may have been Catholic though not discharged for Catholicism: he had earlier been rector of Gloucester College, a Catholic refuge.⁹⁴

Other Elizabethan instances certainly followed Mary's arrival and were frequently linked to her or militant Catholicism. The 1569 *Defence of the Honour of [...] Marie, Queene of Scotland* featured one allusion. This was prepared (albeit too late) for Mary's trial over her husband's murder. It is usually attributed to John Leslie, Bishop of Ross (though it seems he merely revised work by Thomas Bishop). It claimed to have been printed in London at the Sign of Justice Royal and to be sold at the Signs of Tyme and Truthe in Paul's churchyard (Fig. 10.7). Most of its publication details were spurious; it was subversive and presumably sold covertly; William Allen's printer in Rheims was the real publisher. Like 'Justice Royal', the

⁹¹ T. Palmer, *The Emblems of Thomas Palmer: Two Hundred Poosees*, *Sloane MS 3794*, ed. J. Manning, p. 72; Dean, 'Another Source?', pp. 35–37; for earlier views: J. Manning, 'Introduction' to Palmer, *Poosees*, pp. iv–v; M. Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, pp. 59–60

⁹² Palmer, *Two Hundred Poosees*, p. 72 (cf. editorial notes, p. 246). My thanks to Examiner 2 of this thesis for bringing this to my attention.

⁹³ G. Wright, 'The Growth of an Emblem', p. 85, (inc. n. 12); W. Stevenson and H. Salter, *The Early History of St. John's College Oxford*, pp. 422–25; F. Foster, *The Politics of Stability*, p. 126

⁹⁴ J. Rothenstein, 'The Elizabethan Catholics at Worcester College, Oxford', p. 380

booksellers' signs were probably chosen for their symbolism (though Ross and Bishop, who remained in England, were not necessarily responsible for these choices).⁹⁵

Imprinted at London in Flete strete at the
 signe of Iustice Royal, againste the Blacke
 bell, by Eusebius Dicæophile, *anno D. 1569.*
 and are to be solde in Paules church
 yearde, at the signes of Tyme & Truthe,
 by the Brasen Serpēt, in the shoppes
 of Ptolomé and Nicephore Ly-
 costhenes brethren
 Germanes.




Figure 10.7: The colophon of the *Defence of the Honour of [...] Marie, Queene of Scotland*

In 1570 Thomas Tusser reissued his *Hundreth Good Pointes of Husbandrie*. The 1557 original had been dedicated to moderate Catholic William Paget, a Marian Privy Councillor who had conformed under Henry VIII and Edward VI. In 1563 William died. His son Thomas, Tusser's new patron, was the new edition's dedicatee. Paget's sons were harder-line Catholics: in 1571 Roberto Ridolfi described Thomas as sympathetic to Mary Stewart; he was arrested in 1580 after hosting London gatherings for Edmund Campion and later went

⁹⁵ J. Leslie, *A Defence of the Honour of [...] Marie, Queene of Scotland*, STC (2nd ed.) / 15505; DNB, 'Lesley [Leslie], John (1527–1596)'; R. Pollitt, 'An "Old Practizer" at Bay', p. 69, n. 25. The Time/Truth motif is not characteristic of Foigny's and Allen's other publications.

into exile. His brother Charles was Mary's Paris agent. The Pagets' links to several ticket-buyers who used potentially political posies have already been mentioned.⁹⁶

The time/truth trope had featured in Tusser's 1557 dedication:

The trouth doth teache, that tyme must serue [...]

And therfore tyme, it doth behoofe:

Shall make of trouth a perfit prooffe.

The reworked 1570 dedication, however, was explicit:

Time trieth the troth, in euerie thing, [...]

As therefore troth in time shall craue,

So let this booke iust fauor haue.⁹⁷

Tusser's life history is poorly known. However, in 1602 a 34-year-old Catholic named Thomas Tusser was arrested returning to England from the Continent, where he had visited and been assisted by Catholics, including 'Mr Paget' in Paris. This was possibly the author's heir. His father had died (like the poet) in 1580; he too was the eldest son, born 'in Esterford', Essex (Kelvedon parish).⁹⁸ The author had been born in Rivenhall and farmed land in Fairstead about the time of the arrested man's birth: all three parishes were close, round Witham. It seems likely Thomas junior was born in the 1560s, thus roughly the same place and time as the interrogated man: Tusser's 1580 will indicated his heir Thomas was then a minor, while his fourth child was born in 1573.⁹⁹ The man claimed to have been born Catholic but, asked his father's faith, answered 'I know not, but by ymaginacion of the protestant'. This was conceivably disingenuous. When told to name English Catholics he had met abroad he was unhelpful: he had not heard their surnames or had heard them given

⁹⁶ *DNB*, 'Paget, Thomas, fourth Baron Paget (c.1544–1590)'; *DNB*, 'Paget, Charles (c.1546–1612)'; for earlier discussion of the Pagets' links to the Allens and Littletons, see pp. 272–73

⁹⁷ Tusser, *Five Hundred Pointes* (incorporating "A Hundreth Good Pointes of Husbandrie", 1557), pp. 5 (1570) and 220 (1557)

⁹⁸ Questions delivered to Thomas Tusser, 25 Mar 1602, Cecil Papers, CP 92/88; the questioners omitted to ask his father's name

⁹⁹ *DNB*, 'Tusser, Thomas'; for his will: Tusser, *Five Hundred Pointes*, pp. xxix–xxxi

several names.¹⁰⁰ If this was his son, Tusser the poet was perhaps not only a Paget client but Catholic himself.

In 1573, after the Ridolfi Plot's failure, Tusser expanded the work into *Five Hundreth Pointes of Good Husbandry*. If his 1570 changes potentially responded to Mary's presence there were now signs of possible retreat. The work had two dedications. For Thomas Paget, his current patron, Tusser composed new verses. His original dedication reverted to William, its first addressee, but retained the 1570 changes; at a pinch Tusser could claim these verses dated from 1557, before Mary arrived, so were unconnected with her. Given the possibility of Fortune's surrogacy for Mary on certain lottery tickets it is worth noting that he inserted a poem about Fortune at the book's end (omitted from post-1577 editions): remain steadfast, regardless of whether Fortune frowns or smiles, 'for chance may change, as chance hath done before' and a 'friend at need shall secret friendship make' [...] 'Thy usage thus, in time shall win the goal'.¹⁰¹

By 1577 Elizabeth's regime seems to have connected the proverb with Mary's partisans. On 7 September William Cecil reported to Mary's guardian the Earl of Shrewsbury rumours from the Continent of her liberation, 'either already made or very shortly to be attempted'. He doubted their reliability — 'time doth try these news for anything already done false' — but recommended Shrewsbury take precautions.¹⁰² His words look pointed: 'Time has not proved these people's truth, though they claim it will.'

That year John Grange's *Golden Aphroditis* cited the proverb three times: 'But time trieth troth and bringeth all to light, the smothering heate at length breakes foorth in flame.' While the context was neutral Grange entered the Catholic seminary at Douai on 15 November 1578; his work's dedicatee, Catholic convert Lord Stourton, allegedly sheltered priests.¹⁰³ John Lyly's 1580 *Euphues and his England* likewise contained an allusion ('Only this I add for the time, which the end shall try for a truth'). Although Lyly's uncle had been Cardinal Pole's secretary this may mislead; his father was Archbishop Parker's registrar.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Interrogation of Tusser, CP 92/88

¹⁰¹ Tusser, *Fiue Hundred Pointes*, pp. 5–10 (the dedications), p. 216 ('Of Fortune')

¹⁰² Cecil to Talbot, 7 Sep 1577, in *Illustrations of British History*, vol. 2, p. 89

¹⁰³ J. Grange, *The Golden Aphroditis*, STC (2nd ed.) / 12174, sigs liii^v, Ri^v and Riv^v; DNB, 'Grange, John (b. 1556/7)'; C. Mowbray, *The History of the Noble House of Stourton*, pp. 429–34

¹⁰⁴ J. Lyly, *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit* and *Euphues and his England*, p. 266; DNB, 'Lily, George (d. 1559)'; DNB, 'Lyly, John (1554–1606)'; G. Hunter, *John Lyly*, pp. 26–28, 36–37

The *Gorgeous Gallery* (1578) reprinted Tottel's 'Time Trieth Truth'; Thomas Proctor, the work's compiler, is traditionally taken to have been Catholic author John Proctor's son (though this is not proven).¹⁰⁵ A poem by Richard Edwards in the 1576 *Paradise of Dainty Devices* had previously cited the proverb. The anthology featured works by Catholics such as Lord Vaux and John Heywood's son Jasper (another of Pole's secretaries). Edwards, who belonged to the Chapel Royal, was likewise Catholic; Mary's partisans considered the work's dedicatee, courtier Sir Henry Compton, Catholic too. Donna Hamilton has argued that both works had Catholic undercurrents.¹⁰⁶

George Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie* (commenced in the 1560s but printed anonymously in 1589) cited 'an epitaph of our making':

Time tried his truth, his travailes, and his trust,
And Time too late tried his integrity.

Puttenham failed to specify who inspired the lines, rendering their significance unclear. His editors suggest his sister's husband, John Throckmorton, as the work cited his epitaph elsewhere.¹⁰⁷ Alternatively, perhaps it was John's son Francis, instigator of the Throckmorton Plot (1584), or Puttenham's wife's step-son, Edward Lord Windsor, who died in religious exile (1574). There is no certain evidence Puttenham himself was Catholic: it has been suggested he was a religious freethinker; he wrote a justification of Mary Stewart's execution.¹⁰⁸ His marital connections, however, to Throckmortons, Windsors and Paulets, were Catholic. Bishop Horne of Winchester warned Cecil in 1569 that he was 'a notorious enemye to God's Truthe'; in 1570 he was accused (briefly) of plotting to assassinate Cecil, and imprisoned for slandering the Queen and seeking to have London's Bishop Grindal murdered.¹⁰⁹

In the 1580s there look to have been efforts to appropriate Time Trieth Truth, like *Veritas Filia Temporis*, for Protestantism and the Queen. York gentleman William Teshe's 1582

¹⁰⁵ *DNB*, 'Proctor, Thomas (fl. 1578–1584)'; *DNB*, 'Proctor, John (1521–1558)'

¹⁰⁶ *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*, ed. H. Rollins, p. 60; W. Grattan Flood, 'Queen Mary's Chapel Royal', p. 84; Wainewright, 'Two Lists', p. 90; Hamilton, *Anthony Munday*, pp. 4–6

¹⁰⁷ G. Puttenham, *The Art of English Poesy*, p. 258, inc. n. 14

¹⁰⁸ Whigham and Rebhorn, 'Introduction' to Puttenham, *English Poesy*, pp. 26–28; S. May, 'George Puttenham's Lewd and Illicit Career', pp. 148–50

¹⁰⁹ Whigham and Rebhorn, 'Introduction' to Puttenham, *English Poesy*, p. 9

poem about the Order of the Garter made it Elizabeth's motto.¹¹⁰ Teshe described the Order's sixteen knights and their chancellor, Francis Walsingham, plus the Queen herself. Each man's arms had a sash featuring his motto (a 'Bende about the Arme [...] enbrodred Bracelett wise' with his 'poesie'), which he handed Elizabeth, making a speech inspired by the motto: 'By the Bend was knowne y^e wearers fayth.'¹¹¹ Elizabeth's own speech listed her devices — *Honi soit qui mal y pense; Mon Dieu et mon droit; Semper eadem* — but also stated 'Tyme trieth truthe, good myndes can meane no harme', a 'seeming allusion' to *Veritas Temporis Filia*, which she omitted.¹¹² Two knights, the Earl of Huntingdon and Lord Hunsdon, likewise used the proverb. Five others expressed enmity to Fortune, as did the Order's chancellor, Walsingham: 'Fortune dothe beare a duble dealing face.' The knights stressed their loyalty, insisted time tried truth, repudiated Fortune and declared they served one Queen alone.

Verses of Prayse and Joye (1586) too represented time and truth as serving Elizabeth. These celebrated her delivery from the Babington Plot and included 'Tichborne's Lament', written by conspirator Chidiok Tichborne whilst awaiting execution, alongside 'T.K.'s rejoinder. Tichborne's poem strung together one-line images on the theme that he died young; T.K. rebutted them line by line, branding Tichborne a traitor (Appendix A). Only one line of Tichborne's poem did not directly inspire T.K.'s reply: 'My tale was heard and yet it was not told' became 'Time trieth trueth, & trueth hath treason tript'. (In fact Tichborne's original had been 'The springe is paste, and yet it hath not sprung'. T.K. thus contrasted springing with being tripped; however, for some reason the printer then altered Tichborne's line.¹¹³) T.K. was probably Thomas Kyd, whose *Spanish Tragedy* appeared the following year and had similar themes (including that of time revealing truth).¹¹⁴ As in Cecil's letter, the proverb seems to have been introduced because Mary's supporters used it: it was flung back at them. Shylock, in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* (IV, i), praised the young lawyer adjudicating his lawsuit as 'a Daniel come to judgment' when he believed him sympathetic only to have his opponents turn the expression viciously against him after it turned out otherwise. T.K. seems to have been doing something similar.

¹¹⁰ W. Teshe, 'Verses on the Order of the Garter', pp. 115–129

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 115; cf. Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, p. 21

¹¹² R. Waddington, 'Elizabeth I and the Order of the Garter', p. 111

¹¹³ *Verses of Prayse and Joye*, STC (2nd ed.) / 7605; for Tichborne's original: R. Hirsch, 'The Works of Chidiok Tichborne', pp. 309–10; also Hirsch, 'The Text of "Tichborne's Lament" Reconsidered', pp. 277–78

¹¹⁴ R. Broude, 'Time, Truth, and Right in "The Spanish Tragedy"', p. 132

With Mary's execution the proverb's association with her faded, although some connection with religious heresy perhaps lingered. Elizabeth had seen off her Catholic challengers by 1590 and had a stranglehold on claims time would reveal God's true sympathies. Around 1594 Francis Bacon included Time Trieth Truth without remark in a list of aphorisms compiled for inclusion in other writings; it featured in later proverb collections too.¹¹⁵ Conversely, Shakespeare cited it sometimes in contexts that treated religious fidelity as a metaphor for constancy in love (Appendix A). An extended analogy between faith and love in *Much Ado About Nothing* (c.1599), with allusions to recusancy fines and burning at the stake, had Benedick, 'ever an obstinate heretic in the despite of beauty', insist he would never fall in love, provoking Don Pedro to remark dubiously, 'Well, as time shall try' (I, i, 207–44). A briefer passage from *As You Like It* (c.1600) saw Orlando, accused of belonging to 'the gross band of the unfaithful', promising to keep faith religiously, with Rosalind replying 'Well, Time is the old justice that examines all such offenders; and let Time try' (IV, i, 178–90). Time appeared as Chorus at the start of Act IV of *The Winter's Tale*: 'I that please some, try all'. His speech heralded the bringing forth of Perdita, the heroine, from obscurity, not unlike the emblem image of Time freeing Truth from a cave appropriated by Palmer's *Poesees* for Time Trieth Truth. Direct parallels with heresy were absent, however, though scholars have canvassed the play's Catholic themes.¹¹⁶ An allusion in *Troilus and Cressida* (IV, vii, 107–09), had no religious connotations. Other playwrights used the proverb non-religiously: John Fletcher (*Monsieur Thomas* [1610–16], IV, ii) was strongly Protestant; John Marston (*What You Will* [1607], IV, i, 383) took holy orders in 1609. Although Henry Porter's *Two Angry Women of Abingdon* (1599) included the line 'Time and truth tries all' the speaker talked exclusively in proverbs.¹¹⁷ Like Porter's, William Stepney's life is obscure. His 1591 *Spanish Schoolmaster*, a language manual, featured Time Trieth Truth in a list of sayings with Spanish equivalents. The work was politically neutral, avoiding reference to religion when possible; its editions were dedicated to William and to Robert Cecil.¹¹⁸

These constitute all instance of Time Trieth Truth located by this study, although others undoubtedly exist. They suggest Mary's partisans may have adopted it as a watchword,

¹¹⁵ F. Bacon, *The Promus of Formularies and Elegancies*, p. 318; for other collections, cf. Tilley, *Proverbs*, p. 671

¹¹⁶ Studies of the play's Catholic themes include: P. Jensen, 'Singing Psalms to Horn-Pipes', pp. 279–306; D. Beauregard, 'Shakespeare against the Skeptics', pp. 53–72

¹¹⁷ H. Porter, 'The Pleasant History of the Two Angry Women of Abington', p. 612 (xi, 179–80); *DNB*, 'Porter, Henry (d. 1599)'

¹¹⁸ W. Stepney, *The Spanish Schoole-master*, STC (2nd ed.) / 23256, p. 152; A. Birtwistle and B. Santano Moreno, "'Slices of Life" in the XVIth Century', pp. 142–44

something Elizabeth's regime ultimately realised. While any such association was apparently losing strength by 1600, when the proverb was used during Mary's English captivity it was generally connected either to herself or militant Catholicism, even when it was deployed against her. Before 1568 sectarian use was less apparent.

It not obvious why the saying should have attached itself so swiftly to a foreign queen. Perhaps it already signified Catholic constancy and simply transferred itself to her. Emblematisers such as Palmer were aware of the word *emblem's* Greek etymology: it referred to something pasted onto or into another object. Authors conceivably inserted the proverb into their texts 'emblematically' to signal allegiance, as familists used the word *love*.¹¹⁹

This may have been one reason Edward Coke avoided 'Time trieth truth' after the Gunpowder Plot: it could have reminded hearers such conspiracies once centred on the King's mother. Besides, Guy Fawkes's discovery in the cellars beneath Parliament rendered *Veritas Temporis Filia*, whose iconography showed Truth emerging from an underground cave, peculiarly apt. Palmer's *Poesees* had applied the image to Time Trieth Truth but the connection had not established.

Lottery tickets with the proverb are not so clear-cut, however. Ticket-buyers' lives are less well documented than those of literary figures, their religious inclinations often unguessable. Nine extant tickets from six individuals cited it directly. Perhaps another six posies adapted the poem 'Time Trieth Truth' but these ranged from near-verbatim to vaguely reminiscent (Fig. 10.8). Such apparently furtive gestures toward the proverb nevertheless imply that, despite its apparent irrelevance to Elizabeth's lottery, it had some significance spectators were expected to appreciate. Under these circumstances participants perhaps felt they could adapt the original freely: hearers were attuned to catch any allusions.

¹¹⁹ Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, pp. 8, 34, 66–67

Tickets that directly cited the proverb:

313788	Time tryeth trueth. p Edwarde Thwaites de Hardingham. Norff.
313792	Time trieth trueth. p Edward Twaith de Hardingham. Norff.
313793	Time tryeth trueth. p Edward Thwaits de Hardingham. Norff.
136620	Time trieth truth. p Rob. Sucklyn of Norwich.
136493	Time trieth truth. Robert Sucklin. Norwich. Junior.
141373	Time trieth truthe. William Hatley. Stevinton.
333835	Time trieth trueth. p Jo. Burgis. Wolsome.
259438	Time trieth Trueth. Raufe Brassy of Aldlam.
222010	Time trieth trueth. p Henry Tucker Mangotfielde. Barton.

Tickets that perhaps alluded to the proverb via contemporary poems:

51182	Thomas Mathew. If Fortune answere hope, and hope may have his hire, I shall possesse the greatest lot, for that is my desire. p Lon.
106820	If hope may have his hire, much do I not desire. Robert Key of Glatton in the countie of Hunt. Gent.
252965	As water by experience, doth quench the flames of fire, so God graunt unto this adventurer, that which he doth desire. p Joh. Tailer of Kington. S. Michael.
183480	If lacke may have good luck, as King doth hope in deed, then shal I looke for shillings ten, of twentie pounce to speede. Henry King of Calesby. [Kelby, Lincs?]
289436	Faith is a precious pearle. By Mistresse Anne Parpoint of Clifton.
87533	I abyde my time. p Nicholas Halliday. London.
107057	Deeme the best. p William Deme. Martocke.

Relevant lines from the poem 'Time Trieth Truth' and Heywood's *Proverbs*:

Gorgeous Gallery version (ll. 11–12): 'If Fortune aunswer hope, and hope may haue her hire, / Then shall my hart possesse in peace, the time that I desire'
Tottel's Miscellany version (l. 6): 'And precious praise is such a pearle as seldome ner decayes.'
[cf. Anne Parpoint's posy]
Tottel's Miscellany (l. 7): 'All these thinges time tries forth, which time I must abide,' [cf. Nicholas Halliday's posy]
Tottel's Miscellany (ll. 11–12): 'If hap may answere hope and hope may haue his hire, / Then shall my hart possesse in peace the time that I desire' [cf. Henry King's posy]
Heywood's *Proverbs*: 'Let time try! Time trieth truth in every doubt / And deem the best till time hath tried the truth out.' [cf. William Deme's posy].

Figure 10.8: Lottery tickets featuring the proverb *Time Trieth Truth* or whose posies may have adapted the lines of the poem '*Time Trieth Truth*'

Unfortunately, Robert Key, holder of ticket 106,820, is the most obscure Gunpowder Plotter. This may reflect the pedigree his son supplied the 1613 herald's visitation, which certainly contained inaccuracies and probably conflated generations. Key claimed to have embraced Catholicism as an adult and 'tasted persecution [...] having lost his goods because of it'.¹²⁰ In 1605 he was reportedly around forty, so presumably under five in 1568. This implies his ticket was purchased for him.

His paternal relatives were Protestant. His father Edward settled the family in Glatton, Huntingdonshire. It is generally assumed Edward was Protestant as he was ordained in 1580 and made rector of Staveley, Derbyshire, in 1581 (probably through his aunt, Margaret Kaye, wife of Sir Peter Frescheville, who seems to have held the advowson).¹²¹ Robert's grandfather, John Kaye (by 1530–1594) of Woodsome Hall, Yorkshire (Almondbury parish), is memorable for a trove of account books and poetry, plus unusual portraits of himself and his wife, painted in 1567 and decorated with posies. These all attested clear Protestantism and an ethos of service loyalty: almost all the many friends and relatives listed on the portraits' backs were Protestants and officers of the Crown; almost none was Catholic or involved in the Northern Rising.¹²² The 1613 Kaye pedigree named two elder sisters of Robert (possibly great aunts, since they married too early to be Edward Key's daughters). Margaret married James Crewes of Fotheringhay, Northamptonshire, after the death of her first husband, Thomas Maria Wingfield (1516?–1557).¹²³ In 1587 Elizabeth, expressing a preference for having Mary quietly murdered rather than tried, remarked that she knew 'one Wingfield' who would willingly do the job. It is thought this was one of Margaret's sons, raised at Fotheringhay, both of whom fought Spain in the Netherlands.¹²⁴ Another sister, 'Anna', allegedly married Sir Francis Ascough, brother of Protestant martyr Anne Askew (burned 1546); the whole Ascough family seems to have had reformist leanings.¹²⁵ In fact both Francis's wives were named Elizabeth but one of them (Elizabeth Hansard) was daughter of Anne Tirwitt, herself daughter of Sir William Tirwitt

¹²⁰ *Visitation: Huntingdon, 1613*, p. 33; O. Tesimond, *The Gunpowder Plot*, p. 214

¹²¹ *CCEd*, Person ID: 27570; *CCEd*, Location ID: 2368; *CCEd*, Record ID: 99284; *Visitation: Yorkshire, 1584/5 and 1612*, p. 320; also *Visitations of the North, Part II*, p. 84; Hasler, 'FRETCHVILE, Peter'

¹²² R. Tittler, 'Social Aspiration and the Malleability of Portraiture in Post-Reformation England', p. 194–96; *DNB*, 'Kaye, John (b. before 1530, d. 1594)'

¹²³ *Visitation: Huntingdon*, pp. 33, 112; *Visitations: Northamptonshire, 1564 and 1618–19*, p. 16

¹²⁴ J. Guy, *My Heart is my Own*, p. 499; Hasler, 'WINGFIELD, Edward Maria'

¹²⁵ *Visitation: Huntingdon*, p. 33; A. Askew, *The Examinations of Anne Askew*, pp. xvii–xviii

of Kettleby, Lincolnshire. Anne was widowed young and (for reasons that will become apparent) it seems possible she remarried a Kaye, bringing two Hansard daughters with her into the family.¹²⁶ The pedigree may present a garbled record of this. However, while both daughters strengthened the Kayes's Protestant connections they lived too early to be Robert's step-sisters.

Robert Key's own mother was another Anne Tyrwhitt of Kettleby, daughter of Robert Tyrwhitt.¹²⁷ This suggests two Anne Tyrwhitts may have married two Kayes, explaining the pedigree's confusion; if, as there are indications, Robert had become estranged from his relatives his son may have been obliged to document his claim to gentility whilst denied access to the family memory needed to do so. The Tyrwhitts were strongly Catholic and this connection embroiled Key in the Gunpowder Plot through his cousin Ambrose Rookwood (their descendants, Thomas Keyes and another Ambrose Rookwood, were executed over the 1696 plot to assassinate William III).¹²⁸ In view of this, and considering Time Trieth Truth's apparently Catholic associations, it seems plausible his mother bought his ticket. Children's posies often hinted at the child's life to come: for Catholics 'Time trieth truth' had the potential to be used this way (although in Key's case his ticket referenced the poem, not the proverb).

Robert Suckling junior's history resembled Key's. He too was an infant, one of three brothers: Edmund (dean of Norwich from 1614) was born 1560; John (future secretary of state and father of poet John Suckling) in 1569.¹²⁹ Both were Protestant. Robert, the middle brother, converted, going into exile 'at Campaigne in France'.¹³⁰ Their father Robert senior, alderman, mercer and merchant, Norwich's mayor and MP around 1571–72, had Calvinist tendencies.¹³¹ Their mother Elizabeth, though sometimes identified as the daughter of William Barwick of Westhorpe, a man whose connections, though hazy, appear Catholic, was actually East Bergholt clothworker Adam Barwick's daughter, something his 1552 will attests.¹³² Adam seems unconnected with the Westhorpe family; his religious views are unclear.

¹²⁶ *Visitation: Lincoln, 1562–4*, p. 60; *Visitation: Lincoln, 1592*, pp. 3 and 69

¹²⁷ *Visitation: Huntingdon, 1613*, p. 33

¹²⁸ P. Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People 1688–1788*, p. 100

¹²⁹ Thrush and Ferris, 'SUCKLING, John'; *DNB*, 'Suckling, Sir John (bap. 1609, d. 1641?)'

¹³⁰ *Visitation: Norfolk, 1563 and 1613*, p. 274; Thrush and Ferris, 'SUCKLING, John'

¹³¹ Hasler, 'SUCKLING, Robert'

¹³² J. Muskett, *Suffolk Manorial Families*, vol. 2, p. 186

‘Rob. Sucklyn’, owner of ticket 136620, may likewise have been Robert junior, not his father: although John Zouche junior and senior used the same posy, when multiple tickets survive for a single purchaser these regularly feature variations and omissions; it is thus plausible, if not definite, that the ticket simply omitted ‘junior’. By Elizabeth Suckling’s death in 1569 she had borne eight children. The absence of extant tickets for her other offspring could indicate Robert was singled out and bought multiple tickets, by his mother or someone else, and that this attention, with the choice of Time Trieth Truth, reflected family circumstances that ultimately brought about his conversion and exile. The parallels with Key’s case are suggestive. The Suckling tickets certainly demonstrate, however, the danger in using participant backgrounds to infer the proverb’s significance. Not only is it difficult to deduce buyers’ faiths from their lives, the details of those lives are commonly sketchy.

William Hatley of Stevington further illustrates this point. Although the situation is unclear his family, like the Kayes, may have had religious fractures. Hatley was steward of the Earl of Derby, who owned Stevington’s manor and whose family was (predominantly) Catholic.¹³³ Hatley’s life and will implied Protestantism; it has been postulated that the Robert Hatley enrolled at the Academy of Geneva in 1618 was his great-nephew.¹³⁴ That might suggest a family with Calvinist inclinations but matters may not have been so straightforward. Hatley had married ‘Elizebeth Taylor’ of Stevington; the Taylors seem regularly to have intermarried with Catholic families.¹³⁵ His 1573/74 will left her the bulk of his estate, with bequests to four named daughters, also urging her to ‘have consideracon of Joanne Vaux her daughter’, possibly his step-daughter. Joan briefly married Nicholas, brother of the third Lord Vaux of Harrowden, of a neighbouring, notoriously Catholic family, then re-married William Goddard of Carlton, whose family’s other marital ties suggest religious conservatism; future generations of Goddards would be recusant.¹³⁶ Hatley’s will twice specified that his bequests were conditional: his wife must leave all to his

¹³³ *VCH*, Bedford 3, ‘Stevington’, p. 102; B. Coward, *The Stanleys*, p. 31

¹³⁴ Will of William Hatley of Stevington, Bedf., 13 May 1574, TNA, PROB 11/56/228, f 152^v–153^r; *Le Livre du Recteur de l’Académie de Genève*, vol. 4, p. 24

¹³⁵ *Visitations: Bedfordshire, 1566, 1582, and 1634*, pp. 145–46

¹³⁶ The Goddard pedigree confirms Joan’s Vaux marriage (*Visitations of Bedfordshire*, p. 111; note that both Goddard’s sisters married into families linked to Time Trieth Truth), something works on the Vaux family overlook: cf. G. Anstruther, *Vaux of Harrowden*, p. 2; J. Childs, *God’s Traitors*, p. xvi; for later Goddard recusants, e.g., The National Archives Website: Discovery: HSA/1672 S/5 Presentments for Puddington by the Petty Constable, 16th March 1671, Description available at <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/b38d4331-3173-4eb6-88df-5bd6cd7382cc> (accessed 27 Sep 2017)

daughters. This was apparently to stop her giving anything to his son Robert, whom he left nothing (Elizebeth's own will ignored this stipulation).¹³⁷ William sued Joan Vaux's future Goddard husband on 'personal grounds'; Robert Hatley later entered into agreements with him.¹³⁸ It is unclear what these facts indicate; they may reflect internal family divisions, with possible religious disagreement. William, though Protestant, operated within a Catholic milieu and may have married a Catholic.¹³⁹

Another user of Time Trieth Truth was Raufe Brassy of Audlem, Cheshire (d. 1603). The family came from Bulkeley; Raufe's mother was a Massey of nearby Audlem.¹⁴⁰ In the 1560s Cheshire had a Catholic presence but few actual recusants.¹⁴¹ Raufe's faith is unknown. There are indications his brothers, London haberdashers Edmund senior and Thomas Brassey, may have been Protestant, while his nephew, Edmund junior, later married a niece of the Robert Hatley who perhaps studied at Geneva.¹⁴² Duffy, however, cited the 1543 testament of widow Katherine Bracye of this family: it looked secular but a range of funerary expenses in a surviving post-mortem inventory revealed unmistakeable Catholicism.¹⁴³ The case of London's Offley brothers, likewise merchants from Cheshire, serves as a caution against inferring people's faith from that of their relations. In the 1560s Thomas, merchant taylor, lottery organiser and former lord mayor, was considered one of London's leading papists; haberdasher Robert was Puritan; although leatherseller Hugh's will was Protestant he had earned a pardon from Mary Tudor after the Wyatt Rebellion by informing on fellow exiles.¹⁴⁴

Two priests used the proverb. Edward Thwaites of Hardingham, Norfolk, rector from 1542 to 1584, bought three surviving tickets. His father Anthony had appointed him to the living; the family occupied Swathings manor in the parish, where Edward's brother Thomas's descendants were later recusants. The 1574 list of English Catholics compiled by Mary's supporters included 'Thwayts of Hardingham'. Given this usually provided full names the

¹³⁷ Will of Elizabeth Bromhall, Wife of Stevington, Bedf., 18 Jan 1575, TNA, PROB 11/57/18, f 14^v-15^r

¹³⁸ The National Archives Website: Discovery: C 2/Eliz/H11/39 Hatley v Goddard, between 1558 and 1603, Description available at <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C5701505> (accessed 27 Sep 2017); Bedfordshire Archives Service Catalogue: AD3438 Bond: £100 between Robert Hatley of Stevington, Gent., son of William Hatley, and William Goddert of Carleton, Gent, for performance of covenants, 20 Dec 1580, available at <http://bedsarchivescat.bedford.gov.uk/Details/archive/110264012> (accessed 27 Sep 2017)

¹³⁹ Elizabeth's will is inconclusive: Will of Elizabeth Bromhall, 18 Jan 1575, TNA PROB 11/57/18, f 14^v-15^r

¹⁴⁰ *The Visitation of England and Wales: Notes*, vol. 2, pp. 87-89

¹⁴¹ K. Wark, *Elizabethan Recusancy in Cheshire*, pp. 9-11

¹⁴² *Genealogia Bedfordiensis*, ed. F. Blaydes, pp. 194 (29 Dec 1595), 414

¹⁴³ Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 514

¹⁴⁴ Hickman, 'Religious Allegiance', pp. 179-80, 241-42; Garrett, *Marian Exiles*, p. 240

use of a surname alone possibly denoted the whole family: Edward and his four brothers all lived nearby; another ticket-buyer, 'Frauncis Twaykes' of Hardingham ('Money maketh men merie'), was either Edward's youngest brother or his brother Thomas's son. The family came from Yorkshire; Winifred née Thwaites of Oulton, Anne Parpoint's recusant mother, seems to have been Edward's first cousin once removed. If these details suggest Catholicism, Edward evidently married sometime after Elizabeth's accession: administration of his goods was granted to his widow Grace.¹⁴⁵

John Tailer, rector of Kington St Michael, Wiltshire, used a posy that conceivably hinted at the poem 'Time Trieth Truth': 'As water by experience, doth quench the flames of fire, so God graunt unto this adventurer, that which he doth desire.' It seems likely county notable Nicholas Snell, who in 1567 presented Tailer to the rectory, was related to him.¹⁴⁶ Snell's daughter Jone had married a Richard Tayler of Castle Combe; John and his brother Isaac originated there, with Isaac, who bought two tickets on behalf of the 'servants of maister Snel' ('God speede us wel', playing on the word *snell*: 'quick in movement or action') also connected to him.¹⁴⁷ Snell was Sheriff of Wiltshire in 1566–67, a regular MP and the Earl of Pembroke's steward; in 1564 his bishop characterised him as religiously indifferent. His father had been Glastonbury Abbey's steward and he its reeve; he bought its grange at Kington in 1544, while in 1556 John Tailer acquired the nearby St Mary's Priory.

However, it is not certain Tailer's posy derived from 'Time Trieth Truth'. The same applies to that of Henry King of Calesby (perhaps Careby, Lincolnshire, which had had fifteenth-century Henry Kings), whose alliterative opening ('If lacke may have good luck') recalls the version printed in Tottel's *Miscellany* ('If hap may answere hope'). Other buyers are equally elusive. Thomas Mathew quoted the poem almost verbatim but is untraceable. Recusant Anne Parpoint's 'Faith is a precious pearle' conceivably reflected an earlier line: 'Precious praise is such a pearle as seldome ner decayes'. Both, though, arose ultimately, perhaps independently, from the gospel metaphor of the kingdom of Heaven as a 'pearl of great price' (Matthew 13:45–46). Henry Tucker probably belonged to a family prominent around Mangotsfield, although not gentry. Since John Burgis of Wolsome's ticket preceded a sequence from the Sussex Weald he possibly came from Rotherfield, where there was a

¹⁴⁵ CCEd Location ID: 19656; Record ID: 46989; *Visitation: Norfolk, 1565*, pp. 284–85; Parkin, *Norfolk*, vol. 10, pp. 224–27; Wainewright, 'Two Lists', p. 107; ticket 260930 (Frauncis); S. Thweatt, *Nine Hundred Years of Thweatt Bloodline*, pp. 25–26

¹⁴⁶ CCEd Record ID: 78037

¹⁴⁷ J. Jackson, 'Kington St. Michael', pp. 71, 42–45; *Visitation, Wiltshire, 1565*, p. 42

‘superfluity’ of men of this name. If so, perhaps ‘Wolsome’ was the manor Walshes: a John Burges married Silvester Fermor of Walshes in 1570. John Burges of Brooks manor (the same man or his younger brother of the same name) associated closely with Silvester’s father Alexander around 1568, when both were churchwardens.¹⁴⁸ However, the uncertainty about these individuals is too great to permit conclusions regarding their posies.

Some general observations are still possible. First, whereas other sources consistently associated the proverb with Mary Stewart and Catholicism the lottery tickets present a much vaguer picture. In part this reflects their nature as source-material, with implications for other posies examined: tickets may give indications without necessarily yielding proofs. Tellingly, the firmest Catholic connections involved two infants from Protestant households who converted in adulthood. It seems doubtful this was coincidence, given the proverb’s apparent religious undertones and the fact at least one child had a Catholic mother. Time did test these infants’ fidelity, as their posies perhaps anticipated; it is possible other tickets belonged to children too. The religious divisions perceptible within several users’ families may have been significant; perhaps tensions at the micro- level rendered use of the proverb more likely. Allegations of Catholicism were most frequently directed at persons living on the edges of towns, ‘their physical marginality being matched by a semi-detached relationship with local inhabitants’.¹⁴⁹ If more information were available about ticket-buyers an analogous explanation could perhaps be advanced for the proverb’s occurrences.

Since ticket-selling occurred as Mary entered England, Time Trieth Truth may not yet have become associated with her. If it had a pre-existing religious significance perhaps the buyers simply asserted adherence to Catholicism. Nonetheless, the diverse participants who used it, sometimes apparently surreptitiously, must have had their reason. One relatively innocent explanation could relate to the widespread distrust of Elizabeth’s motives for instituting the lottery: authors perhaps wanted to insinuate that time would reveal her bad (or possibly good) faith. However, the proverb seems to have been acquiring a meaning comparable to that of *Veritas Temporis Filia*, which also featured on tickets and presumably retained its political connotations when it did. It may be significant that John Hungerford of Down Ampney, considered loyal but from a Catholic family whose motto was Time Trieth Truth, used instead a posy that seems to have complained that people were being pressured

¹⁴⁸ C. Pullein, *Rotherfield*, pp. 136, 246, 352, 446–57

¹⁴⁹ A. Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*, p. 142

to create the appearance of harmony by praising Elizabeth with their tickets ('Perfect unitie is voyde of wicked flatterie').¹⁵⁰

Ultimately, if these posies' exact purpose is unclear their authors' backgrounds, taken with other occurrences of the proverb, suggest some point was being made. The 'null hypothesis' — that Time Trieth Truth signified nothing particular when it was used on tickets — seems untenable. Nor does the fact it also appeared on rings prove its innocuousness. Some ring posies found on tickets were: 'Accept my goodwill', 'Now or never', 'Whilst I breathe, I hope', etc. Other ring posies (not used in the lottery) were potential political messages, something the habit of inscribing words on the band's interior potentially assisted: 'My faith is firm'; 'Rather death, than false of faith'; 'I serve in secret'; 'I see and say nothing' (Elizabeth's motto, Englished).¹⁵¹

Conclusion

This chapter undertook the dangerous task of evaluating posies for sentiments that passed beyond complaint. Although England's circumstances rendered their existence plausible the evidence is suggestive, not conclusive. As Elton recognised, those contemplating deploying their posies politically had a strong motive to deceive contemporaries. Unlike most seditious literature, which operated subterraneously, the lottery was highly public, something that created a Catch-22 paradox: in order to be preserved, dissident messages had to be so esoteric they were undetectable; this impedes attempts to decrypt their messages or assess if they were, in fact, secretly subversive.

Some 'suspect' posies adopted strategies observable in other underground genres, perhaps circumstantial evidence they responded to the same imperatives: ambiguity or obscurity, so their meaning could be disavowed, and vagueness as to the authors' identities, to prevent location (which may explain some tickets taken for children: innocents would not be punished). Since the interpretation of cryptic posies requires knowledge about their author's lives such ploys create a stumbling-block in several respects.

¹⁵⁰ Ticket 209630; Bindoff, 'HUNGERFORD, John'; F. Palliser, *Historic Devices, Badges, and War-Cries*, pp. 304–05

¹⁵¹ Cf. 'Love Posies of the Sixteenth Century', ed. by Edward Arber, pp. 269–77

Despite these obstacles there are indications certain posies possibly had a subversive element. Perhaps most notable were tickets alluding to Time Trieth Truth. The proverb seemingly acquired Catholic connotations during Elizabeth's reign and specific associations with Mary Stewart; if some posies referenced it surreptitiously by adapting lines from a poem, this suggests it was perceived as risky. Users' backgrounds, though hardly straightforward, seem inclined to Catholicism; its presence on tickets bought for two infants who later converted seems improbable coincidence. Since Mary entered England as tickets sold, though, the proverb might not yet have become attached to her; it is possible users merely asserted Catholicism.

The fact wagering and warfare employed similar discourse meant that some statements that made suitable lottery posies were also capable of carrying a militaristic sense. If indeed political these achieved perfect ambiguity. No ulterior motive can be demonstrated from their words; it would be foolhardy to attempt it. Contextualisation nevertheless suggests some were possibly less innocent than they appeared. Some authors were surprisingly enthusiastic given what is known about them; in other cases the phraseology is unusual, as with certain references to Fortune. Others cautioned against rash action or speech. Such departures from the expected may have responded to chatter about rebellion, inflected by Mary Stewart's presence. Some tickets' apparent attempts to discourage loose talk or behaviour suggests others, though superficially innocuous, indulged in it.

Notwithstanding these indications political content cannot definitively be proved: either it was effectively concealed or there was none. The loss of the Privy Council's acts for these years is unfortunate; they might have indicated how Elizabeth's government viewed the posies. This raises the issue of non-survival of information, an allied problem to buyers' efforts to maintain anonymity: if ticket-buyers were better known posy interpretation would be easier. Clifford Geertz popularized the notion of thick description by means of an analogy of winks and facial tics: to distinguish them one must understand the culture in which they take place. Assessing whether posies were subversive or innocent is a comparable endeavour but one handicapped by limited information. Sometimes deciding whether a double meaning was intended, or the likelihood that the passage a quote derived from might be significant, requires access to information now unavailable. In fact modern research techniques detect some things invisible to Elizabethan authorities, for example that only

southern tickets featured the word *queen*.¹⁵² However, they do not reveal everything. Moreover, if there was rebellious chatter it led to nothing: the lack of an outcome makes it harder to demonstrate anything was meditated.

This does not make uncovering the truth less desirable. Frances Yates postulated a quasi-scientific moment of magical thinking in the seventeenth century that encompassed alchemy, astrology, etc. alongside more scientific ways of operating. Although this came to nothing it helped condition the direction science subsequently took, making it important.¹⁵³ If the lottery tickets conserve evidence of late-1560s political opinion it would be helpful to know.

On balance the tickets' imperfect evidence suggests something was perhaps contemplated even if the details are unclear. This was certainly plausible. Rumours abounded about the lottery itself. Northern Catholics considered assassinating Scotland's regent as he rode south to attend the commission into Lord Darnley's murder. However, if some tickets seemingly hinted their buyers' sympathy with a rising, others look to have opposed it, which suggests any support was not necessarily great. If the former could be camouflaged as expressions of support for the lottery the latter do not always have clear alternative meanings. There are sufficient such posies to cast doubt on the hypothesis nothing was going on, even if their obscurity requires conclusions about their meaning to be extremely tentative.

The case of 'Time Trieth Truth' serves as a reminder to turn from the lottery and look elsewhere. Non-lottery usages suggest a strengthening association with Mary. Lottery tickets were more equivocal. To interpret a posy one must contextualise it against its author's history: lottery participants are generally less well documented than authors. Treating the posies as signposts that point out potentially worthwhile avenues of research may be more feasible than demonstrating they were seditious themselves. If tickets did use Fortune as a surrogate for Mary, for instance, other texts presumably did so too. Investigation might confirm this. This would not only help decode certain ticket posies, it might lead to discoveries unrelated to the lottery.

¹⁵² For analogous remarks: Bath, *Emblems for a Queen*, p. 28

¹⁵³ F. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*

Besides, such posies are interesting more for what they tell about England's social, political and religious state than for their insights into the lottery itself. If subversive they constituted straws in the wind, revealing the operation of invisible forces: rumours and things discussed in private; historical soft tissue of a kind rarely preserved in the fossil record. Seditious rumours concerning the lottery are well attested but none survives. Those were hidden transcripts. Some ticket posies perhaps contained refracted elements of them. If so, though, they were transcripts hidden in plain sight. Just as an awareness Mary Stewart was in England as the lottery unfolded could help decipher certain posies' meanings, approached cautiously the posies may constitute a key to immediate reactions to her appearance. Using them to examine the period's broader political themes, however, lies outside the scope of this project.

CHAPTER ELEVEN:

CONCLUSION

This study offers a dystopian reading of England's 'Lotterie Generall' of 1567–1569. The scheme miscarried in all respects: it was over-ambitious and poorly conceived; as a fundraising exercise it failed signally; politically speaking, it was ill-timed and a public relations nightmare. Even supposing there were no treasonous sentiments, some posies evinced undisguised resentment at having to take part. These the regime was obliged to print. It could hardly do otherwise. It had forced mistrustful subjects to buy tickets, then abandoned most of its supposedly 'inviolable' commitments, then slashed the prize values. Elizabeth could hardly punish grumblers, especially when discontent was known to be widely shared and a pretender had entered England. Twenty years later Whitney's *Emblems* would claim the Queen's own posy, which stated that she watched but held her peace, was chosen to indicate her merciful nature. At the time it more likely reflected the weakness of her position.

Perhaps this is too harsh a judgment. Scholars of Francis I's earlier French lottery and of Philip II's concurrent Flemish one have concluded that it is not certain either ultimately proceeded to a draw.¹ Elizabeth's did. That might imply her lottery was, relatively speaking, a success. It seems agreed, though, that in absolute terms the scheme failed. Dean treated it as a case study of Tudor monarchs' inability to impose their wills on reluctant subjects. Earlier histories of British lotteries saw it as a failed early experiment, memorable mainly for its quaint posies. Elizabeth only attempted one other lottery, whose low ticket sales were attributed to her earlier one's unpopularity.

Investigating the surviving tickets has entailed tumbles down unexpected rabbit holes into the worlds of London prison espionage, cannibalism in the New World, Jacobean gunpowder, treason and plot, and the like. The methodological strategy recalls David Cressy's words regarding a young woman who reputedly gave birth to a cat as the lottery was drawn. These are worth citing at length:

¹ Neurrisse, 'La Blancque', pp. 681–82; Van der Essen, "'Groote en generale staatsloterij'", pp. 331–32

In telling this story, [...] we face several problems of procedure and rhetoric. We could summarize the incident, gather what seems most interesting from the record, and attempt to relate it to the mainstream history of the period [...] We could impose a specialized interpretative framework on it, and relate the evidence to local history, legal history, the history of childbirth, the history of sexuality, and so on. Or we could lay out the information, in as complete a form as possible, and follow it wherever it leads. We may then find ourselves dealing with a fractal narrative, with endlessly multiplying connections and connotations, thickening layers of significance, and no clear sense of closure. Madness may lie in that direction, but so too might a richer sense of the complex culture of early modern England.²

Looking into participant backgrounds, this study too has followed the evidence where it leads, despite also adopting some of Cressy's alternative approaches. This has (hopefully) produced a coherent, persuasive account of the lottery itself. It may also be hoped it has further illuminated the richness and complexity of Elizabeth's England. As with Cressy's research into Agnes Bowker there has been a cultural emphasis. Anthropology has informed the research at the macro- level, in terms of acculturation, and at the micro- level, where ethnography has been a focus. The thesis presents the lottery, in essence, as a failed attempt to transplant Flemish culture, in a form England would not be ready to accept for another century.

In 1567 Elizabeth attempted cultural innovation: she tried to introduce state lotteries to a nation unacquainted with smaller-scale lotteries. Following a cross-cultural study, Per Binde concluded that different societies integrate gambling differently into their cultures because their diverse economic, religious and other systems interact with it differently.³ He postulated that for the same reason gambling by different subcultures within a single society might vary. This examination of the Lottery General supports the proposition. It suggests the venture failed partly for reasons of acculturation — existing aspects of English culture presented barriers to the uptake of this Continental practice — but also that society's various sectors were unreceptive for distinct reasons.

Merchants might have been expected to appreciate lotteries. These were a mercantile form of gambling akin to financial speculation, so characteristic of Europe's most urbanised and commercially sophisticated regions. In both regards, however, England was backward,

² Cressy, 'Agnes Bowker's Cat', p. 9

³ Binde, 'Gambling across Cultures', pp.1–27; 'Gambling and Religion', pp. 145–66; 'Gambling, Exchange Systems, and Moralities', pp. 445–79

perhaps one reason lotteries were not already established. Moreover, its merchant community remained more generally resistant to Flemish ways. Support for Thomas Gresham's establishment of a dedicated bourse in which merchants might transact business had been lukewarm; John Johnson's proposal that Ipswich should be re-made into a new 'Antwerp in England' had been vehemently opposed. When such schemes, whose advantages seem self-evident, had not been supported merchants were unlikely to embrace a Flemish mechanism for taxing them. Enthusiasts for Continental practices, such as Johnson, Gresham and George Gilpyn, often had personal experience of them; those with less exposure were not necessarily so keen. The lottery's reception reflected this general rule. Although Amsterdam's commercial ascendancy in future decades led English merchants to emulate the Dutch, its rise followed the 1567 sack of Antwerp, which took place as the lottery was held. The foresight of Johnson, who began urging the Privy Council to adopt Antwerp's methods around that time, perhaps deserves more scrutiny. In the meantime England's merchants were not interested in learning from foreigners.

From a more pragmatic standpoint, the enterprise looked a shaky prospect. This could explain why the City reportedly bought one thousand tickets when the ticket data suggest only five hundred. Subscribers had to pay on the nail only for half their tickets. The City conceivably did so, then watched the venture foundering and opted not to take the remainder. Merchants had to be hardheaded: as Johnson's business failed in 1551 his fellows declined to lend money, citing the fact they understood it would be thrown away.⁴ At this period bankrupts' goods were seized to compensate creditors on a 'first come, first served' basis: the first claimant's debt was settled in full, then the next claimant's, and so forth, until nothing was left. Latecomers who received nothing might be ruined themselves, risking a cascade of bankruptcies. Flemish cities were adopting the Italian system, whereby all creditors received a proportion of their loan: this promoted stability and minimised the hazard of lending.⁵ England adhered to the Germanic model: when one of Johnson's ships arrived in port after his declaration of bankruptcy he alerted Cecil, one of his creditors, enabling the latter to lodge an early claim on its contents.⁶ Perhaps no coincidence, Cecil found Johnson small jobs, among them lottery superintendant, after his release from prison,

⁴ Winchester, *Tudor Family Portrait*, p. 286

⁵ Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*, pp. 114–121

⁶ Winchester, *Tudor Family Portrait*, pp. 295–96

when his loss of credit meant he could no longer trade.⁷ Such attitudes to risk possibly constituted a further deterrent to ticket-buying.

If merchants preferred not to endanger existing capital, lotteries offered subalterns the chance of a life-changing windfall. They sometimes won big prizes in Continental lotteries; servants and apprentices were the most enthusiastic participants in later English lotteries, while ten per cent of Leuven's students bought tickets in the town's 1596 scheme.⁸ However, although some humbler buyers used hopeful posies various sources remarked that the simpler sort's doubtfulness was depressing sales.

The expensive tickets and distrust of the Queen's good faith may not have been their only deterrents. For two centuries subalterns had been forbidden to play unlawful games, to prevent the 'decay' of archery, which was considered fundamental to the 'defence of the realm'. Statutes that otherwise banned subalterns from using weapons commanded regular longbow practice, in the process prohibiting pursuits capable of distracting from it. Once formally criminalised, 'unlawful games' evolved as a concept, as different stakeholders (king, bowyers, merchants, magistrates, etc.) influenced the laws: the emphasis shifted from outdoor, physical sports that competed with archery for people's time, to sedentary, indoor, winter, wagering games that left them unable to afford bows and arrows. By the mid-sixteenth century games of chance were the unlawful games *par excellence*. However, with the longbow moribund as a military weapon by the 1540s, the practical oppositions between archery and other games were giving way to a moral one: longbow practice epitomised openness and honesty, cards and dice idleness and dishonesty.

This had implications for the lottery's reception. Elizabeth was reversing longstanding policy, promoting a game of chance when these had been prohibited, allegedly for the same reason: to further defence of the realm by addressing decay (in this case, of English harbours). In consequence, even persons who had not internalised the case against gambling and just wanted to avoid paying for tickets could justify non-participation. Various posies expressed moral scruples, perhaps reflecting England's history of suppressing gambling games.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 306, 316–17

⁸ Johnson, 'Lotteries of the Virginia Company', p. 266; de Boer and Bostoen, 'Sorte non Sorte', p. 232

There may have been a passive effect. To encourage archery practice Germany and the Netherlands enlisted the support of all the activities England banned with the same intent. These provided subsidiary contests at shooting fairs. The fairs also involved lotteries, which paid for the competitions' prizes. This seems to have provided an environment in which lotteries could develop. England's adoption of a suppressive means of promoting archery meant this nurturing environment was lacking.

Anti-gaming statutes hardly affected gentlemen. However, cards and dice seem to have served a social function for them that lotteries could not fulfil. Only with the Restoration, when gambling mania ruined established families, were anti-gambling laws framed to apply to all levels of society: eighteenth-century commentators such as Blackstone noted this change explicitly.⁹ Since Elizabethan gentleman possessed (in theory) unlimited time and money, these practical limitations did not impinge upon their gambling behaviour. Instead, considerations of honour supplied the constraint that defined it. When they gambled, reputation was the thing at stake. Just as they played cards and dice to dispose of excess time they seem to have wagered to lose money, not win more. Social leaders were expected to perform. Responsible men dispensed gold to uphold their honour. A certain level of magnificence and liberality was needed to justify gentle status: the Latin for *gentleman* was *generosus*. Younger men, their identities less established, wagered excessively to secure reputations among their peers by their willingness to risk self and substance. Both strategies were ritual and involved conspicuous consumption.

The lottery, though, was unsuited to this purpose. Elite ticket-buyers did not jettison their money in a way that affirmed their honour. Multiple, small, individual draws, long after lots were paid for, obscured the extent of one's risk or loss: consumption was inconspicuous. Harington noted how spectators were disappointed if gentlemen cut up playing cards to serve as gambling tokens because they had no ready money, even though large sums were actually staked. People wanted a show of gold. Lottery draws were possibly unimpressive for similar reasons.

Furthermore, elite lottery participants were typically older, so more engaged with the community. They thus found themselves required to promote the scheme. Such individuals

⁹ Blackstone, *Commentaries*, vol. 4, pp. 169–71

were least likely to gamble to excess themselves. They were most likely to counsel young gentlemen against doing so and, in their capacity as magistrates, repress subaltern gambling. Besides, in 1566 gentlemen MPs had resisted Elizabeth's demands for a subsidy; they possibly objected to the lottery as an extra-parliamentary tax.

In short, cultural inhibitions seem to have deterred merchants (the group best qualified to appreciate speculation), subalterns (most enthusiastic elsewhere) and gentlemen (who ultimately bought many tickets). These were three of the four categories proposed in Figure 4.1, a schematic diagram that grouped gamblers into ideal types according to possession of time and money. This classification, though reductive, sought to identify deep structural constraints that affected gambling behaviour, underlying social, legal or moral codes: since the latter aimed to modify such behaviour it necessarily preceded them.

This thesis has not addressed the fourth category — persons with free time but little money: vagabonds, masterless men, etc. — but it seems doubtful they would have been enthusiastic either. This was the group whose gambling concerned contemporaries most, as an extensive, hostile Elizabethan rogue literature attests (although this literature's conycatching aspect has not been thoroughly investigated).¹⁰ Unlike gentlemen they played to win; gambling formed part of their 'economy of makeshifts'. However, to win consistently, before probability was understood, one had to cheat. It has been suggested Elizabethan authors exaggerated conycatchers' tricks but contemporary German court records suggest criminals behaved as Robert Greene and his fellows described.¹¹ Unlike some contemporary lotteries Elizabeth's did not ban vagrants. For those making a living by gambling, however, cheating in taverns was a better prospect. Lottery tickets were expensive, winning improbable and fraud difficult. Thus, though anxiety about lottery corruption was widespread it centred on draw officials, bribery by wealthy participants, even the Queen herself, not conycatchers. In short, rogues too had reason to be unreceptive to lotteries.

Thus, while Elizabethan England seems to bear out Binde's postulate that gambling may be incorporated differently into a society's different subcultures, all sectors of society seem to have presented their own barriers to the uptake of lotteries. This helps explain why they

¹⁰ Basu, "Like Very Honest and Substantial Citizens", pp. 37–38

¹¹ Contrast R. Greene ('A Notable Discovery of Cozenage', pp. 162–175) with R. Jütte ('Nepper, Schlepper und Bauernfänger im frühneuzeitlichen Köln', pp. 250–74)

had not naturalised before 1567 and did not do so until the Restoration. Where lotteries prospered, conditions were different. England's case paralleled Francis I's royal lottery of 1539. France too was relatively less urbanised and commercially sophisticated, with no history of city lotteries. Its lottery too involved major towns. The high ticket price deterred the poor; affluent subjects thus bore the brunt of participation, then obstructed new lotteries for the next century,

England's, though, reflected an upswing of interest in state lotteries. The Flemish *grande et générale loterie* of the mid-1560s had captured neighbouring sovereigns' attention. Philip II, however, was redirecting an existing Flemish vogue for lotteries. The English had never known them. While rulers recognised lotteries' value as voluntary taxation their subjects were not equally farsighted. Even in Flanders, Philip's ban on other schemes to maximise the success of his own prompted Dutch and Flemish towns to institute city lotteries by way of patriotic defiance. When Elizabeth conjured lotteries into existence in England, she brought real difficulties into being too, where previously there had been only passive cultural barriers to lottery establishment.

In 1572 the *Treatise of Treasons* was probably wrong to assert that the lottery formed part of a clandestine Protestant military strategy but accurate in situating it within contemporary politics. Although the silting of English harbours was a classic example of a *longue durée* process taking place over geological time, many factors bearing on the lottery's history belonged to *conjoncture*: the state's growing need for revenue; the gradual evolution of institutions and customs; religious shifts over the Reformation; and so forth. Such things developed over decades and centuries. The lottery itself, however, existed within event history.

The scheme's development arose through an interplay between the actions of England's governors (who introduced it and fixed its rules) and of the governed (who supplied the money and cultural content, in the form of posies). The lottery altered accordingly over time. Although the Chart showed no evidence problems were anticipated almost straightaway the organisers were trying to address the twin difficulties of poor sales and discouraging rumours. The Queen first countered these by vehemently asserting her good faith and undertaking to adhere to all the terms 'inviolably'. When that did not boost sales she resorted to drastic measures to keep the scheme afloat, reneging in the process on the

promises just given. This probably reinforced the original doubts. The diminution of prize values certainly did, possibly strengthening a suspicion the enterprise was secretly raising money to aid foreign Protestants. To overcome slow sales the draw date was postponed to 1569; this provoked popular discontent, forcing the organisers to fix a date. Bringing this date forward made it imperative to sell the tickets more quickly and led to more coercive methods; it had originally been stressed that participation would be voluntary. Ticket-selling moved from an emphasis on England's preeminent towns to targeting every parish, whilst extending down the social scale to servants and subalterns. Gentlemen were required to promote the scheme, persuading inferiors to form syndicates, while purchasing liberally themselves as role-models. The constables of each hundred were told to report which gentlemen were promoting the lottery and which were not. Collectors were harried and blamed. Another subsidy was threatened if the lottery was not a success. As can be seen, the regime and people interacted to determine the outcome.

As Dean has demonstrated, Elizabeth's government was unable to enforce its will when the people were reluctant. When only one twelfth of tickets sold, despite its efforts, it adopted Estienne Perrot's suggestion, which radically reduced prize values. Since the poor sales that made this necessary resulted partly from fears Elizabeth would not hand over the prizes, to some extent the scepticism became a self-fulfilling prophecy. Certainly, her various attempts to boost sales ratcheted up the rancour, further antagonising subjects already distrustful. It may also have influenced the decision to impound Philip II's gold, inflaming relations with Spain. By the end of the draw the government had little revenue and diminished credibility.

The scheme rapidly became a wicked problem. It was overambitious in several respects, not least the high ticket price, and became more so as expedients to boost sales led it to expand in reach. However, the crucial difficulty arose from early modern lottery design: the number and value of prizes, like the number of lots for sale, were specified in advance. This meant net revenue could be calculated upfront but when enthusiasm was lacking the overseers might find themselves committed to disbursing greater sums as prizes than were generated through sales. England's extraordinary low participation left Elizabeth trapped. She had either to accept a substantial loss instead of a large gain, or take aggressive, unpopular steps to ensure sales targets were met, or tarnish her honour by breaking commitments. She narrowly avoided the former by incurring both the latter. Her subjects' lack of support reflected an alignment of variables: the immediate politics of the late 1560s; factors identified

by Dean such as popular distrust engendered by earlier Tudor fundraising activities and the insufficiency of state organs for enforcing her wishes; and longer-term issues of acculturation that disinclined the English to welcome lotteries.

Other difficulties centred on the translation of the lottery concept to England. First, various socio-cultural studies have demonstrated that the rationale for gambling is not solely economic. The scheme's Continental models were often components of a greater whole. They took place during fairs, whose entertainments presented non-monetary incentives to buy tickets that offset the likely loss of the stake. England, however, detached the economic transaction from these associated goods and imported it in isolation. There was nothing to blind people to the fact they would lose money: under such circumstances participation was irrational.

Second, the change of scale to state level nullified the inherent attractions of city lotteries. These offered citizens the chance at a prize, the prospect of benefiting from the good works financed and the entertainment of the draw. Non-citizens received an excuse to visit and brought cash that further assisted locals. However, the Lottery General was drawn in London; provincial ticket-buyers would not witness it. As the money raised was for coastal towns inlanders would not benefit directly, something significant in an era of more locally based identity. The posies preserve evidence of parochialism in this regard; it was, besides, doubted the money was really intended for the uses declared. This left only the remote chance of a prize, an inducement undermined by fears the Queen would not hand prizes over.

Third, the changes the lottery experienced rendered it still less attractive. Drawing, perhaps, on Continental experience, the original scheme targeted particular demographic groups and took place over a time-frame liable to optimise sales. Faced with low interest the organisers extended their reach into less fertile territory. The focus on leading towns gave way to a push to have every parish contribute, relying on rural communities when commercial centres proved reluctant. There was a comparable shift down the social scale, with subaltern syndicates expected to supply the deficiencies of wealthier subjects. Both belonged to the wider phenomenon whereby unwilling persons purchased tickets voluntary participants had not. Meantime the sales period was extended into summer months, when food and money were scarcest and people had least interest in gambling. The upshot was

that poorer persons were being compelled to buy tickets at the most inconvenient time, something liable to alienate people without greatly raising sales. This helps explain the critical posies. Conversely, though, while the fact that the reading ultimately commenced in midwinter probably reduced its value as entertainment the cold weather possibly dampened unrest. A contentious midsummer draw might have produced disturbances.

These changes in translation deprived the lottery of net sense. Participation became irrational. With little inducement to take part aside from the slight chance of a prize (supposing there were no fraud), the lottery was reduced to little more than an extra-parliamentary instalment of the unpopular 1566 subsidy. Participation became, in effect, a display of loyalty. The Queen expected her subjects to offer a voluntary tax, accompanying it with flattering posies. The Northern Rising, however, shortly demonstrated that not everyone felt loyal. Coercion possibly made buyers feel less dutiful.

Simon Walker has suggested that people used tax revolts to resist Henry IV's *demand*s (for money) whilst defying his *claims* (to sovereignty) by spreading rumours Richard II was alive and about to return.¹² The lottery permitted both kinds of response. Boycotting it involved a specialised kind of tax revolt that resisted Elizabeth's demands. Seditious rumours and unloyal posies allowed rejection of her authority. Mary Stewart's presence possibly encouraged the latter; certainly, some posies asserted allegiance to Catholicism or local lords, not Elizabeth.

The individual posies serve to remind that while the lottery can be regarded as a unified, monolithic entity it can also be seen as a composite of 400,000 discrete purchases by individuals with their own opinions, experiences and motives. Four thousand tickets survive, taken by 2150 persons. The thesis has examined a range of participants, from 'O.D.' to Anne Patten, each of whom reacted uniquely. If J. Aldaye's letter from the Counter was indeed confected with Cecil for the purpose of prison espionage, by the close of the draw even Elizabeth's regime was making the scheme serve private ends.

In the lottery, history-from-above met history-from-below: Elizabeth's government imported and imposed the rules but the people supplied posies and money. Lottery posies

¹² Walker, 'Rumour', pp. 31–65

represented a chance for free speech both dangerous and uncontrollable at the best of times.¹³ Allowing people a voice in the late 1560s was problematic. However, censorship or punishment was difficult when Elizabeth's subjects had been compelled to take part and also to devise posies.

Obtaining an aggregate picture by inspecting individual posies has the potential to reveal much, although the constraints of this project have not permitted all that might have been done. Thorough mapping of the locations where tickets were purchased, for example, has not been attempted. There are five components to each ticket, each capable of yielding information: the ticket number; the buyer's particulars; the locality cited; the posy; and the prize. The results gathered can be combined to yield an overall profile of the buyer, while different buyers can be assessed together to reveal information about groups. Examination of the ticket numbers and prizes demonstrates that tickets were reasonably well mixed before the draw took place, indicating that differential levels of ticket survival from different counties reflect genuine regional variations in enthusiasm.

Crucially, many participants are identifiable: high ticket prices, with the fact pressure to take part was exerted downward through vertical channels, meant social elites bought a significant proportion of tickets. Further information about such people can often be located, including age, social status, faith, occupation, life history and circumstances as the lottery occurred. This enables buyers to be grouped by status, faith, etc. These groups' posies can be scrutinised for shared sentiments.

While there are limits to what can be attempted, with conclusions necessarily tentative, this approach permits quantitative investigation. Regional variations in participation can be detected, most notably a north-south bias, with greater enthusiasm in the south. Elite groups can be confirmed to have purchased a high proportion of surviving tickets (albeit one that varied with county). There are indications they tended to be older rather than younger, an important reversal of traditional gambling stereotypes. This reflected the pressure on community leaders to promote the lottery: such individuals were typically mature men. Comparison of buyers whose faith can be determined suggests Catholic and Protestant buyers held different opinions. Smaller-scale investigation is also possible. Certain posies,

¹³ Thijs, 'Loteries', pp. 32–33

for instance, suggest the goddess Fortuna sometimes stood in for the Virgin Mary, or even Mary Stewart, neither of whom could be named openly. Tickets mentioning 'the Queen' were confined to England's south and the same held largely true for posies involving the proverb 'Speed the plough'. Farther north both might have looked subversive. In short, close reading of the ticket data yields insights.

Knowing about the ticket-buyers facilitates the qualitative analysis of their posies too. Setting their words against the context of their lives allows a pragmatic interpretation capable of detecting ambiguities, ironies, etc. Conversely, ignorance regarding their lives enforces a semantic understanding that takes their statements literally. Investigation of buyers' backgrounds exposes a political aspect to the posies that is not otherwise apparent. Locating the origins of posies that were quotations is similarly illuminating. Like certain emblems, a genre they resembled, posies frequently operated as 'hyperlinks': they directed readers to a source passage that elucidated the posy's message, which in isolation could be obscure. Deducing a buyer's meaning sometimes requires both the buyer's life and the posy's source to be investigated, as in the case of William Barbage (Burbage); unsurprisingly, this technique is fraught with difficulties.

Just as one can classify posies according to buyer type (gentlemen, Catholics, children, priests) a typology can be attempted on the basis of sentiment. Views ranged from enthusiastic and loyal, through anxiety to complaint, perhaps extending to sedition. Many posies had a hopeful, enthusiastic or innocuous message. Others, seemingly responding to the demand that gentlemen convince neighbours to participate, stressed the wisdom of doing so, the Queen's good faith, the buyer's goodwill, etc. These were dutiful. What their authors thought privately is less certain. Some community leaders, however, reacted in an opposite manner: they urged people to distrust and avoid the scheme. Some tickets (often humbler buyers, including parish syndicates) testified anxiety about corruption. The 'doubtfulness' of the simpler sort was well-attested and often manifested as pleas for indifference or 'just judgment' (inspired by the chart's image of the judgment of Solomon). Humbler participants also sometimes grumbled that they were poor or lived inland (far from the harbours the scheme would refurbish). The implicit, not-quite-stated reproach of these posies recalls contemporary characterisations of the multitude as a many-headed monster that muttered semi-audibly instead of articulating its views.

Gentlemen typically stated their objections more confidently: the parliamentary caste was accustomed to discuss tax measures under parliamentary privilege. Patreake Sacheverel, for example, had reservations comparable to those of humbler participants, but expressed himself more high-handedly: wrong dealing (by draw officials) would be punished. Some used inflammatory language. Richard Stead, who accused Elizabeth of stealing from him, was vague as to his identity but others, such as Gilbert Flamank, were openly uncooperative. Although some elites complained that the wealthy were unduly targeted, others expressed more abstract, moral or political, scruples. Unlike poorer buyers they could afford non-material concerns.

In their diverse ways all these posies constituted what Scott calls 'public transcripts': they articulated their authors' views openly, even if some echoed the Elizabethan regime's own public transcript whereas others challenged it. Public documents, such as proclamations and the lottery chart, asserted the Queen's own version of events. She had instituted a lottery for the benefit of her realm; her motives were sincere; when her Council informed her that people were impatient for the draw she graciously advanced the date; she extended forbearance towards those who complained or impugned her motives. Certain inescapable realities, such as widespread distrust and very poor sales, could not absolutely be glossed over by this presentation of events but appeared in the rosier possible light. Gentlemen whose posies complied with the directive that local notables should publicly declare faith in the lottery subscribed to the Queen's public transcript, though not necessarily sincerely; Anne Patten's posy's description of lots and laughter thanks to God and the Queen did likewise. Conversely, individuals who expressed distrust or discontent recorded a rival transcript that presented the Queen less favourably. Being articulated openly, all these opinions constituted public transcripts. Perhaps those subaltern posies that appear to have let their buyers' resentment show without quite daring to state it outright, were not entirely 'public'; nonetheless, their feelings were not concealed.

The lottery involved hidden transcripts too, however: views uttered secretly rather than openly. The rumours undermining the scheme were a classic instance; tellingly, though various sources mentioned them no example has been preserved. Lottery posies too offered opportunities for hidden transcripts although, as with subaltern posies, the distinction between 'public' and 'hidden' needs to be qualified: the draw's public nature meant they had to be hidden in plain sight.

This meant they needed to be disguised. While there have been attempts to extend the public sphere backward to the sixteenth century it is questionable whether the lottery was an example. Overt political comment was unfeasible. The scheme's circumstances compelled Elizabeth to tolerate complaint but sedition she could punish. Justices were swiftly instructed to arrest spreaders of rumours. Straight after the draw concluded various lawyers were ordered expelled from the Inns of Court for sedition. Persons advocating the claims of potential heirs to Elizabeth had faced imprisonment from the early 1560s. This climate enforced self-censorship. Besides, since the government oversaw every stage of the process that culminated in the extant sheets of winners' tickets it could engage in censorship itself. In consequence, the only dissident messages likely to survive would be ones so apparently innocuous they deceived scrutineers at the time. How can scholars reliably detect subversion that eluded contemporaries?

There is nonetheless reason to imagine posies potentially had a disloyal element. Other genres sometimes deployed coded messages when overt political statement was dangerous. Certain posies showed characteristic features of subversive genres, including message ambiguity and buyer anonymity. The existence of open complaints about the lottery and proclamations of allegiance to Catholicism, local lords, etc., render the presence of covert equivalents plausible. The organisers' expectation posies would be flattering perhaps constituted a challenge: it was not unknown for malcontents to hijack the symbolism of public occasions. The Privy Council's characterisation of the rumours that deterred the simpler sort as malicious and sinister dissuasion suggests a political undercurrent to opposition. The situation was tense, with Catholic rebellion feared before Mary Stewart appeared. There are indications that the later belief the lottery secretly raised funds to support Protestant armies may have been taking hold as tickets sold, something liable to aggravate Catholic buyers. The organisers' curiosity regarding which gentlemen were promoting the lottery, with constables told to supply lists, coincided with moves to confine Mary more securely, which suggests promotion was possibly being equated with loyalty. Just after April 1568, as the lottery's first sales deadline elapsed, Cecil compiled a comprehensive survey of the realm's privy councillors, noblemen, senior clergy and gentlemen. In June 1569 he was contemplating forming an association of such men for England's defence in case of crisis, which would involve an oath and the subscription of money: failure to contribute money would constitute disloyalty, something that implies his

thoughts about lottery participation.¹⁴ Such things suggest it is not inconceivable certain posies contained subversive messages.

Unfortunately, anonymity and ambiguity hinder efforts to prove subversive intent. Limited information survives about buyers; crucially, there is especial difficulty ascertaining their faith. The meaning of cryptic or obscure posies must be decoded. This resembles Clifford Geertz's project of distinguishing winks from facial tics. 'The marvelous thing about a joke with a double meaning', comedian Ronnie Barker observed, 'is that it can only mean one thing.'¹⁵ However, if a double entendre eclipses, once detected, a seemingly innocent surface meaning, if missed it continues invisible. There is also the risk of finding second meanings not actually intended. Because the discourses of gambling and warfare were similar, potentially rebellious statements — even ones as closely associated with Catholic rebellion as 'Speed the plough' — often made eminently suitable posies: they invoked success in some venture. As a consequence, posies that may have been deliberately disloyal cannot necessarily be shown to have been so. If treasonous, 'perfect ambiguity' was essential to evade punishment.

Little can be done with such instances. Nevertheless, one can sometimes infer the possibility, from other cases that departed slightly from the norm, that for persons 'in the know' they alluded to some mooted rebellion. The fact no ticket north of Norfolk mentioned the Queen suggests anxiety not to appear to be supporting Mary covertly, plus awareness such a thing could be attempted. Sometimes a posy looks unexpectedly enthusiastic about the lottery given what is known of its author, raising the possibility it really alluded to something else. Certain ticket-buyers seem to have been urging others not to do anything rash; some look to have warned that careless talk cost lives. Others perhaps foresaw the imminent return of true religion. Some, such as William Burbage's with its chess imagery, were more idiosyncratic.

Certainty is unattainable but such posies possibly represent evidence for behind-the-scenes chatter about a Catholic rising, perhaps given impetus by Mary Stewart's arrival, even though no rising eventuated and some participants opposed the idea. They suggest that

¹⁴ Alford, *Polity*, pp. 177–78; 'A necessary consideration of the perillous state of this tyme', discussed in Alford, esp. pp. 196–98

¹⁵ *Oxford Dictionary of Quotations by Subject*, ed. S. Ratcliffe, p. 238

other posies whose ambiguity is harder to overcome may have alluded to one too. It is known there was talk of rebellion throughout the 1560s; William Cecil feared such a thing and the Northern Rising ultimately embodied it. The lottery tickets may thus preserve hints of hidden transcripts that have not survived elsewhere.

The proverb Time Trieth Truth, in particular, may indicate support for Mary: it seems to have attached itself to her immediately she entered England. However, although instances of the proverb from other sources show Catholic affiliations, ticket buyers' Catholic credentials are sketchier, more equivocal. It seems nonetheless improbable that these uses of the proverb had no connection with Mary or Catholicism: the tickets of Robert Key and Robert Suckling, who both converted in adulthood, constitute a strange coincidence. However, the disparity between lottery posies and other uses of the proverb indicate there may be limits to what buyers' backgrounds will divulge about their posies' meanings.

Isaac Pilkington

One last instance, that of 'Isaack Pilkinton de Bishop Aukland', will illustrate further the dangers encountered when interpreting posies' meanings. James Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, who resided at Bishop Auckland, most likely chose his son's posy: James was on the Council of the North, whose other members actively promoted the lottery; several tickets from his diocese, not all favourable towards it, were taken by Durham and Northumberland clergy, probably under his direction. However, no ticket survives for James himself. Since he was strongly reformist and bishops' posies were often unenthusiastic about the scheme this may indicate he had reservations, so purchased in his son's name to distance himself from it.

Isaac's posy ('The judgement is the Lords') can be interpreted multiple ways. It corresponded to other godly posies that insisted the draw's outcome reflected God's will, not Fortune's wheel: *Non fortunæ rota, sed Dei providentia* as Thomas Worlich put it. Various buyers, often identifiably reformist, cited Solomon's remark (Proverbs 16:33): 'The lot is cast into the lap: but the whole disposition thereof is of the Lord.' Calvin and his followers believed that God personally oversaw all chance events and repudiated the pagan goddess Fortune's role. James, besides, tended to see things in providential terms. Days after St

Paul's steeple burnt down in 1561 he preached in front of the cathedral, claiming the disaster was God's judgment on the slow pace of reform in England. Isaac's mother Alice belonged to the equally reformist Kingsmill family.¹⁶ The posy might therefore have been an assertion about the lottery's causation.

Equally, though, it might have cited Deuteronomy 1:17, which commanded judges to judge righteously: 'Ye shall have no respect of person in judgment, but shall hear the small as well as the great: ye shall not fear the face of man: for the judgment is God's.' This would have aligned it with other posies, especially subaltern ones, that called for just and indifferent judgment. These reflected anxiety the draw might not be impartial, with wealthy ticket-buyers bribing officials to award them the prizes. Swiss Protestant theologian Heinrich Bullinger's *Decades*, which from the 1550s strongly influenced English reformers, included a sermon on the conduct of magistrates that opened with this verse.¹⁷ Pilkington, a friend and correspondent of Bullinger, stayed with him in Zürich while exiled from Marian England, and presumably knew the work; more importantly, he probably understood the scriptural verse the same way.¹⁸ If his posy cited it, he addressed draw officials.

However, considering the discontent and rumour about the lottery, and the concerns of rebellion borne out in 1569, Pilkington might equally have warned subjects of their duty. Several Biblical passages underpinned the Tudor theory of obligation, among them Deuteronomy 32:35–36 ('Vengeance and recompense are mine [...] For the Lord shall judge his people'). This was quoted in the Homily on Obedience (1547) to make the point that God's judgments and, by extension, those of monarchs, his vice-gerents, must be obeyed; it was for God to judge rulers. Hugh Latimer had earlier expressed this doctrine in terms pertinent to the lottery:

If the king should require of thee an unjust request, yet art thou bound to pay it and not to resist and rebel [...] the king indeed is in peril of his soul for asking an unjust request; and God will in His due time reckon with him for it: but thou must not take upon thee to judge him.¹⁹

¹⁶ Cf. *DNB*, 'Kingsmill, Andrew (1537/8–1569)', and above, p. 205

¹⁷ H. Bullinger, *The Decades of Henry Bullinger*, p. 346; for Bullinger's influence: C. Euler, *Couriers of the Gospel*, pp. 91–94

¹⁸ Euler, *Couriers*, p. 102; W. Kirby, *The Zurich Connection and Tudor Political Theology*, p. 1

¹⁹ Latimer, cited in Fletcher, *Tudor Rebellions*, pp. 3–7; *Homilies*, pp. 97–98

Perhaps the posy admonished buyers not to question their queen, just as certain others commanded obedience.

Although the posy could have had any or all of these meanings a fourth possibility exists. Isaac Pilkington, baptised in March 1567/68, died in infancy.²⁰ When his ticket was purchased is unknowable, while his date of death is elusive, so the two cannot be compared. However, in 1569, when the Pilkingtons fled south disguised as beggars to escape the Northern Rising, James was allegedly accompanied by his wife and daughters: perhaps Isaac, not mentioned, was already dead. If so, it is conceivable he died before his ticket was bought, with its message an attempt to rationalise this private tragedy. In fact this seems doubtful. The editor of James Pilkington's *Collected Works* reports the story of the family's flight, erroneously attributing it to Thomas Fuller, who did not mention it.²¹ Supposing it had some other, genuine origin, later traditions might simply have forgotten Isaac's presence in 1569 because he died as a child. However, this fourth possible explanation, while unlikely, serves as a reminder not to presume that posies referred to the lottery at all.

In short, the posy conceivably asserted God's control over the draw whilst warning officials against corruption and Elizabeth's subjects against rebellion. Roy Strong, taking his cue from scholarship on Spenser's poetry, argues that contemporary paintings heaped up multiple meanings unsystematically.²² Perhaps Pilkington did something similar. If so, he illustrates that posies were not necessarily simple things. However, the existence of several potential senses warns against the embrace of any one. 'How can context provide a definitive answer [under such circumstances]', demands Loxley, 'rather than merely multiplying possibilities without providing criteria for choosing between them?'²³ While certain posies do seem to have been intentionally ambiguous the danger of overdetermination remains.

²⁰ DNB, 'Pilkington, James (1520–1576)'

²¹ Nuttall, 'Introduction' to J. Pilkington, *The Works of James Pilkington*, p. ix, citing Fuller, *Worthies*, vol. 2, pp. 196–97

²² R. Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth*, pp. 43, 194

²³ Loxley, 'On Exegetical Duty', p. 100

Future Directions

This thesis has tried to take David Dean's research further, examining more closely the Lottery General and its failure, as well as individual tickets, buyers and posies. In several respects anthropology has informed the approach adopted: the lottery occupied a 'moment' in time, not a lengthy period, and engaged with society on many levels. The realisation buyers can often be identified, something not immediately apparent, has assisted the study. If only a few had been locatable there would have been little point examining their lives in detail. Much remains to be done: the mapping of ticket distributions; more detailed investigation of buyers' histories; linkages to other events; and so forth. The occasion might offer insights, for example, into the debate between new historicists and cultural materialists over whether early modern drama was genuinely subversive or simply provided a means of 'letting off steam' that really left authorities in firmer control. Although the lottery pre-dated the Elizabethan theatre and was a different type of staged event, comparisons could be revealing. Leaving aside the possibility of actively seditious posies, the level of complaint seems genuinely destabilising. If nothing else, this thesis hopes to have shown that the lottery deserves more scrutiny that was once imagined.

Two examples will illustrate the scheme's potential to illuminate further research. One reason for examining the lottery (and sixteenth-century gambling more broadly) is that it dates from a period before probability calculus was understood, when divine providence was understood as more directly controlling events. It may shed light on the mentalities of the day and the evolution of modern gambling. The correspondence of Pascal and Fermat in the 1650s, prompted by a gambling-related question posed to Pascal, resulted in the emergence of probability calculus. This advance revolutionised gambling and coincided with a Europe-wide mania for gambling that, arguably, both originated from and contributed to better understanding of chance. It allowed the development of the 'house edge', by which gambling providers such as casinos could ensure they made a profit overall; it enabled professional gamblers to emerge, using their knowledge of probabilities to make a living as players. The new behaviour these changes produced led in turn to shifts in gambling legislation. Tudor statutes that forbade servants and apprentices to play games but left gentlemen free to do as they liked gave way to bans on wagering that affected

everybody equally. These sought to address the fact that gentry families were being ruined by their members' gambling excesses.

Thus, by 1693 Samuel Pepys was writing to ask Isaac Newton what the chances of rolling certain results with multiple dice would be, in part because he had made a wager in a coffee house as to what those probabilities were. By then it was accepted that such things could be calculated. Any gentleman in a sixteenth-century ordinary who won consistently at games of chance would have risked accusations of cheating, with the possibility of assault. Even scholarly players, such as Gerolamo Cardano, could not safely use their knowledge to win when their fellows assumed consistent winning meant fraud.²⁴ This is not to suggest, however, that in the 1560s people had no idea at all of probability. Lottery posies demonstrate awareness the chance of winning something was low; some seem accurately to have calculated the odds. Closer examination of the posies may yield insights into how sophisticated contemporary understandings of probability were.

Further investigation of the posies from different social subsets, female ticket-holders for example, would also be worthwhile. Notwithstanding Elizabeth's 208 tickets, the greatest number for any single individual, women were a minority of participants. There are 399 extant tickets in the names of 141 women, from a range of backgrounds: this represented ten per cent of tickets but under seven per cent of buyers. Only twenty-five female buyers had more than one ticket survive.

Not all bought their own tickets. Some were plainly taken on behalf of infants, nor did all adult women necessarily buy for themselves. Six tickets for 'the Cutlers' wives' seem to have been purchased by the Cutlers' Company. In a fair number of cases, when there is a ticket in a woman's name there are others for members of her immediate family, which suggests a single individual (possibly the male head of the household) bought them all, conceivably choosing all the posies too. This was a phenomenon observed in Dutch lotteries.²⁵ Thirty-two female ticket-holders had a family member with surviving tickets (23 per cent of female buyers); their 51 tickets constitute 13 per cent of female purchases. Considering that only one per cent of tickets survive this probably understates the situation: in many cases the extant tickets may include one only of what was originally a family set.

²⁴ For Pepys, Schell, 'Samuel Pepys, Isaac Newton, and Probability', pp. 27–30; for Cardano, above, p. 46

²⁵ de Boer and Bostoen, 'Sorte non sorte', pp. 218–40

Elite men were obliged to promote the lottery in their capacity as office-holders; elite women, less likely to occupy positions of responsibility, conceivably faced less pressure to subsidise an unpopular scheme. Gambling was also less socially acceptable for them. By the sixteenth century elite women were increasingly relegated to the role of spectators in games and entertainments.²⁶ They may also have had less access to money to pay for tickets. If some women's tickets were bought by men, though, did their posies reflect female perspectives? The question is especially problematic in the case of high status women, whose husbands and fathers were expected to encourage others by participating themselves. There are no extant tickets belonging to Rutland's leading landowner, James Harington, but there are five for his wife Lucy and six for his three-year-old daughter Theodocia. Did he take tickets in their names instead of buying for himself? However, while elite women's posies often featured nothing-meaning sentiments or an affected indifference to the draw's outcome, comparable to those of their male counterparts, this might equally have arisen because they adhered to aristocratic norms that were not gender-specific. Elizabeth's own selection, *Video et taceo* ('I see and keep silent'), was impersonal, indifferent and highly stylised but there is every reason to suppose she devised it herself.

Conversely, subaltern women may have been more likely to buy their own tickets. Their posies were often more optimistic and their opinions more decided, while their hopes had a specific objective (for example to win enough to marry on). Some mentioned professions (buttermilk, for instance) and they perhaps had more freedom when it came to participation. The posies of widows, too, expressed a range of sentiments and did so with some directness. These women were more likely to have bought their own tickets and to have had autonomy when it came to stating their views. Further examination of how women's participation reflected their roles in society seems likely to be rewarding. The same holds true for other social groups.

No doubt Elizabeth's Lottery General offers further scope for study in other areas too. Ten years ago it attracted scant scholarly attention. If nothing else, this thesis hopes to have shown that it deserves more scrutiny than was once imagined.

²⁶ R. Howell and M. Howell, 'Women in the Medieval and Renaissance Period: Spectators Only', pp. 11–37

APPENDIX A: TIME TRIETH TRUTH

A1: 'Time trieth truth', variants from *Tottel's Miscellany* (1557), above, and the *Gorgeous Gallery* (1578), below

Time trieth truth.

Eche thing I se hath time which time must trye my truth,
Which truth deserues a special trust, on trust gret frēdship groweth
And frendship may not faile where faithfulness is found,
And faithfulness is ful of frute, & fruteful thinges be sounde.
And sound is good at proufe, and proufe is prince of praise,
And precious praise is such a pearle as seldome ner decayes.
All these thinges time tries forth, which time I must abide,
How shold I boldly credite craue till time my truth haue tryed.
For as I found a time to fall in fansies frame,
So I do wishe a lucky time for to declare the same.
If hap may answere hope and hope may haue his hire,
Then shall my hart possesse in peace the time that I desire.

Of a happy wished time.

Eche thing must haue a time, and tyme doth try mens troth,
And troth deserues a special trust, on trust great frenship groth:
And freendship is full fast, where faythfulness is found
And faythfull thinges be ful of fruicte, and fruitful things be sound
The sound is good in prooffe, and prooffe is Prince of prayse,
And woorthy prayse is such a pearle, as lightly not decayes.
All this doth time bring forth, which time I must abide,
How should I boldly credit craue? till time my truth haue tried.
And as a time I found, to fall in Fancies frame,
So doo I wish an happy time, at large to shew the same.
If Fortune aunswer hope, and hope may haue her hire,
Then shall my hart possesse in peace, the time that I desire.

A2: Tichborne's 'Lament' and the response of T.K., from *Verses of Prayse and Joye*

Tichborne's Lament

Chidiok Tichborne

My prime of youth is but a frost of cares,
My feast of joy is but a dish of pain,
My crop of corn is but a field of tares,
And all my good is but vain hope of gain;
The day is past, and yet I saw no sun,
And now I live, and now my life is done.

My tale was heard and yet it was not told,
My fruit is fallen, and yet my leaves are green,
My youth is spent and yet I am not old,
I saw the world and yet I was not seen;
My thread is cut and yet it is not spun,
And now I live, and now my life is done.

I sought my death and found it in my womb,
I looked for life and saw it was a shade,
I trod the earth and knew it was my tomb,
And now I die, and now I was but made;
My glass is full, and now my glass is run,
And now I live, and now my life is done.

Hendecasyllabon T. K. in Cygneam

Cantionem Chideochi Tychborne

T.K.

Thy prime of youth is frozen with thy faults,
Thy feast of joy is finisht with thy fall;
Thy crop of corn is tares availing naughts,
Thy good God knows thy hope, thy hap and all.
Short were thy days, and shadowed was thy sun,
T'obscure thy light unluckily begun.

Time trieth truth, and truth hath treason tripped;
Thy faith bare fruit as thou hadst faithless been:
Thy ill spent youth thine after years hath nipt;
And God that saw thee hath preserved our Queen.
Her thread still holds, thine perished though unspun,
And she shall live when traitors lives are done.

Thou soughtst thy death, and found it in desert,
Thou look'dst for life, yet lewdly forc'd it fade:
Thou trodst the earth, and now on earth thou art,
As men may wish thou never hadst been made.
Thy glory, and thy glass are timeless run;
And this, O Tychborne, hath thy treason done.

A3: Passages from Shakespeare's plays that allude to Time Trieth Truth

Much Ado About Nothing (I, i, 207-244)

DON PEDRO: Amen, if you love her, for the lady is very well worthy.

CLAUDIO: You speak this to fetch me in, my lord.

DON PEDRO: By my troth, I speak my thought.

CLAUDIO: And in faith, my lord, I spoke mine.

BENEDICK: And by my two faiths and troths, my lord, I spoke mine.

CLAUDIO: That I love her, I feel.

DON PEDRO: That she is worthy, I know.

BENEDICK: That I neither feel how she should be loved nor know how she should be worthy is the opinion that fire cannot melt out of me. I will die in it at the stake.

DON PEDRO: Thou wast ever an obstinate heretic in the despite of beauty.

CLAUDIO: And never could maintain his part but in the force of his will.

BENEDICK: That a woman conceived me, I thank her. That she brought me up, I likewise give her most humble thanks. But that I will have a recheat winded in my forehead, or hang my bugle in an invisible baldric, all women shall pardon me. Because I will not do them the wrong to mistrust any, I will do myself the right to trust none. And the fine is — for the which I may go the finer — I will live a bachelor.

DON PEDRO: I shall see thee ere I die look pale with love.

BENEDICK: With anger, with sickness, or with hunger, my lord; not with love. Prove that ever I lose more blood with love than I will get again with drinking, pick out

mine eyes with a ballad-maker's pen and hang me up
at the door of a brothel-house for the sign of blind
Cupid.

DON PEDRO: Well, if ever thou dost fall from this faith thou
wilt prove a notable argument.

BENEDICK: If I do, hang me in a bottle like a cat, and shoot
at me, and he that hits me, let him be clapped on the
shoulder and called Adam.

DON PEDRO: Well, as time shall try.

As You Like It (IV, i, 178–90)

ROSALIND: By my troth, and in good earnest, and so God
mend me, and by all pretty oaths that are not
dangerous, if you break one jot of your promise or
come one minute behind your hour, I will think you
the most pathological break-promise, and the most hollow
lover, and the most unworthy of her you call Rosalind
that may be chosen out of the gross band of the
unfaithful. Therefore beware my censure, and keep
your promise.

ORLANDO: With no less religion than if thou wert indeed
my Rosalind. So, adieu.

ROSALIND: Well, Time is the old justice that examines all
such offenders; and let Time try. Adieu.

APPENDIX B: THE LOTTERY TICKETS

Lottery ticket details obtained from the printed broadsheets of prize-winning tickets preserved in the Surrey History Centre. Tickets were printed in the order in which they were drawn; they have been re-sorted in an Excel spreadsheet and are presented in order of ticket number. Tickets drawn in February are preserved on sheets numbered 99–118 (document LM/2008), those of March on sheets 159–178 (LM/2009). Each sheet consisted of four columns of ticket data: the reference details for a given ticket consist of the shelfmark, the relevant page number and a letter (*a* to *d*) that indicates in which of the four columns (left to right) the information occurs. The county and locality associated with the purchase are provided insofar as these can be determined.

NO.	COUNTY	LOCALITY	TICKET DETAILS	SHELFMARK
118	Suff.	Ipswich	Fourtene shillings I will take, the great lotte I will not forsake. p Frauncis Heigate de Ypsw.	LM 2008, p. 102d
245	Suff.	Ipswich	S. Clements parish shall, be content what so ever befall. p John Humfrey de Ipswich.	LM 2008, p. 111d
390	Suff.	Ipswich	S. Maryes at the Toure, prayeth for one every houre. p Thom. Sicklemore. Ypswich.	LM 2008, p. 100c
453	Suff.	Ipswich	S. Laurence spake not in boast, eate the one side, while the other doth roast. p John More. Ipswich.	LM 2009, p. 162a
466	Suff.	Ipswich	Saint Laurence spake not in boast, eate the one side while the other doth roast. p John Moore of Ipswiche.	LM 2009, p. 163c
536	Suff.	Ipswich	Saint Laurence spake not in boast, eate the one side while the other doth roast. p John More of Ypswich.	LM 2009, p. 175b
566	Suff.	Ipswich	The Key parishe doth wishe, whatsoever the nette doth fishe. Per Augustin Parker. Ipswich.	LM 2009, p. 161a
636	York N	Calton	Lead thy life in loyalte. p John Lambert. Calton.	LM 2009, p. 162d
738	York W	Thornton in Craven	Good luck cr[e]pe into Craven. p William Litt[---]. Thorneton.	LM 2008, p. 114c
769	York W	Keighley	Money maketh the Marchaunt. Per Jo. Medehop. Kighley.	LM 2008, p. 117d
845	??	??	If this my lot come in frame, then do remember Slatters name. Per Anthony Slatter.	LM 2009, p. 164d
914	Bucks	Wing	My hap seldome turneth to gaine. p [G]illam Dormer. Miles.	LM 2008, p. 105d
1040	Suss.	Alfriston	The wil of God be fulfilled. p Jo. Russell. Alfriston. Sussex.	LM 2008, p. 101b
1122	Suss.	East Hoathly	God graunt my Request, to live in his feare it is most best. p Jo. Lunford, Hothly. Sussex.	LM 2008, p. 103b
1129	Suss.	Horsted Keynes	I would be content with a hundred pounce, in my purse it would give a sounce. Per Thomas Chamberlayne Horsted Teynes. Sussex.	LM 2008, p. 99a
1147	Suss.	West Hoathly	The earth is the Lordes, & al that therein is, who so trusteth in him, a good lot can not misse. p Androw Brown of West Hethly. Sus.	LM 2008, p. 102c
1186	Suss.	Hurstpierpoint	Use eche degree indifferently, hinder no man, it were pitie. p Hurst Perpoint parish. Sussex.	LM 2008, p. 101a
1477	Kent	Horton Kirkby	Good hap helpe fortune. p the parishe of Horton Kirby. Kent.	LM 2009, p. 172c
1627	Kent	Otford	God sende Otforde his grace. p the parishe of Otforde in Kent.	LM 2008, p. 104a
1784	Kent	Dartford	The more that a man hath of abundance, the less he hath of assurance. p Jo. Bier Esquier. Dartford. Kent.	LM 2008, p. 101d
1791	Kent	Dartford	Great expenses oftentimes used consumeth great riches. Anne Bere. Dartf. Kent	LM 2009, p. 173d
1809	Suss.	Ardingley	<i>Careat successibus obto quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat.</i> p Ioannem Culpeper. Ardinleigh. Sussex.	LM 2009, p. 178a
1839	Midd.	Westminster	As God wil, so be it. The office of the Grenecloth. Westm.	LM 2008, p. 108d
1863	Suss.	Brighton	Drawe Brighthempston a good lot, or else return them a turbot. Per John Turpin. Sussex.	LM 2008, p. 104c

1898	Suss.	Poynings	For my Riall I crave, good fortune to have. Dorothie Threl. Poynings. Sussex.	LM 2009, p. 175d
1988	Suss.	Lewes	I and the rest hope for the best. p Richard Brode. Lewes. Sussex.	LM 2008, p. 109d
1991	Suss.	Lewes	God gyve me his grace, that I may live well. per Jo. Stope of Lewis. Sussex.	LM 2009, p. 163b
1993	Suss.	Lewes	I put in frely, bycause I would winne. Per John Derkin. Lewis. Sussex.	LM 2008, p. 115b
2148	Kent	Chelsfield	Nought hazarde, nought win. p the parish of Chelfielde. Kent.	LM 2008, p. 107a
2419	York N	Skipton Castle	Have with you for company. p Henric. Comitem. Cumbr. Skipton.	LM 2009, p. 175d
2423	York N	Skipton Castle	Have with you for companie. p Henricum comitem Cumbr. Skipton	LM 2009, p. 163c
2458	York N	Skipton Castle	Have with you for companie. p Henric. Comitem Cumbr. Skipton.	LM 2009, p. 178b
2603	York N	Calton	Lead thy life in loyaltie. p John Lambert. Calton.	LM 2009, p. 162d
2623	York N	Calton	Lead thy life in loyaltie. p John Lambert. Calton.	LM 2009, p. 162b
2691	York N	Calton	Leade thy life in loyaltie. p. Jo. Lambert. Calton	LM 2008, p. 159c
2928	Notts	Nottingham	I hope to speede when time shall serve. p Marmaduke Gregory of Notingham town.	LM 2008, p. 116d
3135	Gloucs	Bristol	Hap wel, for Wil. Pepwel Bristoll.	LM 2009, p. 170a
3211	Gloucs	Bristol	Hap well. p Wil. Pepwel of Bristol.	LM 2008, p. 105d
3215	Gloucs	Bristol	Hap well. Per William Pepwell. Bristoll.	LM 2009, p. 174c
3222	Gloucs	Bristol	Hap well for Wil. Pepwel of Bristol.	LM 2008, p. 110a
3273	Gloucs	Bristol	God be my speede. P Antho. Standbanck. Bristol.	LM 2009, p. 168c
3400	Gloucs	Bristol	God fortune and grace, to Mombridge place, be it earely or late, P Wil. Yate.	LM 2009, p. 174c
3431	Gloucs	Bristol	Good fortune and grace, to Mombridge place, be it early or late, P William Yate. Bristoll.	LM 2009, p. 166d
3435	Gloucs	Bristol	Good fortune and grace, to Mombridge place, be it early or late, P William Yate. Bristoll.	LM 2009, p. 162d
3461	Gloucs	Bristol	Good fortune and grace, to Mombridge place, be it early or late. p William Yate. Bristoll.	LM 2009, p. 165b
3811	Gloucs	Bristol	The lottes be cast in lap, but the Lorde gives the hap. Thomas Chester, Bristol.	LM 2008, p. 100c
3853	Gloucs	Bristol	The lottes be cast in lap, but the Lord giveth the hap. Thom. Chester. Bristol.	LM 2008, p. 115d
3889	Gloucs	Bristol	The lots be cast in lap, but the Lorde gyves the hap. Tho. Chester. Bristoll.	LM 2009, p. 165b
4047	Gloucs	Bristol	The lots be cast in lap, but the Lorde giveth the hap. Tho. Chester. Bristoll.	LM 2008, p. 109c
4151	Gloucs	Bristol	The lottes be cast in lap, but the Lord giveth the hap. Thomas Chester of Bristoll.	LM 2008, p. 104c
4214	Gloucs	Bristol	The lottes be cast in lap, but the Lorde gives the happe. Thomas Chester. Bristoll.	LM 2008, p. 103b
4352	Gloucs	Bristol	The lottes be cast in lap, but the Lord giveth hap. Thomas Chester. Bristoll.	LM 2008, p. 116c
4362	Gloucs	Bristol	In our beginning, God be our speede, in grace and vertue to proceede. I. Prat. Brist.	LM 2008, p. 117c
4486	Wilts	Salisbury	God [ha]th appoynted, and I am pleased. p Anthony [Wa]kes. Sar.	LM 2008, p. 117c
4506	Wilts	Salisbury	God hath apointed, and I am pleased. p Anthony Wykes. Sar.	LM 2009, p. 170c
4541	Wilts	Salisbury	The kingdome of God is neither meat nor drink. p Rogerum Tanner. Sar.	LM 2008, p. 116a
4628	Wilts	Salisbury	Lorde let some come. p Peter Herne. Sarum.	LM 2008, p. 100b
4717	Wilts	Salisbury	Fortune be friendly. p John Bayly. Sarum.	LM 2008, p. 115c
4859	Midd.	London	Lord it is in thy mightie powre, to make beggers riche in an houre. p William Lambe. Gent. London.	LM 2009, p. 167b
4925	York W	Aston	Allowe to Aston abundantly. John, lord Darcie.	LM 2009, p. 167a
4950	York W	Aston	Allowe to Aston abundantly. p John Dun Darcie. Aston.	LM 2008, p. 114d
4986	York W	Hatfield Gate	God sende good hap to Hatfield. p Henric. Sawer armig. Hatfield.	LM 2009, p. 167a
5036	York W	Rotherham	Gyve me hap and cast me into the Sea. p Wil. liam Swifte. Rotheram.	LM 2009, p. 162c
5206	York W	Rotherham	Rewarde Rotheram richely. p William Swifte. Rotheram.	LM 2009, p. 167d
5453	Surrey	Cobham	I will take it as it is, whether I shall hit or misse. p Ja. Codhelfe. Cobham.	LM 2008, p. 114a
5454	Surrey	Cobham	I will take it as it is, whether I shall hit or mis. p Ja. Codhelfe. Cobham.	LM 2008, p. 105d
5616	Surrey	Kingston on Thames	Let us make good cheere, John Stephan hath ben here. p Jo. Stephan de Kingston sup Thames.	LM 2009, p. 163a
5619	Surrey	Kingston upon Thames	Let us make good cheere, John Shephan hath bene here. p Joh. Shephan de Kingston sup. Thames.	LM 2008, p. 109c

5773	Dorset	Abbotsbury	To save or spil, as fortune wil. John Yong. Abbotsbury.	LM 2009, p. 162b
5826	Dorset	Bindon	Hope helpeth. Tho. Lorde Howard. Viscount Bindon.	LM 2008, p. 108d
5848	Dorset	Bindon	Hope helpeth. Tho. Lorde Haward, Viscount Bindon.	LM 2008, p. 105a
5857	Dorset	Bindon	Hope helpeth. Thomas Lord Howard. Vicount Bindon.	LM 2009, p. 161c
5927	Dorset	Bindon	Hope helpeth. Tho. Lord Howard. Viscount Byndon.	LM 2008, p. 106a
5969	Dorset	Bindon	I hope after hap. p Gertrude Light. Bindon.	LM 2008, p. 103a
6345	Bucks	Bradenham	<i>In Domino confido.</i> p Edward Dominum Windsore. Bradenham.	LM 2008, p. 107a
6347	Bucks	Bradenham	<i>In Domino confido.</i> p Edmundum, Dom. Windsor. Bradenham.	LM 2009, p. 174c
6500	Bucks	Denham	<i>Non fortuna Deus.</i> p Georgium Peckham. Denham.	LM 2009, p. 161a
6737	Bucks	Dorney	Good lucke to Dorney. p Richard Tirrey. Dorney.	LM 2008, p. 113d
6795	Bucks	Dorney	Good lucke to Dorney. p Ric. Tirrey. Dorney.	LM 2008, p. 118b
6799	Bucks	Dorney	Good luck to Dorney. Richard Tirry of Dorney.	LM 2009, p. 170d
6817	Bucks	Dorney	Good lucke to Dorney. p Rich. Tirrey. Dorney.	LM 2008, p. 118a
6830	Bucks	Dorney	Good lucke to Dorney. p Ric. Tirrey. Dorney.	LM 2008, p. 109d
6930	Bucks	Ellesborough	<i>Oia desuper.</i> W. Hautry. Ellisborough.	LM 2009, p. 160b
6961	Bucks	Ellesborough	<i>Omnia desuper.</i> Wil. Hawtree of Ellesborough.	LM 2009, p. 175a
7019	Bucks	Chalfont St Giles	Touche and take. p Walter Beckelsey. Chalfount S. Giles.	LM 2009, p. 174b
7046	Bucks	Great Chesham	Truthe trieth all. P. Robert Ashfeld of Chelsham magna.	LM 2009, p. 160a
7270	Bucks	Hambleton	Trust not in chaunce, god wil advaunce. p Robert Saunders. Hambleton.	LM 2008, p. 111c
7271	Bucks	Hambleton	Trust not in chaunce, God will advaunce. p Rob. Saunders. Hambleton.	LM 2009, p. 165a
7534	York Y	York	<i>Mea sorte contentus ero.</i> John Leadall of Yorke.	LM 2009, p. 170b
7900	York Y	York	Happy man hardy. p Richard Cailbon of Yorke.	LM 2009, p. 167a
8185	York E ?	Wold Newton ?	Nought venture, nought have. per John Raise of Newton.	LM 2008, p. 117d
8610	York E	Filey	Filey, God send thee lucke. p William Lutton of Filey.	LM 2009, p. 162b
8782	Gloucs	Buckland	The Lord is he that fortune sendeth. p Thomas Maunsel. Buckland. Kistgate.	LM 2009, p. 173c
8945	Gloucs	Coaley	Good lucke and good fortune. p Richard Pedler. Colley Berkley.	LM 2009, p. 175d
9299	Gloucs	Southam	Seven or eleven, at the fairest. p Jacob de la bere. Southam Clere.	LM 2009, p. 161d
9308	Gloucs	Gotherington	The more, the more welcome. p Richard Weller Godrington Cleve.	LM 2009, p. 165b
9345	Gloucs	Tibberton	I am a pore childe of foure yeares of age, and thys is given to my mariage. John Wats. Tevorton. Botlow.	LM 2008, p. 112b
9351	Gloucs	Ashchurch	We put in this for lack of store. p Roger Ferris Ashechurch. Tewxbery.	LM 2009, p. 170d
9352	Gloucs	Ashchurch	We put in this for lacke of store. p Roger Ferris of Ashechurch. Tewxberie.	LM 2009, p. 164c
9502	Gloucs	Churcham	He that jeopardeth nothyng, nothyng is lyke to have. p John Greene. Churcham, Westburie.	LM 2009, p. 170a
9911	Devon	Exeter St Pancras	Imitate Christ, and expel vice. God send me the greatest prise. p Ric. Sprowze. S. Pancras. Exon.	LM 2008, p. 107b
9926	Devon	Exeter St Pancras	Imitate Christ, and expell vice, God sende me the greatest prise. p Rich. Sprowze S. Pancras Exon.	LM 2008, p. 103a
10207	Devon	Exeter Olaves Saint	Humilitie rewarded. John Periam, Junior, Saint Tooles, Exeter.	LM 2009, p. 170c
10359	Salop ?	Shipton ?	Naught venter, naught have. p Gabriel Pauly. Shipton.	LM 2008, p. 113c
10558	Midd.	Harrow on the Hill	If chaunce helpe not, I must lay to gage, wherfore helpe fortune, my name is Page. per John Page. Harrowe Hill.	LM 2009, p. 166c
10577	Midd.	Harrow on the Hill	When your fearse is had and all your warde is won, then shall your selfe be glad to ende that you begon. p William Barbage, Harowe Hill.	LM 2009, p. 166d
10604	Surrey ?	Norwood ?	<i>Quicquid peccat superior, inferior borret.</i> p Robert Ironmonger. Norwood.	LM 2008, p. 101c
10681	Midd.	Enfield	Wisedome liketh not chaunce. p Sir Thomas Wroth, Knight of Enfield.	LM 2008, p. 103a
10705	Midd.	Enfield	Wisdome liketh not chaunce. p Thomas Wroth Knight. Enfield.	LM 2008, p. 114d
10708	Midd.	Enfield	Wisdome liketh not chaunce. p Thom. Wroth. militem. Enfeld.	LM 2008, p. 109c
10715	Midd.	??	I pray God send us good speed, for of the great lot we stande in great neede. p R. Martin. Midd.	LM 2008, p. 99b
10859	Midd.	Holborn	Hey Hoborne, God be thy speede, for of the great lot, thou hast neede. p John Hoge. Midd.	LM 2009, p. 163b
10899	Notts	Nottingham	Provide the prise for the pore. p Nichol. Plomtree ville Notingham.	LM 2009, p. 160a
10984	Kent	Lynsted	God be my speede, for of the best lot I have moste neede. Tho. Bacon. Linsted. Kent.	LM 2008, p. 108b

11033	Kent	Staplehurst	God sende Goldeham good lucke p Tho. Goldham, Staplehurst. Kent.	LM 2009, p. 165b
11156	Devon	Great Torrington	I trust in winding. p Thomas Genning of Torrington magna.	LM 2008, p. 103d
11244	Northants	??	There is no time to crave, till that my lot I have. p John Seickomb of Northampt. Peter Will.	LM 2008, p. 110b
11427	Devon	Highampton	I will blowe my horne. p John Bordon of Heigh Hamton.	LM 2008, p. 99a
11471	Devon	Thornbury	Thrive well Thorneberie. p Humfrey Specket of Thornebery.	LM 2009, p. 163c
11610	Devon ?	Rose Ash ?	To have some gayne, I would be fayne. Jo. Yarde of Arshevaffer.	LM 2008, p. 104d
11755	Devon	Dolton	He that his chaunce is a good lot to have, God send him good luck it well to save. John Stafforde de Dolton.	LM 2008, p. 118a
11842	Devon	Coldridge	If God will have for the best. John Helcombe of Colrig.	LM 2009, p. 166a
11926	Devon	Merton	Good fortune. p Phillip Bemet of Martin.	LM 2009, p. 169a
11933	Midd.	London	For the Haberdashers. Oure summe put in, is in hope to win. p C. and H. London.	LM 2008, p. 108b
12049	Devon	Hankford near Bulkworthy (Buckland Brewer)	Jesus be my speede. p Edward Shepman of Hankforde.	LM 2009, p. 161d
12162	Devon	Wooleigh Barton (Beaford)	Welcome fortune. p John Mallet of Wolley.	LM 2009, p. 175a
12256	Devon	Bovey Tracey	If ought or nought come, welcome. p Thomam Southcote. Bovitracie.	LM 2009, p. 164a
12262	Cheshire	Chester	Do well and doubt not. p Richardum Dutton de Chester.	LM 2009, p. 173b
12434	Devon	Clovelly	Without desert. Per Robert Carey of Clavelly.	LM 2008, p. 114a
12492	Devon	Holsworthy	I live in hope. p Roger Prideaux of Holsory.	LM 2009, p. 173a
12508	Dorset	Spetisbury	Let fortune favour where she list, but I in God do put my trust. Tho. Dewey of Spettisburie.	LM 2008, p. 99c
12632	Devon	Barnstaple	God send them good hap, that have most lucke. Per Rich. Barnestaple.	LM 2008, p. 104b
12724	Devon	Marwood	So God be pleased, we are eased. p John Marwood of Marwood.	LM 2008, p. 102d
12795	Devon	Shirwell	We be eight, God send us right. p John Simons the elder, of Sherwel.	LM 2008, p. 100a
13094	Devon	Barnstaple	One and thirtie lotts God send a faire day, for the maintenance of the long bridge and finishing of the Kay. p I. Dart of Barnestaple.	LM 2008, p. 107d
13098	Devon	Barnstaple	One and thirtie lotts, God send a faire day, for the maintenaunce of the long bridge, and finishing of the Kay. John Dart of Barnestaple.	LM 2009, p. 161c
13135	Devon	Barnstaple	The father of Heaven send us gaine, for in buylding for the comon welth we have taken great paine. p John Arscot. Barnesta.	LM 2008, p. 112a
13138	Devon	Barnstaple	The father of heaven sende us gaine, for in building for the common welth we have taken great paine. p Jo. Arscot of Barnestaple.	LM 2009, p. 172b
13174	Devon	Barnstaple	The father of heaven send us gain, for in buylding for the common wealth we have taken grete paine. p I. Arscot of Barnestaple.	LM 2008, p. 116b
13226	Devon	Barnstaple	The father of Heaven sende us gaine, for in buyldyng for the common wealthe we have taken grete paine. John Arscot of Barnestaple.	LM 2008, p. 109d
13238	Devon	Barnstaple	The father of heaven sende us gay[ne] for in buylding for the commonwealthe, we have taken great paine. p John Arscot of Barnestaple.	LM 2008, p. 107c
13241	Somerset	Chipstable	God send me a good lot. p John Howel of Chipstable.	LM 2008, p. 108b
13278	Devon	Barnstaple	I am in health, whole and sounde, God send me a prise of a thousande pounce. p Oliver Pearde of Barnstaple.	LM 2008, p. 110b
13407	Devon	Barnstaple	God sende us good fortune. p Ric. Wetherege of Barnestaple.	LM 2008, p. 100d
13416	Devon	Barnstaple	God send us good fortune. p Ric. Whetherege of Barnestaple.	LM 2008, p. 105d
13518	Oxon	Broughton Castle	Not covetous, p Richard Fennis of Broughton.	LM 2008, p. 106b
13569	Oxon	Sibford	Priestes love pretie wenchis. p Rich. [Eneck]. Sibforde.	LM 2008, p. 100c
13578	Oxon ?	Deddington ?	O God to thee I cal, that the great lot to me may fal.l Per Elizabeth Billag of Dudington.	LM 2008, p. 115a
13717	Oxon	Hampton Poyle	Hap well have well. p Tho. Wighting of Hampton Doyle.	LM 2008, p. 99b
13824	Oxon	Cogges and Wilcote	Let fortune helpe Cogs and Wilcot. p William Brian of Cogs and Wilcot.	LM 2009, p. 162c
14126	Oxon	Horton cum Studley	Fortune I would, that see thou could. p Henricum Parslo of Horton.	LM 2009, p. 168a
14251	Oxon	Williamscot	What shall we do with a smal, when we neede the best of all? p William Townshed of William Scot.	LM 2008, p. 108b
14266	Oxon	Charlbury	The great one, or none. p Thom. Harrys of Charlburie.	LM 2008, p. 108c
14278	Oxon	Wardington	Jesus be our speed, p Wil. Colman of Wardington.	LM 2008, p. 116d

14401	Heref	Bridstow	If I be happie I shal speede wel. p Johannem Higgens Vicar de Bradstow.	LM 2009, p. 176a
14411	Salop	Whitchurch	I am a poore man, and sixe daughters I have. per Albright Taylour de Whitechurch.	LM 2009, p. 168d
14414	Heref ?	??	Glad to receive, P Hugh Apperry. Esquier.	LM 2009, p. 161d
14441	Heref	Holme Lacy	<i>Modo vel nunquam.</i> John Scudemore de Home. armig.	LM 2009, p. 160b
14510	Heref	Upton Bishop	With money I lyve. P John Beale of Bishopsupton.	LM 2009, p. 177a
14520	Heref ?	??	It is commonly said, that the olde dog biteth sore. James Hardwicke.	LM 2009, p. 167d
14586	Heref	St Weonards	I pray God send me a good lotte. P Rich. Jeyne de S. Wamerthes.	LM 2009, p. 162d
14719	Heref	Whitebourne	Faith is the gyft of God. P Thomas Fidowe de Whitebourne.	LM 2009, p. 160c
14870	Heref	Norton Canon	God save our Queene, I care not whether I lose or win. P Richard Chabnour Clark de Norton.	LM 2009, p. 162d
14904	Heref	Moreton	God save the Queene, p Thom. Greene de Moreton.	LM 2008, p. 159d
14983	Heref	Hatfield (Docklow)	Hast not Hatfield, for lots go by lucke. p Thomas Coneston of Docklow.	LM 2008, p. 103c
15011	Heref	Richards Castle	Blunt abideth to have the best. p Francis Blunt de Ricards Castle.	LM 2008, p. 110a
15055	Heref	Leysters	Laiesters liveth by love. p Rogerum Bennet.	LM 2008, p. 104c
15362	Heref	Hereford	If lucke hit none of thirtie, then cast hym under borde, if one of thirtie speede, then lucke shall be a Lord. P Thomas Church de civit. Heref.	LM 2009, p. 174d
15558	Heref	Hereford	Harry, John, Hughe and Phill, may have the best lot if God will. p Jo. Ellis, Deane of Hereff.	LM 2008, p. 103a
15629	Oxon	Clattercote	Whether I win the great lot or small, I rest content as chaunce doth fall. p Thom. Lee de Clattercot.	LM 2009, p. 177a
15640	Oxon	Clattercote	Whether I win the great or small, I rest content as chaunce doth fall. p Thom. Lee. Clattercote.	LM 2009, p. 173d
15656	Oxon	Clattercote	Whether I win the great or small, I rest content as chaunce doth fall. Thom. Lee of Clattercote.	LM 2009, p. 169b
15683	Oxon	Clattercote	Whether I win the great or small, I rest content as chaunce doth fal. p Thomas Lee. Clattercot.	LM 2009, p. 169b
15719	Oxon	Clattercote	Whether I win the great or small, I rest centent [sic] as chaunce doth fall. p Tho. Lee de Clatercot.	LM 2008, p. 100b
15735	Oxon	Calthorpe	As God doth see, most meete for me, so certainly, my lot shal be. George Danvars of Cothorpe.	LM 2009, p. 172b
15789	Worcs	Worcester	Occupations doe lacke money to occupy, therfore God defend them from povertie. p Wil. Porter de Civi. Wigorne.	LM 2008, p. 159b
15870	Devon	Exeter	If God do sende any good fortune at last, the lions pawe will hold it fast. p Ric. Sweete free of the companie of Merchants of Oxon.	LM 2009, p. 174d
15886	Devon	Exeter	If God do sende any good fortune at last, the lions pawe will hold it fast. p Ric Sweetefree of the companie of the March. of Exet.	LM 2008, p. 101b
15914	Warks	Coughton	God send good fortune. p Sir Robert Throkmorton of Coughton.	LM 2008, p. 105d
15916	Warks	Coughton	God send good fortune. p Sir Rob. Throgmerton of Coughton.	LM 2008, p. 108d
15962	Warks ?	Burmington ?	Nowe for the best. p Robert Chambers of Burdington.	LM 2008, p. 101a
16013	Warks	Hatton	<i>Destinavit Deus.</i> p Clement Dicheriche de Hatton.	LM 2008, p. 99d
16022	Warks	Hasely	<i>Sit arbiter.</i> p William Sheparde de Haseley.	LM 2009, p. 162d
16042	Warks	Rowington	Better is leysure what chaunce so betide, than hastily to climbe, and sodeinly to slide. p William Hancotes de Rowington.	LM 2009, p. 167d
16057	Warks	Stratford upon Avon	Helpe Lorde where neede is. p Richarde Hill de Stratford super Alven.	LM 2008, p. 106d
16062	Warks	Stratford upon Avon	For the reliefe of many. p Radulphum Cawdry de Stretford super Alven.	LM 2008, p. 99d
16084	Warks ?	Claverdon ?	Sie retrrive. p Peter Clarke of Clardone.	LM 2008, p. 117a
16144	Oxon	Witney	Good lucke upwardes. The towne of Whitney. Oxon.	LM 2008, p. 107d
16154	Oxon	Witney	Good lucke upward, the town of Whitney. Oxon.	LM 2008, p. 109c
16158	Oxon	Witney	Good lucke upward. The towne of Whitney. Oxon.	LM 2008, p. 113c
16233	Oxon	Burford	<i>Si Deus nobiscum.</i> p Edmund Armond, Esquier de Burforde.	LM 2009, p. 173d
16270	Oxon	Woodstock	Repentaunce with grace of God we crave, a better lot what man can have? p George Whittin of Woodstocke.	LM 2009, p. 174c
16306	Oxon	Woodstock	Repentaunce with grace of God we crave, a better lot what man can have. p George Whittin of Woodstocke.	LM 2008, p. 116d
16362	Oxon	Woodstock	Repentaunce with grace of God we crave, a better lot what man can have? George Whittin. Woodstocke.	LM 2009, p. 168a
16548	Devon	Kenton	As God shall appoint, so am I content. p Emanuell Drewe of Kinton.	LM 2008, p. 102a
16584	Devon	Bishopsteignton	Arise a right. p Thomas Hewit of Bishoptenton.	LM 2008, p. 101c
16594	Devon	Mamhead	Rise right. p Wi. Will of Manhead.	LM 2009, p. 170a
16644	Devon ?	Moretonhampstead ?	God worketh all. p William Carpenter of Morton.	LM 2008, p. 109b

16719	Devon	Bovey Tracey	Contented with the best. Per Peter Penson of Bovy.Trasey.	LM 2009, p. 164d
16807	Devon	Doddyscombsle igh	God sende me good lucke. p John Saunder of Dodes Comlye.	LM 2008, p. 100b
16866	Devon	Exeter Cathedral	<i>Domine hic autem quid ? p Decanum e³ Capitulum Exon.</i>	LM 2008, p. 111a
16880	Devon	Exeter Cathedral	<i>Domine hic autem quid ? p Decanum et Capitulum Exon.</i>	LM 2008, p. 100d
16940	Devon	Exeter Cathedral	<i>Domine hit autem quid ? p Decanum e³ Capitulum Exon.</i>	LM 2008, p. 101b
16961	Devon	Exeter Diocese	Beware of had I wist. By me William Exon.	LM 2008, p. 110b
17013	Devon	Clyst Hydon	Nor thyne nor myne, but let it be devided. By me John Wright Person of Clifthidon in Devon.	LM 2008, p. 111b
17165	Devon	Totnes	If God be with us, who can be against us ? By me William Marwood, Officiall of Totton in Devon.	LM 2008, p. 110b
17185	Devon	Totnes	If God be with us, who can be against us ? By me William Marwood, Officiall of Totton in Devon.	LM 2008, p. 110c
17310	Devon	Exeter	The castle standing upon the waves of the sea, I trust shal carie some lots away. By Joh. Levermore, free of the Company of Marchaunts of Exon	LM 2008, p. 111b
17445	Warks	Polesworth	Have at all. p Nich. Grue of Polesworth.	LM 2008, p. 100d
17495	Warks	Birmingham	Light is the paine, wherof commeth gaine. p W. Michell of Bremingeham.	LM 2009, p. 173d
17568	Warks	Pillerton Hersey	God sende me good fortune. p A[n]ker Brente of Pillerton. Hersey.	LM 2008, p. 103b
17598	Warks	Fenny Compton	God sende us good lucke. John Churchell of Fenycmpton.	LM 2009, p. 167a
17791	Warks	Compton Verney	<i>Ut possumus, quando ut volumus non licet.</i> p Elizabeth Porter. Compton of Verney.	LM 2009, p. 170a
17851	Devon	Buckland in the Moor	God sende it good speed. p Nic. Withicom of Bucklande.	LM 2009, p. 164d
17861	Devon	Widcombe in the Moor	God sende winning. p Richard Rug of Wedicom.	LM 2008, p. 110b
17922	Devon	Kenn	I trust in God. p Jo. Gere of Kyne.	LM 2008, p. 113c
17997	Devon	Ipplepen	Send good lucke, God save the Queene. p John of Applepen.	LM 2009, p. 165a
18236	Devon	Exeter	Cast the grapple over the bote, if God wil for the great lot. By me Nich. Martin, free of the companie of Marchautes of [Exon.]	LM 2008, p. 99a
18280	Devon	Exeter	Cast the Grapple over the bote, if God will, for the best lot. By Nicholas Martin, free of the Company of the Merchaunts of Exon.	LM 2009, p. 162c
18487	Cornw	Manaccan	In the name of God, somewhat I shall have. Per Walter Rassely of Monachan in Cornewall.	LM 2009, p. 178b
18596	Cornw	Mawgan-in- Meneage	Nought hazarde, nought win. p John Vinyon of Mowgan in Cornewall.	LM 2008, p. 117b
18684	Midd.	London	Thou knewest me ere I was begot, and knowest who I am and shall be, to prosper therefore dispose my lot, that I may the better serve thee. p George Alkington. London.	LM 2008, p. 117c
18908	Midd.	London	The Lorde in olde time provided full well, a good prosperous lot to maintain Israel. Israel Hunter. London	LM 2008, p. 117d
19037	Midd.	London	Gibers, Cole, and Florida, have brought me into great decay, I pray to God of his mercie and grace, that this may take better place. Thom. Parkins. London.	LM 2009, p. 168c
19111	Midd.	London	Lord after thy justice judge not me, but after thy mercy and pitie. David Morgan ap Thomas. London.	LM 2009, p. 166a
19289	Midd.	London	<i>Sinite nummos venire ad parvulos.</i> Thomas Colbie of Grayes Inne.	LM 2008, p. 106b
19827	Midd.	London	As Fortune doth appoint me, so goth my good wil, whither I have good lot, or whither I have ill. p John Dale. London.	LM 2009, p. 170a
20104	Herts	Hertford ?	Win a goose, or lose a feather. John Andrew Hertf.	LM 2009, p. 172c
20200	Midd.	London	God speede the plough and we shall have corne ynough. p Tho. S. London.	LM 2008, p. 114a
20307	Midd.	London	I hope with wood, heere in this ward, the great lot to obtaine, but if I might choose, I wold not refuse, the rest that there remaine, Henry Ayer. London.	LM 2008, p. 159c
20394	Gloucs	??	Of this money I set no store, if it be lost God will send more. Thom. Rogers. Glocestershire.	LM 2008, p. 111c
20400	Midd.	London	Good will and desire, makes two Flemmings to lay in heere. S.D.S. London.	LM 2009, p. 165c
20427	Midd.	London	Good will and desire maketh two Flemmings to lay in here. S.D.S. London.	LM 2008, p. 109d
20459	Midd.	London	Good will and desire, makes two Flemmyngs to lay in here. S.D.S. London.	LM 2008, p. 109d
20490	Midd.	London	Good will and desire, makes two Flemmings to lay in here. [S.D.S.], London.	LM 2008, p. 102c
20653	Midd.	London	<i>Nec spe, nec metu.</i> R.L.	LM 2009, p. 170b
20816	Midd.	London	<i>Nec spe, nec metu.</i> R.L.	LM 2008, p. 114c

20841	Midd.	London	<i>Nec spe, nec metu. R.L.</i>	LM 2009, p. 169d
20873	Midd.	London	<i>Nec spe, nec metu. R.L.</i>	LM 2008, p. 112b
20932	Midd.	London	<i>Nec spe nec metu. R.L.</i>	LM 2008, p. 159d
20972	Midd.	London	<i>Nec spe, nec metu. R.L.</i>	LM 2008, p. 111d
20983	Midd.	London	<i>Nec spe nec metu. R.L.</i>	LM 2008, p. 113b
21113	Midd.	London	<i>Nec spe, nec metu. R.L.</i>	LM 2009, p. 160b
21157	Midd.	London	<i>Nec spe, nec metu. R.L.</i>	LM 2008, p. 113c
21232	Midd.	London	I hope for the best, for the worst I care not. Raph Lane.	LM 2008, p. 110a
21259	Midd.	London	I hope for the best, for the worst I care not. Rafe Lane. London,	LM 2008, p. 116b
21486	Midd.	London	Suche lotte as we finde, shall content our minde. William and Richarde Horden, and Michael Green. London.	LM 2008, p. 117d
21698	Midd.	London	<i>Nec dolore, nec gaudio.</i> Edward Dier.	LM 2009, p. 165d
21706	Midd.	London	<i>Nec dolore, nec gaudio.</i> Per Edward Dyer.	LM 2008, p. 117b
21896	Midd.	London	<i>Par forza d'amore.</i> [...] [L]ondon.	LM 2009, p. 164c
21914	Midd. ?	London ?	<i>Vivre en esperance.</i> Katherin Smith.	LM 2009, p. 175a
22164	Midd.	London	The Blacksmiths hammer resembles the sound, of Musikes sweete tunes, which Tuball fyrste founde. William Tanner. Lond.	LM 2008, p. 117d
22263	Midd.	London	<i>Dei voluntas fiat.</i> p William Roche. London.	LM 2009, p. 164c
22427	Devon	Raleigh	Where no guyle is ye vertue is smal, where guyle is it is to much by all. p Sir Jo. Chester of Raleigh.	LM 2009, p. 167b
22511	Midd.	London	The Carpenters wish both great and smal, to have a good lot amongst them all. Laurence Bradshaw. London.	LM 2008, p. 116a
22632	Midd.	London	Whatsoever in this lotterie to us shall fall, we Weavers of London will prayse God for all. Christopher Smith. London.	LM 2009, p. 161a
22809	Essex	Aldham ?	Come to me what lot that shall, the mercie of the Lorde I aske withall. Roger Parker. Essex.	LM 2009, p. 166d
22860	Midd.	London	<i>In sinum proiecit sors, at a Iehoua est omne iudicium eius.</i> William Hergest. London.	LM 2008, p. 101c
22907	Essex	??	Hit I, or misse I, I must be content, but for to hit well is mine intent. John Wolmare. Essex.	LM 2009, p. 166a
22966	Ireland	Cork	In the name of the holy Ghost. per Jhon Galwey. Ireland.	LM 2009, p. 169d
22998	Midd.	London	God giveth all. Henry Farrington. London.	LM 2008, p. 102c
23079	Midd.	London	Philip Res[i]don is my name in deede, God send me a good lot now at my neede. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 114c
23118	Midd.	London	This is my posie and nowe I begin, I woulde not lose but gladly for to win. Stephen Cob. Lond.	LM 2009, p. 164d
23319	Midd.	London	<i>Deus dat cui vult.</i> Dirick Anthony. London.	LM 2008, p. 100d
23416	Midd.	London	As God hath appointed, the Paynters be contented. Tho. Wadnall. London.	LM 2008, p. 116b
23915	Midd.	St Anne & St Agnes (London)	We Brewers God sende us, a good lot to mend us. John Stephens of the parische of S.Annes.	LM 2008, p. 117d
23969	Midd.	London	As God will, so be it. p John Bunting of London. Baker.	LM 2009, p. 164d
24115	Midd.	London	<i>Et mihi e3 multis.</i> Rob. Shute reader of Graves Inne.	LM 2008, p. 107a
24406	Surrey	Lambeth	As God will so be it. M. Thomas Colbie of Lambeth.	LM 2009, p. 169a
24425	Surrey	Lambeth	As God will, so be it. M. Thomas Colby of Lambeth.	LM 2008, p. 114c
24438	Surrey	Lambeth	As God will, so be it. P M. Thom. Colbie of Lambeth.	LM 2009, p. 166c
24575	Essex	Maldon	If a very riche prise arise should to our lot, al that would be implyed on our decayed porte. Thomas Spickernell of Mawlden in Essex.	LM 2008, p. 114d
25086	Midd.	London	Blow up thou trumpette, and sounde for me, for good lucke comes here doe I see. Peter Stob of S. Peters in Cheape in Lond.	LM 2008, p. 101d
25132	Midd.	London	I have alwayes ment well, and have had ill hap, God send me a good lot to recompence that. Elizabeth Neale in S. Johns Streete in London.	LM 2008, p. 106c
25308	Berks	Frilsham	As God willeth, so let it be. James Pecoock. Frylsam.	LM 2009, p. 169c
25406	Heref	Ricards Castle	Blunt abideth to have the best. P Francis Blunt de Richard Castell.	LM 2009, p. 165c
25428	Heref	Laysters	Layesters liveth by love. P Rogerus Bennet de Wouton.	LM 2009, p. 164c
25431	Heref	Leominster	If fortune laughe, the lot is myne. p Richardus Perin de Lemster.	LM 2008, p. 115a
25665	Heref	Hereford	<i>Comite fortuna.</i> p Edwardus Cowper Arch. de Heref.	LM 2008, p. 108a
26103	Midd.	London	The light shining in darknesse. O.D. London.	LM 2009, p. 166b
26114	Midd.	London	The light shining in darcknesse. O.D. London.	LM 2009, p. 167a
26176	Midd.	London	The light [...]. O.D. London.	LM 2009, p. 165c
26209	Midd.	London	Who so feareth the Lorde, it shall be well with him. O.D. London.	LM 2009, p. 167a
26244	Midd.	London	Who so feareth the Lorde, it shall be well with him. OD. London.	LM 2009, p. 165a

26246	Midd.	London	Who so feareth the Lord, it shal be wel with him. O.D. London.	LM 2009, p. 169d
26249	Midd.	London	Who so feareth the Lord, it shal be wel with him. O.D. London.	LM 2009, p. 175a
26340	Midd.	London	The begynnyng of wysedome, is the feare of the Lorde. O.D. of London.	LM 2008, p. 100b
26521	Midd.	London	He that is mighty, hath done great things for me. O.D. London.	LM 2008, p. 105a
26926	York Y	York	<i>veritas temporis filia</i> . Tho. Archebishop of Yorke.	LM 2009, p. 165a
26987	York Y	York	<i>Veritas temporis filia</i> . Tho. Archebishop of Yorke.	LM 2009, p. 167a
27045	York Y	York	<i>Veritas temporis filia</i> . Tho. Archebishop of Yorke.	LM 2009, p. 167a
27046	York Y	York	<i>Veritas temporis filia</i> . Thom. Archebishop of Yorke.	LM 2008, p. 102c
27058	York Y	York	<i>Veritas temporis filia</i> . Tho. Archbishop of Yorke.	LM 2008, p. 109d
27098	York Y	York	<i>Veritas temporis filia</i> . Tho. Archbishop of Yorke.	LM 2009, p. 165d
27346	York Y	York	<i>In te Domine operavi</i> . Gregory Pecocke of Yorke.	LM 2009, p. 164b
27822	York Y	York	God the gyver of all, send me the great lot before the smal. Ric. Morton de York.	LM 2008, p. 104b
28041	York Y	York	As I have neede, God be my speede. James Beckwith of Yorke.	LM 2008, p. 118a
28117	Midd.	London	God from whom all things. O.D. London.	LM 2008, p. 100c
28252	Midd.	London	God be merciful unto me. O.D. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 116d
28305	Midd.	London	God be mercifull unto me. O.D. of London.	LM 2008, p. 99d
28315	Midd.	London	God be merciful to me. O.D. London.	LM 2008, p. 106d
28344	Midd.	London	God sende me good lucke to his pleasure. p O.D.. London.	LM 2008, p. 99d
28349	Midd.	London	God send me good lucke to his pleasure. O.D. London.	LM 2008, p. 111c
28374	Midd.	London	God sende me good luck to his pleasure. O.D. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 110d
28402	Midd.	London	God sende me good lucke to his pleasure. O.D. London.	LM 2008, p. 106d
28454	Midd.	London	God sende me good lucke to his pleasure. O.D. London.	LM 2008, p. 109a
28456	Midd.	London	God sende me good luck to his pleasure. O.D. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 159b
28537	Midd.	London	As God be pleased, so be it. Gregory Keyster. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 116d
28563	York W	Bentley Grange (Emley)	If fortune wil, and God be pleased, I shal rejoyce. John Allot. p Emled parish in Com. Eborne.	LM 2009, p. 169c
28749	Midd.	London	<i>O clemens, ò pia. Acerbo Velutelli de Luca.</i>	LM 2008, p. 115a
29386	Devon	Netherton	Lord let luckiest lot light on Lowman. p Jo. Lowman. Netherton.	LM 2009, p. 160b
29400	Devon	Netherton	[...] uckiest lot light on Lowman. Per John Lowman. Netherton.	LM 2009, p. 174d
29491	Devon	Ottery St Mary	Trie Fortune. p John Courteney of Awtre Saint Mary.	LM 2009, p. 168b
29530	Devon	Ottery St Mary	Trie fortune. p John Courtney of Awtry Saint Marie.	LM 2008, p. 107a
29877	Devon	Sowton	The chaunce of all things, is in God. p Nicho. Lee of Sowton.	LM 2008, p. 114d
29878	Devon	Sowton	The chaunce of all things is in God. p Nich. Lee of Sowton.	LM 2008, p. 100a
30170	Devon	Colyford (Colyton)	Hop and hop highest. Richard Hopper of Coliford.	LM 2009, p. 177d
30281	Devon	Hemyock	<i>In rebus adversis, esto fortis et prudens.</i> p Rob. Rogeley of Hemyock.	LM 2009, p. 168c
30353	Devon	Broadhembury	The richest lot verily, is to dwell with God eternally. p Richard Lane of Brodhenburie.	LM 2009, p. 172c
30432	Devon	Shute	God speed me wel. Wi. Poole. Shout.	LM 2009, p. 160a
30782	Suff.	Southwold	Never ryde, never fall. p John Garrard of Southwolde.	LM 2008, p. 114d
30825	Suss.	Ringmer	I hope even luckely for gayne, aswell by this one lot, as if I had adventured twaye. By Rich. Tester. Ringnier. Sussex.	LM 2009, p. 169b
30839	Suss.	Cliffe (Lewes)	We adventure our money largely, in hope of gain accordingly. By Jo. White. Cliff next Lewys. Sussex.	LM 2009, p. 168a
30882	Suss.	Eastbourne	The having of riches is not so commodious, as the departure from them is odious. By John Offemal of the hundred, and parish of Estborne. Sussex.	LM 2008, p. 106a
30934	Suss.	Ewhurst	As mery wold I be as ye me call, if that the great lot to me would fall. Thomas Piper. Ewhurst. Sussex.	LM 2008, p. 102b
31004	Suss.	Clayton with Keymer	As God will gyve, we will receyve. p Clayton, cum Keymer. Sussex.	LM 2008, p. 116c
31151	Lincs	Louth	Louth linked in love, lucky be thy lot. p Ric. Holdernes of Louth.	LM 2009, p. 168b
31157	Lincs	Louth	Louth linked in love lucky be thy lot. Rich. Holdernes of Louth.	LM 2008, p. 112c
31178	Lincs	Louth	Lowth linckt in love, lucky be thy lot. p Richard Holdernes of Lowth.	LM 2008, p. 99b
31275	Lincs	Louth	It is better to swimme than to sincke. p William Simcote. Louthe.	LM 2008, p. 113a
31310	Lincs	Louth	It is better to swim, than to sinke. Wil. Simcote. Lowth.	LM 2008, p. 100a
31435	Dorset	Nether Compton	I oft stomble, but fall not. per Robert Hedges of nether Compton.	LM 2009, p. 177c
31461	Dorset	Mappowder	To win or lose, the Lorde shall chose. p Thomas Coker de ma. Powder. Gent.	LM 2009, p. 170a
31597	Lincs	Walesby	God make me mery. p Thom. Berry. Walesby.	LM 2009, p. 175d

31598	Lincs	Walesby	God make me mery. p Thom. Bery. Wallesby.	LM 2009, p. 178b
31612	Lincs	Croft	I am a childe of three yeare old, give me gold. p M. Cocker. Croft.	LM 2009, p. 166b
31664	Lincs	Boston	A bountifull blessing for Boston. p John Bell of Boston.	LM 2008, p. 112c
31820	Cambs	Chatteris	Brode bourding bredeth buffets. p Thom. Bets de Chatters.	LM 2009, p. 178b
31851	Cambs	Sutton (Isle of Ely)	Give gladly p Gunton. p Edward Gunton de Sutton.	LM 2008, p. 103c
32071	Wilts	Lydiard Tregoze	Tregose is the Muske Rose. p the parishe of Lidiard.	LM 2009, p. 168d
32086	Wilts	Ashton Keynes	A bucke is good. p the parishe of Asheton Kaynes.	LM 2008, p. 108d
32348	Hants	Isle of Wight	Maners excelleth beautie. By Jo. Fitchet senior of Wight.	LM 2009, p. 168b
32404	Hants	Isle of Wight	The best I desire. By Markes Curle of Wight.	LM 2009, p. 175d
32659	Hants	Isle of Wight	Fortune faileth not. By Henry Jollif of Wight.	LM 2008, p. 112b
32684	Hants	Isle of Wight	If God will, I shall. By Thomas Curle of Wight	LM 2008, p. 101b
32755	Hants	Isle of Wight	God send me his grace. John Ewrie of Wight.	LM 2009, p. 163b
32810	Hants	Isle of Wight	Live in hope. Mary James of Wight.	LM 2008, p. 108b
32890	Hants	Isle of Wight	<i>Mala mulier pessimum.</i> By Marie Maundy of Northwood in Wight.	LM 2008, p. 104d
32923	Hants	Isle of Wight	Let the arrow flie. p Richard Fuller of Wight.	LM 2008, p. 105d
32930	Hants	Isle of Wight	Hope helpeth. By William Henworth of Wight. Gent.	LM 2008, p. 108d
32949	Hants	Isle of Wight	God speede. By Edward Collins of Wight.	LM 2008, p. 114b
33320	Berks	Bradfield	For to win I do put in. Richard Ruffel. Bradfeld. Barksh.	LM 2009, p. 164a
33481	Berks	Mortimer Stratfield	I trust to have the great lot. p John Pryor. Stratfield. Mortimer. Bark.	LM 2008, p. 114a
33537	Berks	Thatcham	I abide fortune. Joh. Tull. Thathan Berke.	LM 2009, p. 165a
33776	Berks	Purley	As God wil, so be it. Ric. Boston. Pirley. Barksh.	LM 2008, p. 109c
33830	Berks	Burghfield	A maide, her fortune doth abide. Agnes Cooper, Burfield Barks.	LM 2009, p. 172d
33968	Berks	Reading	God send good winning to the pore parishioners of S. Maries in Reading. Ric.Rolt. Reading.	LM 2008, p. 103c
33972	Berks	Reading	God sende good winning to the poore parishioners of S. Maries in Reading. Rich. Roberts. Bark.	LM 2009, p. 165d
34035	Berks	Clewer	Cleve close to Cleaworth. Jane Durdant. Berk.	LM 2009, p. 168b
34153	Berks	East Shefford	<i>Det Fortuna.</i> p Jo. Fettiplace. Esquire of Shifford.	LM 2009, p. 173b
34201	Berks	Hungerford	Hungerford be luckie. p Th. Semar. Hungerford.	LM 2009, p. 169b
34233	Berks	Hungerford	Give me the great lot, if it wil be. p George Hidden. Hungerford.	LM 2008, p. 100d
34297	Berks	Shaw cum Donnington	I live to die. p Tho. Hore. Shawe.	LM 2009, p. 162c
34303	Berks	Shaw cum Donnington	I live to die. p Tho. Hore. Shawe.	LM 2009, p. 166a
34317	Kent	Binbury	As God will so let it be. p Edmund Webbe de Bynburie.	LM 2008, p. 159d
34383	Berks	Letcombe Bassett	Good luck I would have. p Edward Goodlack, Letcom. Regis.	LM 2009, p. 164a
34444	Berks	Brightwell	Such is fortune. p John Sandford. Brightwel.	LM 2008, p. 107d
34451	Berks ?	??	Fortune favoreth the adventurers. p Friat Befford. Gent.	LM 2008, p. 116a
34533	Berks	Garford (Marcham)	Fortune be friendl[y] Richar. Aldysworth. Garvord.	LM 2009, p. 165c
34552	Berks	East Hagbourne	Fortune be friendly. p Hugh Kete. East Hagborn.	LM 2008, p. 100b
34633	Berks	South Hinksey	<i>Et genus et virtus in se cum re vibor alfa est</i> p[er] Radulptum Pennery. South Hinksey.	LM 2008, p. 113c
34738	Berks	Long Wittenham	<i>Bis pueri senes.</i> p Thomas Steede. Longwittenham.	LM 2008, p. 103d
34815	Berks	Little Wittenham	To thanke God so have I cause. p Wil. Dunche. Little Witnam. Esquier.	LM 2008, p. 99d
34821	Berks	Little Wittenham	To thanke God so have I cause. p Will. Dunche. litle Witnam. Esquire.	LM 2009, p. 165c
34844	Berks	Little Wittenham	To thanke God so have I cause. p Wil.Dunche. Little Witnam. Esquier.	LM 2008, p. 101d
34931	Berks	Little Wittenham	To thanke God, so have I cause. Wil. Dunche of litle Witnam. Essex.	LM 2008, p. 114d
34941	Berks	Little Wittenham	To thanke God so have I cause. p Will. Dunche, litle Witnam. Esquire.	LM 2008, p. 100c
34954	Berks	Abingdon	What ever may be lost or wonne, God give good hap to Abindon. p Wil Braunch de Abindon.	LM 2008, p. 106d
35063	Berks	Abingdon	What so ever may be lost or won, God give good speede to Abindon. P William Braunch de Abindon.	LM 2009, p. 175c
35125	Berks	Abingdon	Whatsoever may be loste or woon, God give good speede to Abindon. p William Braunche de Abindon.	LM 2008, p. 108b
35274	Berks	East Hendred	If it please God to send me good lucke, I will buy Hawks to fly at the Duck. Jo. Eston. Esthendereth.	LM 2009, p. 175b

35370	Berks ?	??	To perfourme my hope. Per Moyses Diggle.	LM 2008, p. 159d
35478	Berks	Hendred	I hope my lot wil rise, for every lot a golden flese. Per Richarde E[i]ston. Gent. Hendred.	LM 2008, p. 114b
35843	Berks	Radley	As I do entend, so God me send. P John Harper. Radley.	LM 2009, p. 176b
35923	Derby	Ashbourne	God send us a free schole. p Thom. Hunt. Ashborn.	LM 2008, p. 107d
36073	Derby	Chesterfield	Have for wine and suger. p Rafe Ashe. Chesterfielde.	LM 2008, p. 107d
36075	Derby	Chesterfield	Have for wine and suger. Rafe Ashe. Chesterfield	LM 2008, p. 112a
36120	Derby	Walton upon Trent	A good lot, will make me glad. James Swindell. Walton.	LM 2008, p. 99b
36288	Derby	Codnor (Heanor parish)	<i>Sans mal penver.</i> p John Zowche iunior de Codner.	LM 2008, p. 105b
36531	Norf	Great Yarmouth	Yarmouth haven God thee speede, the lord he knoweth thy great neede. Rafe Willowes of much Yarmouth.	LM 2008, p. 110b
36555	Norf	Great Yarmouth	Yarmouth Haven God thee speede, the Lorde he knoweth thy great neede. Raphe Wilhouse of Much Yarmouth.	LM 2008, p. 104c
36580	Norf	Great Yarmouth	Yarmouth Haven god thee speede, the lord he knoweth thy great neede. p Rafe Wilhouse of Muche Yarmouth.	LM 2008, p. 102b
36582	Norf	Great Yarmouth	Yarmouth Haven God thee speede, the lorde he knoweth thy great neede. Ralph Withouse of Muche Yarmouth.	LM 2008, p. 103c
36613	Norf	Great Yarmouth	Yarmouth Haven God thee speede, the Lord he knoweth thy great neede. Ralphe Willowes of Much Yarmouth.	LM 2008, p. 109d
36715	Norf	Great Yarmouth	If Yarmouth great in fortunes favor be, the greatest lot may chaunce to fall to me. Tho. Betts of muche Yarmouth.	LM 2008, p. 103c
36785	Norf	Great Yarmouth	The first ne second lot I crave, the third it is that I would have. Jo. Gosling of muche Yarmouth.	LM 2009, p. 160d
36797	Norf	Great Yarmouth	The first ne second lot I crave, the third it is that I wold have. John Gostling of Much Yarmouth.	LM 2008, p. 103d
36803	Norf	Great Yarmouth	The first ne seconde lot I crave, the thirde it is that I woulde have. John Gostling. Muche Yarmouth.	LM 2008, p. 113b
36805	Norf	Great Yarmouth	The first ne seconde lotte I crave, the thirde it is that I would have. John Gosteling. Much Yarmouth.	LM 2008, p. 112d
36927	Norf	Waxham	Although I can not well see, yet will I venture in the lotterie. Sir Thomas Woodhouse of Warham.	LM 2008, p. 117c
37030	Norf	Surlingham	Surlingham smyleth. T. Hoode.	LM 2008, p. 117a
37265	Midd.	London	<i>Benedictus Deus in omnibus donis suis.</i> Derick Anthonie. London.	LM 2008, p. 103c
37358	Midd.	London ?	God, and good lot. W.P.	LM 2008, p. 116c
37553	Midd.	London ?	God and good lot. W.P.	LM 2008, p. 118a
37643	Midd.	London ?	God and good lot. W.P.	LM 2009, p. 165b
37740	Norf	??	As God is pleased, so my heart shall be eased. Per Tho. Digbie Norff.	LM 2009, p. 161a
37743	Midd.	London	The Burnefordes and Unet, would be right fain, the second or third lot if they might gaine. per Henry Burneford. London.	LM 2009, p. 165d
37813	Queen	Queen	<i>Video et taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 169c
37845	Midd.	Willesden	Have at all. George Massingberde. Willesdon in Midd.	LM 2008, p. 117d
38042	Midd.	The Savoy	To the Duchie of Lancaster without Temple Barre, if God send the lot, they shal not greatly erre. John Foxe of the parishe of Savoye.	LM 2009, p. 168d
38307	Dorset	Abbotsbury	To save or spill, as fortune will. John Young. Abbotsbury.	LM 2009, p. 168c
38692	Norf	Great Yarmouth	The first ne second lot I crave, the third it is that I would have. p John Gosteling of Muche Yarmouth.	LM 2008, p. 115d
38828	Norf	Hempstead by Holt	<i>Misericordi esto.</i> Per Christopher Greene. Rector de Hempstede.	LM 2009, p. 167c
38884	Derby	Codnor (Heanor)	<i>Sans mal penver.</i> p John Zouche Knight of Codner.	LM 2008, p. 110d
39009	Derby	Codnor (Heanor)	God speede the ploughe, & we shal have all things ynough. p Jo. Clark de Cordner.	LM 2009, p. 163a
39579	Cheshire	Chester	Good fortune. p Greene of Chester.	LM 2009, p. 163c
39596	Cheshire	Chester	God giveth all. Per William Ball. [Cestrie]	LM 2008, p. 159c
39598	Cheshire	Chester	[Have at] the best of all. Per William Wall. Ce---	LM 2008, p. 159c
39639	Warks	Coventry	Gold wolde I win. P Gibert Diglin. Coventrie.	LM 2009, p. 165b
39768	Staffs	Staffordshire	<i>Deus est portio mea.</i> Tho. Bickley. Archdeacon Staff.	LM 2008, p. 102d
39776	Staffs	Stafford Marys	<i>Dum spiro, spero.</i> Robert Sutton. Vicar. Staff.	LM 2009, p. 170a
39803	Staffs	Newcastle under Lyme	Great o[r] smal, God giveth al. John Keling Maior of Newcastel.	LM 2009, p. 161c
39829	Staffs	Lichfield	Good lucke, and God will. William Brymley. Lichefielde.	LM 2009, p. 160d
39837	Staffs	Lichfield	God giveth chaunce. James Weston for the citie of Lichefielde.	LM 2009, p. 175a

39922	Surrey	Woodmanstern e	God speede, for John Hewets neede. p J.H. Woodmerstorne. Sur.	LM 2009, p. 172d
39991	Surrey	Reigate	Good hap God sende. p R.S. Riegate. Surrey.	LM 2009, p. 161c
39993	Suss.	Hamsey	I am a yong man and unmaried, by a good lotte I maybe preferred. p Edward Randall. Ham[ley].	LM 2008, p. 107b
40132	Suss.	Hartfield	Men do meete, Hills shall never mete. John Hill. Hertfield Sussex.	LM 2009, p. 161b
40172	Oxon	Oxford	<i>Miseri sunt qui ex spe pendunt. Io. Wright. Magna Leveso Oxford.</i>	LM 2008, p. 115d
40536	Kent	Faversham	Be fortunate to Feversham. Robert Fagge. Feversham.	LM 2009, p. 169d
40736	Kent	Lydd on Sea	Loke Lid luckie lots. p Jo. Bery, Lid. Kent.	LM 2009, p. 165b
40756	Kent	Lydd on Sea	Looke Lydde lucky lotts. p John Bettye. Lydde.	LM 2008, p. 104a
40866	Kent	Tenterden	Of m[...]. Jene saide, that Tenterden [...] Haven hath decayed. p Ed[...] n. Kent.	LM 2009, p. 175c
40884	Kent	Tenterden	Of many people it hath ben said, that Tenderden Steeple, Sandwich Haven hath decayd. per Ed Hales, Tenderden. Kent.	LM 2008, p. 115b
40916	Kent	Eastwell	<i>Spem pretijemere aliquando prodest.</i> p Moyses Finche. Eastwell. Kent.	LM 2008, p. 115d
41191	Kent	Cranbrook	I will take no thought as neere as I can, for God hath ynough for every man. p Henry Allard, Cranebroke. Kent.	LM 2009, p. 162d
41279	Kent	Boughton Lees	I wil venture this in hast, yet to tary gods leasure, a good lot for to have, would doe me great pleasure. Mary Finch. Bocton. Kent.	LM 2009, p. 166b
41280	Kent	Boughton Lees	I will adventure this in hast, yet to tary Gods leisure, a good lot for to have will do me great pleasure. Per Marie Finche, Bocton. Kent.	LM 2008, p. 100d
41347	Kent	Boughton Malherbe	<i>Spes victoriae praelij timorem adimit.</i> p Ed. Wotton Bocton. Kent	LM 2008, p. 99d
41421	Kent	Tunstall	Have at the great lot. p Symon Cheiny. Tunstal. Kent.	LM 2008, p. 113c
41625	Kent	Lynsted	God be my speede, for of the best lotte I have most neede. Tho. Bacon. Linsted. Kent.	LM 2008, p. 159d
41803	Kent	Lynsted	God be my speede, for of the best lot I have moste neede. p Thomas [B]acon. Limsted[e]. Kent.	LM 2008, p. 113d
42016	Lancs	Clayton (Droylesden)	Have at all. p Tho. Graver de Cleiton, infra Manchester in Com. Lanc.	LM 2008, p. 118b
42053	Lancs	Salford (Manchester)	If God will, who can be against me? p Tho. Sorocold de Salfride, in parochi. de Manchester in Com. Lanc.	LM 2009, p. 166d
42112	Lancs	Barton upon Irwell	God sende me the gayne, the best prise to attayne. p Humf. Barlowe de Barton in Com. Lancast.	LM 2008, p. 106d
42130	Lancs	Longworth	Nought hazarde, nought winne. p George Langwoorth de Langwoorth, gener. Com. Lancaster.	LM 2008, p. 116c
42299	Lancs	Middleton (Langley)	Although of riches I beare the fame, sure I am not worthie the same, yet neverthesse God may sende, the second prise, me to amend. p Arthurum Radclif of Langley in Com. Lan.	LM 2008, p. 102c
42379	Lancs	Leyland	If Lockwood be luckie, a lot may light. p William Lockwood de Leylond in co. Lan.	LM 2008, p. 105c
42508	Lancs	Salesbury Hall	Health is better than riches. p Joh. Talbot. Sailbury.	LM 2008, p. 99c
42697	Lancs	Thornton (Poulton le Fylde)	God send us good knowledge. p John Allen. Thorneton.	LM 2009, p. 166d
42724	Lancs	Woodplumpton (Preston)	God be my speede. p Jacob Taylour alias Carvar, Wood Plompton.	LM 2009, p. 165a
42822	Wales	Abergavenny	As I deserve, so I desire. Per Joh. Towneley. Ar. Haburgavenny.	LM 2008, p. 117d
42869	Lancs	Hardhorn with Newton	We trust to speede wel. p John Bray. Hardhorne.	LM 2009, p. 164d
42889	Lancs	Cottam	Cast at all for Cotton. p Edward Hardocke. Cotton.	LM 2008, p. 110b
42916	Lancs	Ribbleton Hall (Preston)	Good lucke and fortune. p Johannem Shirborne. Ribbleton.	LM 2009, p. 166b
43021	Notts	Newark on Trent	William Kelsterne of Newarke uppon Trent, with the grace of God I am well content.	LM 2009, p. 165d
43090	Midd.	London	<i>Ditat servata fides.</i> William Barker. London.	LM 2008, p. 105c
43266	Midd.	London	Set not thy candell under a bushell. O.D. London.	LM 2008, p. 112d
43601	Norf	Kings Lynn	Come what come shal, I wil be content, what lots do befall, I wil not repent. Michel Revet of Lin.	LM 2009, p. 174a
43606	Norf	King's Lynn	Come what come shall, I will be content, what lotts doe befall, I will not repent. Michael Kevet of Linne.	LM 2008, p. 104b
43636	Norf	King's Lynn	Come what come shal, I wil be content, what lots doe befall I will not repent. Michael Revet of Lime.	LM 2008, p. 105c
43648	Norf	King's Lynn	Come what come shal, I wil be content, what lots do befall, I wil not repent. Michael Revet of Lin.	LM 2008, p. 102b
43670	Norf	Kings Lynn	Hope to win, P Tom a linne. Jo. Heath of Linne.	LM 2009, p. 164a
43941	Norf	King's Lynn	The Lorde is my lot, forget thou me not. Thom. Overend of Linne.	LM 2008, p. 113b
44018	Midd.	London	Good fortune to all those, that be workers of Clothes. p the companie of Clothworkers. London.	LM 2008, p. 114d

44085	Midd.	London	Good fortune to all those, that be workers of Clothes. p the company of Clothworkers. London.	LM 2009, p. 161c
44210	Midd.	London	Good fortune to all those that be workers of Clothes. p the company of Clothworkers. London.	LM 2008, p. 102b
44235	Midd.	London	Good fortune to all those that, be workers of Clothes. p the company of Clothworkers. London.	LM 2008, p. 107b
44246	Midd.	London	Good fortune to all those, that be workers of Clothes. p the company of Clothworkers. London.	LM 2008, p. 110c
44249	Midd.	London	Good fortune to all those, that be workers of Clothes. p the Companie of Clothworkers. London.	LM 2009, p. 174d
44963	Midd.	London	We put in one lot poore maydens we be ten, we pray God sende us a good lotte that all we may say Amen. p Dorathie Hawes of Cheapside.	LM 2008, p. 100c
45021	Midd.	London	If Cure have lucke, the best gilt cup, he will li[ft] up. p Thomas Cure of London. Sadler.	LM 2009, p. 167b
45059	Midd.	London	If Cure have lucke, the best gilt cup, he will lifte up. p T. Cure of London. Sadler.	LM 2009, p. 169d
45354	Midd.	??	I have put in. x. shillings, God be my speede, and he wil be my helpe at time of neede.	LM 2008, p. 99c
45354	Midd.	London	As Salt by kinde gives things their savor, so hap doth hit where fate doth favor. p John Harding of London. Salter.	LM 2008, p. 108a
45358	Midd.	London	As Salt by kinde gives things their savour, so hap doth hit where fate dothe favour. p John Harding of London.	LM 2009, p. 166a
45390	Midd.	London	As Salt by kinde, gives things their savor, so hap doth hit, where fate doth favor. p John Harding of London. Salter.	LM 2008, p. 100a
45435	Midd.	London	As salt by kind gives things their savour, so hap doth hit, where fate doth favor. p Jo. Harding of London. Salter.	LM 2008, p. 99a
45569	Midd.	London	Since no man can his chaunce commaunde, let fortune aunswere my demaunde. p Jo. Skot of London. Salter.	LM 2009, p. 164c
45603	Midd.	London	The happiest hap that man can finde, is when hys lot contents his minde. p Anthony Cage of London. Salter.	LM 2008, p. 108b
45623	Midd.	London	The happiest hap that man can finde, is when hys lot contentes his minde. Anthony Cage of London. Salter.	LM 2008, p. 114b
45736	Midd.	London	With iron and steele, is made speare and shield, to subdue our enimies with Gods help in the field. John Steele of London, Ironmonger.	LM 2009, p. 161c
45878	Midd.	London	Welbeloved friendes I pray you all sende the great lot to the Ironmongers hall. p Robert Beymond of London. Ironmonger.	LM 2008, p. 107b
45935	Midd.	London	Welbeloved friends I pray you al, send the great lot to the Ironmongers Hall. p Roberte Beamonde of London. Ironmonger.	LM 2008, p. 114b
46050	Midd.	London	If Hawke do sore when Partridge springs, then shall we see what lucke he brings, but if he sore and Partridge flit then Hawke shall lose, and Partridge hit. p Aphabell Partridge of Lond. Goldsmith.	LM 2008, p. 110c
46081	Midd.	London	If Hawke do sore and Partridge springs, then shal we see what lucke he brings, but if he sore, and Partridge flit, then Hawke shall lose and Partridge hit. p Aphabell Partridge of London.	LM 2008, p. 115b
46106	Midd.	London	If Hawke do sore and Partridge springs, then shall we see what lucke he brings, but if he sore and Partridge flit, then Hawke shall lose, and Partridge hit. p Aphabel Partridge of London. Goldsmith.	LM 2008, p. 108d
46132	Midd.	London	If Hauke do sore when Partridge springs, then shall we see what lucke he brings, but if he sore and Partridge flyt, then Hawke shall lose and Partridge hit. p Aphabell Partridge of Lond. Goldsmith.	LM 2009, p. 170b
46663	Midd.	London	Even or odde, my trust is in God. p William Dunham, Goldsmith.	LM 2009, p. 168b
46730	Midd.	London	Even or odde, my trust is in God. William Dunham[.] Goldsmith.	LM 2008, p. 110b
46802	Midd.	London	Hab or nab, p the yonger Nab. p John Nab the yonger, Goldsmith.	LM 2008, p. 110c
46849	Midd.	London	Hab or nab, P the yonger Mab. John Mab the yonger, Goldsmith.	LM 2009, p. 169d
47105	Midd.	London	What fortune brings to hande, with that content I stand. p Henry Kule Goldsmith, straunger.	LM 2008, p. 107c
47309	Midd.	London	Though our ability but small, yet that we put in, is in hope for us all, as those [that are] knit like shoe and sole, if God be with us, good lucke shall befall. p Mathew Harrison of London. Cordwa.	LM 2008, p. 110c
47390	Midd.	London	Though our ability be but small, yet that we put in, is in hope for us all, as those that are knit like shoe and sole, if God be with us, good lucke shall befall Per Mathewe Harrison of London. Cordwayner.	LM 2008, p. 112c
47403	Midd.	London	Though our ability be but small, yet that we put in, is in hope for us all, as those that are knit like shoe and sole, if God be with us, good lucke shall befall. p Mathewe Harrison of London. Cordwayner.	LM 2008, p. 105a
47679	Midd.	London	We Brewers God send us, a good lot to mende us. p John Bankes of the parishe of S. Gyles.	LM 2008, p. 99d
47736	Midd.	London	We Brewers God send us, a good lotte to mende us. John Stephens of the parish of S. Annes.	LM 2009, p. 172d

47969	Herts	Hertford ?	What doth it avayle a man to be much carefull if God prosper not his labour all is but in vayne, Gods wil be done. p William Walker of Hertf.	LM 2009, p. 160c
48082	Midd.	London	<i>Et mibi, c' multis.</i> Ro. Shut reader of Grays Inne.	LM 2009, p. 170d
48151	Midd.	London	<i>Perturiun [...] ontes.</i> p Edmund Poley of Grayes Inne.	LM 2009, p. 177c
48211	Midd.	London	Helpe handes, we have no landes. Rob. Thorolde, of Grayes Inne.	LM 2008, p. 101a
48289	Surrey	Lambeth	As God will, so be it. M. Thom. Colby. Lambeth.	LM 2009, p. 169b
48312	Surrey	Lambeth	As God will, so be it. M. Tho. Colby of Lambeth.	LM 2008, p. 108d
48347	Surrey	Lambeth	As God will, so be it. M. Thomas Colby. Lambeth.	LM 2008, p. 107b
48406	Surrey	Lambeth	As God will, so be it. Maister Thomas Colbie of Lambeth.	LM 2008, p. 106a
48476	Surrey	Lambeth	As God wil, so be it. p Thom. Colbye of Lambeth.	LM 2009, p. 173c
48565	Midd.	London	As fortune favoureth, so shall I speede. Rob. Sharp of London. Mercer.	LM 2008, p. 110d
48590	Essex	Maldon	If a very riche prise arise should to our lot, al that would be employed on our decayed port. Tho. Spikernel of Maulden in Essex.	LM 2009, p. 174a
49023	Essex	Leytonstone	Sith the adventure of a little maye gaine a man muche, to venture that little why should a man grutch? Ed. Bishop of Laton stone.	LM 2009, p. 163d
49027	Midd.	London	<i>Nupida nobis impados tyrogansoma turgysio totnos.</i> Tho. Colby. Grays Inne.	LM 2008, p. 116c
49071	Midd.	London	Who hath good hope good hap maye fynde, to hopelesse heartes hap is unkinde. Anne Humfrey of S. Peters parish in cheapeside.	LM 2009, p. 169c
49352	Berks	Windsor	Pour le mieulx. Fraunces Michel, wife unto Humfrey Michel of old Windsor, gen.	LM 2009, p. 160c
49362	Berks	Windsor	Pour le mieulx. Francis Michel wife unto Humfrey Michel of olde Windsor, gent.	LM 2008, p. 105d
49851	Cornw	Helston	God give us a good new yeare. Jo Pencost of Helston Burgh. Cornewall.	LM 2009, p. 164d
50066	Midd.	London	Edward Kingston. In hope to receive good fortune and chaunce, I will pray to the Lorde my lot to advaunce. p London.	LM 2009, p. 174a
50135	Midd.	London	Humfrey Cooke. Who so wist what would be, [d]eare would be a chapman but a yeare. p Lond.	LM 2008, p. 108c
50391	Midd.	London	Cicilia [...] Lord the house do gard, in vain [...] pe the warde. Lond.	LM 2009, p. 173c
50457	Midd.	London	Allarde Bartering. A maide and I am of advise, to marie, if we get the best prise. p London.	LM 2008, p. 116b
50506	Midd.	London	Frauncis Eston. <i>Nemo letificatur in patria, quem fides non consolatur in via.</i> p Lon.	LM 2008, p. 113c
50579	Midd.	London	Margaret Dan. The Lorde giveth, the Lorde taketh away. Nowe blessed be the name of the Lorde. p London.	LM 2009, p. 167d
50605	York E	Hull	William Cartill the yonger in Hull I do dwell, I truste in the Lorde by this lotterie for to speede well. p Hull.	LM 2008, p. 107c
50736	Midd.	London	John Philip. For covetous people to die it is best, the longer they live, the lesser is their rest. per London.	LM 2008, p. 111a
50765	Midd.	Chipping Barnet	<i>Sero sapiunt Phruges.</i> Edward Underne. Chipping. Carnet.	LM 2008, p. 112c
50823	Midd.	London	Frauncis Wrench. God send good lucke to little boyes, that are their grandames jolly joyes. per London.	LM 2008, p. 112b
50937	Midd.	London	Henry Ayer. Whether we misse or whether we hit, as God will so be it. p Lon.	LM 2008, p. 112c
51118	Midd.	Heston	George Hunt. What chaunce may fall I can not tell, but the dyvell take all knaves, if myne hit not well. p Heston in Midd.	LM 2008, p. 112d
51127	Midd.	Heston	Leonard Bartlet. What, I am come, do ye not see? to part stakes betwene you and me. p Heston in Midd.	LM 2009, p. 170d
51137	Midd.	Heston	William Houson. Help now good lord with speede, for there are in this lot, that have great neede. Per Heston in Midd.	LM 2008, p. 103d
51149	Midd.	London	Lucy Stocket. O Lady fortune send good grace, with some good lot within short space. London.	LM 2008, p. 111c
51182	Midd.	London	Thomas Mathew. If Fortune answeere hope, and hope may have his hire, I shall possesse the greatest lot, for that is my desire. p Lon.	LM 2009, p. 170a
51265	Midd.	London	Jerome Paiment. The thought is past, the money paid, let losse or gaines thereof proceede, O fortune adde thy frendly aide, graunt hap to hope, and wel to speede. Lond.	LM 2009, p. 164a
51348	Midd.	London	We Cookes of London which worke early & late, if any thing be left, God send us part. p London.	LM 2008, p. 105c
51358	Midd.	London	Richard Thomson. We Cookes of London which worke early and late, if any thing be left, God send us part. London.	LM 2009, p. 164b
51479	Oxon	??	Johan Jones. Seeke the kingdome of heaven, and all things shall be given unto you. p Oxfordshire.	LM 2008, p. 109b
51569	Cambs	Cambridge	John Taylor. Happy haps be dangerous. p Cambridge.	LM 2009, p. 161a
51668	Midd.	London	John Atkinson. A cherefull countenance is a token of a good heart, I pray you Maisters let me have one lot for my part. p Lon.	LM 2009, p. 160c

51721	Midd.	London	Sith one by one the best may winne, why not my one which I put in? T. Ash. p Lon.	LM 2009, p. 163c
51832	Midd.	??	I am a pore maiden, and faine would marry, and the lacke of goods is the cause that [I tar]ry. Per Sibbel Cleyon. Middlesex.	LM 2008, p. 109c
51981	Midd.	Ratcliffe	For the hamlet of Radcliffe. Mariner hoise up thy saile, if God sende us a good lot if may us prevaile. p Radcliffe.	LM 2008, p. 102a
52151	Midd.	London	<i>Virtus etiam fortunæ ope indiget.</i> p. Thom. Alforde London.	LM 2008, p. 102a
52289	Midd.	London	Anthonio de Swane. London.	LM 2009, p. 169a
52353	Midd.	London	As fortune shal appoynt me, in God I wil content be. p Ellin Hocnil. London.	LM 2009, p. 174a
52445	Midd.	London	If God a lotte do me sende, I pray God I may it well spende. p John Foxe. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 105b
52826	Midd.	London	God save the Queene and confounde her foes, receyve the lots, before the booke close. Per John Kempe. London	LM 2009, p. 163a
52984	Midd.	London	Be as be may. Per Richard Porter. London.	LM 2009, p. 174b
53289	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. P M. and A.	LM 2009, p. 176b
53337	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 113c
53641	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. P M. and A.	LM 2009, p. 174d
53665	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. P M. and A.	LM 2009, p. 174b
54340	Midd.	London	<i>Vincit veritas.</i> F.P.	LM 2008, p. 109a
54452	Midd.	London	<i>Vincit veritas.</i> p F.P.	LM 2008, p. 104d
54731	Midd.	London	<i>Vincit veritas.</i> Per F.P.	LM 2009, p. 163d
54737	Midd.	London	<i>Vincit veritas.</i> P F.P.	LM 2009, p. 172b
54885	Midd.	London	Some gaine of the lotterrie, God send to the Grocerie. P G.C.	LM 2009, p. 173d
54962	Midd.	London	Some gaine of the Lotterrie, God send to the Grocerie. p E.C.	LM 2008, p. 114c
55011	Midd.	London ?	God is my helper. p Wil. Benton.	LM 2008, p. 103c
55143	Midd.	London ?	James Lonilyn. We be poore maydens, and can not tary, God sende us the greate lotte that we may marry.	LM 2009, p. 160b
55450	Midd.	London	Sibel Benold. I am a pore maid, and faine would thrive, God send me good fortune. p London.	LM 2009, p. 163d
55486	Midd.	London	William Ram. As I hope, so God me sende. Per London.	LM 2009, p. 162d
55554	Midd.	London	John Griffith dwels at the Rose, I had rather win than lose. p London.	LM 2008, p. 105b
55787	Midd.	London	Berent Langherman. <i>Date deo gloriam.</i> B.A.M. Per London.	LM 2009, p. 160b
55963	Midd.	London	<i>Lodovico Bruschetto vivo tutta via co speranza. Cb.[q.]mia poliza venega benefiziat.</i>	LM 2008, p. 103b
55973	Midd.	London ?	For want of money we do not marie, if God send us we no longer tary. p T.M.C.	LM 2008, p. 104a
56010	Midd.	London	Ellis Martin. Give right judgement, for God will revenge. p London.	LM 2008, p. 102c
56019	Midd.	London	Annes and Mary, Elizabeth and Rose, god send us good fortune, and this is our pose. Per London.	LM 2009, p. 167c
56275	??	??	Margaret Ball. By chaunce it often happeneth on meane folk great lots to fal, if a smal one to me happen, I give god thanks for al.	LM 2008, p. 101b
56462	Midd.	Stoke Newington	Good will with the best, though power with the least. Per Stoke Newinton. Midd.	LM 2008, p. 112c
56591	Midd.	Willesden	Have at all. p George Massingberd de Willesden.	LM 2008, p. 114c
56647	Rutland	Exton	To the almighty god I betake, the adventure that we make. p Lucie Harrington de Exton. Rutlandshire	LM 2008, p. 103d
56744	Rutland	Exton	To the Almighty God I betake, the adventure that we make. p Lucie Harrington de Exton. Rutlande.	LM 2009, p. 176a
56745	Rutland	Exton	To the almighty God I betake, the venture that we make. p Lucy Harrington de Exton. Rutland.	LM 2009, p. 161b
56764	Rutland	Exton	To the Almyghtie God I betake, the adventure that we make. p Lucy Harrington. Exton. Rutlande.	LM 2008, p. 105c
56922	Midd.	The Savoy	To the Duchie of Lancaster without temple barre, if God give the lot they shall not greatly erre. per the parish of Savoy.	LM 2008, p. 107d
56927	Midd.	The Savoy	To the Duchie of Lancaster withoute Temple barre, if God send the Lot they shall not greatly erre. p the parishe of Savoy.	LM 2008, p. 108a
57259	Midd.	London	The first and greatest lot do we crave, but what God will that shall we have. p S. Martins in the field.	LM 2009, p. 165b
57410	Oxon	Stoke Lyne	God loveth little ones. p Arderne Mylwarde. Oxfordshire.	LM 2008, p. 107c
57526	Midd.	London	Richard Proctor. Temporal benefites, to al men God doth sende, but to the godly, well to use them is the ende. p London.	LM 2009, p. 161b
57808	Midd.	London	Henry Lane. Honest dealing, helps true meaning. p London.	LM 2009, p. 167a
57856	Midd.	London	Hap wel, or hap yll, he is a K. that reades the bill. p London.	LM 2009, p. 168a
58308	Midd.	London	Thomas Bellingham. I have put in lots three, god send me a good one to light on me. p London.	LM 2008, p. 99b

58377	Midd.	London	John Dolling is my name, and lots I put in three, I beseche God if it be his wil, to send the great lot unto me. p London.	LM 2008, p. 116c
58404	Midd.	London	Mary Austin. Thinke not of it til I have it, if God send it, I wil make much of it. Lon.	LM 2009, p. 176b
58437	Midd.	London	John Webbe. This lot I owe of right, good lucke therwith God send, & prosper it with his might to serve me to my lives ende. Per London.	LM 2009, p. 175c
58665	Midd.	London	<i>Tempus tacendi, tempu[ll]que loquendi.</i> p An Hogan p London.	LM 2008, p. 111c
58778	Wales	Gronant	He that nothing ventureth, nothing gaineth. Edmunde Bulkeley, grennant in the countie of Anglesley.	LM 2009, p. 165c
58942	Midd.	London	Gi[b]lers, Cole, and Florida, have brought me into great decay, I pray to god of his mercy & grace, that this may take better place. Thomas Parkins. London.	LM 2008, p. 115d
59281	Midd.	London	There is no drink like unto wine in comparison, if it be dronk with discrete moderation. James Marston. London.	LM 2009, p. 160c
59281	Midd.	London	From God it commeth thou mayest be sure, the gift of God to heale and cure. Alexander Mason. London.	LM 2008, p. 108a
59381	Midd.	London ?	God and good lot. W.P.	LM 2008, p. 100b
59488	Midd.	London	In God is all my trust. John Stannidge. London.	LM 2009, p. 166c
59513	Midd.	London	Heere I Katherine Kimpton have tenne shillings brought, thinking to have the great lot, my husband to comfort. London.	LM 2009, p. 165d
59514	Midd.	London	Heere I Katherine Kimpton have tenne shillings brought, thinking to have the great lot my husband to comfort. London.	LM 2008, p. 112b
59561	Midd.	London	My happy hand and harmeles hart, hopeth to have helping part. Per Jasper Swift. London.	LM 2009, p. 173b
59568	Midd.	London	Nor hee that hath little, but he that desireth muche is poore. Mathew Fielde. Lond.	LM 2009, p. 165b
59582	Midd.	London	Naught venture, nothing have, per John Robins. London.	LM 2008, p. 113c
59779	Midd.	London	As God wil. Wil. Jurdan. London.	LM 2008, p. 103c
60060	Midd.	London	<i>Deus dat cui vult.</i> Dericke Anthony. London.	LM 2008, p. 114b
60126	Midd.	London	<i>Vivit post funera virtus.</i> N.S. London.	LM 2008, p. 111c
60131	Midd.	London	<i>Vivit post funera virtus.</i> N.S. Lond.	LM 2009, p. 168d
60152	Midd.	London	<i>Vivit post funera virtus.</i> N.S. London.	LM 2009, p. 177c
60274	Midd.	London	Hap well and have well God speede the plough, to do well and say well God will gyve ynough. p Harry Sutton. London.	LM 2008, p. 104b
60704	Midd.	London	Fortune amy. Sir Thomas Gresham, Knight. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 113b
60743	Midd.	London	Fortune amy. Tho. Gresham. Lond.	LM 2008, p. 100b
61064	Midd.	London	Fortune amy. Thom. Gresham. Lond.	LM 2008, p. 105c
61094	Midd.	London	Fortune amy. Thomas Gresham. Knight. London.	LM 2008, p. 106a
61100	Midd.	London	Fortune amy. Tho. Gresham. London.	LM 2008, p. 105d
61131	Midd.	London	Fortune amy. Tho. Gresham. London.	LM 2008, p. 105d
61327	Midd.	London	Fortune amy. Sir Thomas Gresham, Knight. per London.	LM 2009, p. 172d
61357	Midd.	London	Fortune amy. Thom. Gresham. Knight. London.	LM 2008, p. 102c
61373	Midd.	London	Fortune amy. Sir Thomas Gresham. Knight. Lon.	LM 2009, p. 162c
61420	Midd.	London	Fortune amy. Sir Thomas Gresham, Knight. per London.	LM 2009, p. 160c
61497	Midd.	London	Gods grace and blessing with good fortune. Tho. Parkins. London.	LM 2008, p. 101d
61716	Midd.	London	How so ever it befall, God help the Coupers hall. Henry Gamble. London.	LM 2009, p. 168a
61789	Midd.	London	Howsoever it befall, God helpe Cowpers hall. London.	LM 2008, p. 100c
61827	Midd.	London	Henry Gamble. How so ever it doth fal, god helpe the Coupers hall. London.	LM 2009, p. 162b
62027	Flanders	Antwerp	<i>Durs aux mauvaix, e³ aux pources piteux.</i> p S.T.D. Anvers.	LM 2008, p. 112c
62336	Kent	Sittingbourne	Roger Ade. With good will I put in, god gyve the encrease, and then shall I win. p Sittingborne in Kent.	LM 2009, p. 170d
62345	Kent	Sittingbourne	Roger Ade. With good will I put in, God give the increase, and then I shall win. p Sittingborne in Kent.	LM 2008, p. 118a
62500	Somerset	Bath	William Cavel dwelling in Bathe, God be my speede, and send me the best lot for I have most neede. p Bathe.	LM 2009, p. 169c
62509	Somerset	Bath	William Cavell dwelling at Bathe, God be my speede, and send me the best lot for I have most neede. p Bathe.	LM 2008, p. 116d
62615	Somerset	Bath	William Cavel dwelling in Bath, god be my speed and send me the best lot for I have most neede. p Bathe.	LM 2008, p. 106b
62631	Somerset	Bath	William Cavel dwelling in Bathe, God be my speede, and send me the best lot for I have most neede. p Bathe.	LM 2009, p. 168a
62710	Heref	Hereford East	Sylvanus Scory. Who so ever in this lotterie the least summe have ventured, with the greatest if it happen can be contented. Hereford East.	LM 2009, p. 161d

62760	Heref	Hereford East	Silvanus Scory. Whosoever in this lotterie the least summe hath ventured, with the greatest if it can happen can be contented. p Hereford east.	LM 2008, p. 104b
62793	Midd.	London	As God will so let it be, alwayes praising God in Trinitie. p W.T. J.E.A. Lon.	LM 2009, p. 174b
62903	Heref	Aston	Aston trusteth of Gods good will, that he wil send the great lot to Richard Hil.	LM 2008, p. 104a
63054	Rutland	Uppingham	Uppingham. We were willing to begin, and therfore we hope wel to win. p George Chissildine.	LM 2008, p. 102b
63161	Rutland	Barleythorpe	Barleythorpe. William Grey of the same towne ywis, would have a good prise, and not mis.	LM 2008, p. 104a
63390	Rutland	Exton	An innocent I am, and hope in God till then. p Theodocia Harrington.	LM 2008, p. 116d
63434	Rutland	Exton	An innocent I am, and hope in God till then. p. Theodocia Harrington.	LM 2008, p. 118b
63510	Staffs	Eccleshall	This do I nowe lende. Marie Bentham de Eccleshall.	LM 2009, p. 167b
63618	Midd.	Middlesex	<i>Ut volet Dominus</i> . Tho. Wats, Archdeacon of Midd.	LM 2008, p. 105b
63642	Midd.	Middlesex	<i>Vt volet Dominus</i> . Thomas Wats, Archdeacon of Midd.	LM 2008, p. 101b
63653	Midd.	Middlesex	<i>Ut volet Dominus</i> . Thomas Wats, Archdeacon de Midd.	LM 2009, p. 177b
63737	Hunts	Huntingdon	The Jay flieth fast in the wood, if I hit the best lot it will doe me muche good. P William Jaye de Huntingdon.	LM 2009, p. 161d
63807	Hunts	Spaldwick	He that ke[p]eth his mouth, kepeth his life. p Tho. Mansel de Spaldwicke.	LM 2008, p. 117c
63899	Cambs	Impington	If God be on my side, who shall be agaynst me? p Tho. Rainow de Impington.	LM 2009, p. 168a
63949	Cambs	Willingham	Take all in good parte. p Henry Jorden de Willingham.	LM 2008, p. 113c
63979	Cambs	Dry Drayton	Submit thy self to Fortunes will. p John Hutton de Drydrayton.	LM 2009, p. 170a
63985	Cambs	Anglesey (Bottisham)	God be my speede, and good luck at my neede. Per Agnes Gil de Anglesey.	LM 2009, p. 172a
64123	Somerset	Stogumber	God save the Queene. p John Chalcot of Stowgomer.	LM 2009, p. 166a
64174	Somerset	Halse	I will take paine for profite. William Brewer of Halse.	LM 2008, p. 105d
64351	Somerset	Taunton	We adventure in hope, to Taunton God send a good lot. W. Cleheng. of Taunton.	LM 2008, p. 104b
64379	Somerset	Taunton	We venter in hope, to Taunton God sende a good lot. Wil. Clehenger of Taunton.	LM 2008, p. 105c
64778	Midd.	London	Whether the lotte be little or muche, the feare of God maketh men riche. Tho. Stanley Esquire. p London.	LM 2008, p. 106d
64935	Suss.	Hastings	From Hastings we come, God send us good speede, never a poore Fisher towne in Englande of the great lot hath more neede. Rich. Life. Hastings.	LM 2008, p. 114a
64956	Midd.	London	The lots are cast into the lap, but their fall standeth in the Lord. Reynold Wolfe. p London.	LM 2008, p. 102d
65040	Norf	??	God sende me for my thirty pounds, sixty prises more than halfe Crownes. Richarde Tolwin. p Norff.	LM 2009, p. 169a
65225	Midd.	London	<i>Non in multitudine victoria</i> . p S.P. London.	LM 2009, p. 166d
65361	Lancs	??	Hit or misse there is for me, as God will so let it be. p Lankeshire. Joseph Taylor.	LM 2008, p. 116d
65484	Midd.	London	Bycause unlawfull games put shooting out of place, the strength of noble England decayeth sore alas. p Lon. Tho. Crompe.	LM 2009, p. 169b
65601	Oxon	??	My mony is put in with a good will, if it chaunce not well, I would I had kept it still. Thomas Wisedome. Oxfordshire.	LM 2008, p. 107b
65614	Warks	??	God send a good lot on me to light. per Warwickshire. William White.	LM 2009, p. 170b
65678	Herts	Ware	I would not have thee goe in vaine, but to come againe, and bring some gaine. Per Ware in the Countie of Harford. Thomas Leonard.	LM 2009, p. 177c
65759	Midd.	London	Come hither ye blessed of my father, when I was [hart] orlesse ye toke me to lodging. Arthur Rainscrofte. p London.	LM 2009, p. 165c
65842	Midd.	London	Tell me I pray you, do I lose or gayne, shew me some comforte, or much is my paine. p London. Elizabeth Taylor.	LM 2009, p. 162d
66080	Bucks	Hitcham ?	<i>Sat cito, si sat bene</i> . p Buckingham. Roger Alford.	LM 2009, p. 173b
66209	Midd.	London	One bird in hande, is worth two in the wood, if we have the great lotte it will do us good. William Albany. p London.	LM 2008, p. 110c
66231	Midd.	London	One bird in hand, is worth two in the woode, if we have the great lot, it will do us good. Will. Albany. London.	LM 2009, p. 166b
66342	Midd.	London	One bird in hand, is worth two in the wood, if we have the great lot, it will do us good. p William Albany. London.	LM 2009, p. 170d
66346	Midd.	London	One bird in hande is worth two in the wood, if we have the great lot it will doe us good. William Albany. p London.	LM 2008, p. 101c
66761	Midd.	London	In God is all my trust, the greatest lot is best for my purse. per London. James Alkins.	LM 2009, p. 168d
66875	Midd.	London	<i>Acerbo Velutelli de Luca. p trois bons companions.</i>	LM 2009, p. 172d

66962	Midd.	London	<i>Acerbo Velutelli de Luca. p Mio conto aparto. K.</i>	LM 2008, p. 107c
67175	York E	Beverley	Feare not Farley, in God put thy trust, to bring to Beverley a price of the best. William Farley. Beverley.	LM 2008, p. 111c
67465	York W	Barlow (Brayton)	Lot is lucke as God doth knowe, in whome I put my trust, wherefore with that which luck shall give, my self content I must. Christofer Twiseldon. Bereley	LM 2008, p. 100b
67583	York E	Hull	Hope well Hull, thou mayst be happy, hytherto God hath dealt with thee lovingly. R. Dalton of Hull.	LM 2009, p. 164d
67604	York E	Hull	Hope well Hul thou maist be happy, hitherto God hath dealt with thee lovingly. R. Dalton. Hull.	LM 2009, p. 165a
68069	Midd.	London	Christ is my [...] Christ is my post, if I forsake hi [...]. Marie Jones. London.	LM 2009, p. 166c
68297	Suss.	Amberley	Good lucke God sende to Ambley men. William Rose. Sussex.	LM 2008, p. 102d
68357	Hants	Odiham	Obedience causeth order. p Odiham.	LM 2008, p. 159c
68386	Hants ?	??	We have not the first, but in God we put our trust.	LM 2008, p. 102d
68545	Hants	Farleigh Wallop	If hap be good, the poore shall finde. p. H. Wallop de Fareley.	LM 2008, p. 100c
68566	Hants ?	??	Virgins and infantes, God will prosper. p Heywood.	LM 2009, p. 161a
68676	Hants	Broughton	All worldly things are but vanity. p John Wade of Broughton.	LM 2009, p. 164d
68790	Oxon	Steeple Aston	Good hap guide me. p Edward Tredwel of Steple Ashton.	LM 2009, p. 164b
68854	Oxon	Hook Norton	No man is alwayes happy. p William Clifton of Hokenorton.	LM 2009, p. 161c
68866	Oxon	Glympton	It were to me a joyfull sounde, to win the lot of v.M. ponde. p Thom. Richards of Glimton.	LM 2009, p. 167d
68942	Oxon	Bicester	We aske the more, bycause we are poore. p Humfrey Hunt of Burseter, market ende.	LM 2009, p. 160c
68950	Oxon ?	Horley ?	God save our Queene we all so pray, and beshrew them that will say nay. p Rich. Leach. Horneby.	LM 2009, p. 160d
69094	Oxon	Clatercot	Whether I win the great or small, I rest content as chaunce doth fall. Thomas Lee. Clattercot.	LM 2009, p. 172d
69150	Oxon	Broughton Castle	Not covetous. p Richard Fennis of Broughton.	LM 2009, p. 177b
69158	Oxon	Broughton Castle	THE TWELFTH GREAT PRISE Not covetous. p Richard Fennis of Broughton.	LM 2008, p. 106c
69526	Devon	Barnstaple	If hap helpe not, hope is hindred, p Clement Burton of Barnestaple.	LM 2008, p. 111d
69543	Devon	Barnstaple	If hap help not, hope is hindred. p Clement Burton of Barnestaple.	LM 2008, p. 104b
69616	Devon	Barnstaple	The father of heaven sende us gayne, for in building for the common wealth, we have taken great payne. p John Arskot of Barnestaple.	LM 2009, p. 163b
69630	Devon	Barnstaple	The father of heaven send us gain, for in building for the common wealth, we have taken great paine. Jo. Arskote of Barnstaple.	LM 2008, p. 101d
69673	Devon	Barnstaple	The father of heaven sende us gayne, for in buylding for the common wealth, we have taken great payne. p John Arskot of Barnestaple.	LM 2009, p. 162c
69723	Devon	Barnstaple	I am in health, whole and sounde, God sende me a prise, of thousande ponde. p Oliver Pearde of Barnestaple.	LM 2008, p. 104c
69769	Devon	North Tawton	Happy is he that a lot may have, but the greatest lot faine would I crave. p Ric. Woode. Northtaunton.	LM 2009, p. 172b
70161	Hants	East Tytherley	God send us good lucke, for the parish of E[s]titherley.	LM 2008, p. 111d
70233	Hants	Fyfield	Blankes be not good. For the parishe of Fifield	LM 2009, p. 175b
70243	Hants ?	Milton ?	A good matche maketh for Mydleton. For the Parishe of Mydleton.	LM 2009, p. 169a
70633	Hants	Froxfield	Trueth tryeth it selfe. Per Froxfield.	LM 2008, p. 108c
70637	Hants ?	Hinton Ampner ?	A willing heart speedeth. p Henton.	LM 2009, p. 166a
70794	Northants	Greatworth	God as thou arte the way and the dore, helpe Richarde Yong bothe lame and poore. p Ric. Yong. Gritworth.	LM 2009, p. 170a
70810	Northants	Woodford	If Fortune favour me for to have, one of the best lots I crave. p Robert Citisby of Wodforde.	LM 2009, p. 178a
71051	Lincs	Horncastle	God speede well, I gyve a shout at Hornecastell. Per John Sacheverell. Hornecastle.	LM 2009, p. 163b
71324	Hants	Isle of Wight	Fortune fayleth not. By Henry Gallife of Wight.	LM 2009, p. 164c
71483	Hants	Isle of Wight	Well gotten, and the better spent. By Joh. Boke of Wight.	LM 2008, p. 105b
71662	Midd.	London	As God will it must be still. Henry Bynneman. London.	LM 2008, p. 105c
71674	Midd.	London	As God hath decreed, so shall I speede. P Bridget Bynneman of London.	LM 2009, p. 168b
71728	Midd.	London	God speede us little children that learne the A.B.C. which desire rather play, than to gaine by the lottery. Thom. Roe Alderman.	LM 2008, p. 111c
72018	Midd.	Middlesex	<i>Benedictio Domini ditat.</i> Thomas Wats Archdeacon of Middlesex.	LM 2008, p. 113d
72280	Devon	Nethercot (Tetcott)	I do not crave, but I hope in god to have. p Roger Slader of Langhempton and Northecote.	LM 2009, p. 174d

72331	Devon	Eveleigh (lost village)	I hope well. p Richarde Croker of Ivorley.	LM 2009, p. 175b
72436	Devon	Bradworthy	Bring me good fortune. p R. Yod. of Bradworthy.	LM 2008, p. 105c
72565	Devon	Coldridge	I hope well, and I trust to have wel. John Evans of Colrigge.	LM 2008, p. 107c
72643	Devon	Iddesleigh	I put in late, God sende me some plate. p Michell Anois of [Idesleigh]	LM 2008, p. 159c
72897	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. P M. and A.	LM 2009, p. 162b
73012	Midd.	London	God p[re]serve the Citie of London. P M. and A.	LM 2009, p. 160c
73041	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. P M. and A.	LM 2009, p. 165b
73336	Essex	Leigh on Sea ?	Mariners travaile, and God giveth them good successe, and so I pray God graunte unto me and mine. Amen. John Bonner. Essex.	LM 2008, p. 105c
73432	Midd.	London	Lorde God speede me well. Tho. Pountes. Lond.	LM 2008, p. 110b
73435	Midd.	London	Lord sende Fortune if it be thy will, unto thee I deferre my minde. Ric. Goodwine. London.	LM 2009, p. 163b
73448	Midd.	London	God sende me good fortune. Richarde Drowry. London.	LM 2008, p. 114d
73468	Midd.	London	As God will, so be it. Elizabeth Bondworth. London.	LM 2008, p. 100a
73503	Cambs	Cambridge	Soone ynough if well enough. Jo. Hatcher. Cambridge.	LM 2008, p. 116c
73583	Midd.	London	The Stocket & the Nutbrown, retrieve the Partridge from the ground. Lewys Stocket. Lond.	LM 2008, p. 112c
73598	Midd.	London	The Stocket & the Nutbroune, retrieve the Partridge from the ground. Lewes Stocket. Lond.	LM 2009, p. 178b
73677	Midd.	London	The Lorde doth give, and the Lorde doth take, as pleaseth the Lorde my lotte to make. Clement Robinson. London.	LM 2008, p. 109d
73720	Midd.	London	God giveth all. Dericke Anthonye. London.	LM 2009, p. 173c
73816	Midd.	London	Gybers, Cole, and Florida, have brought me into great decay. I praye to God of his mercy and grace, that this may take better place. Thom. Parkins. London.	LM 2008, p. 107c
74206	Midd.	London	There is no drink like unto wyne in comparison, if it be dronk with discrete moderation. James Marston. London.	LM 2009, p. 174d
74287	Midd.	London	There is no drinke like unto wine in comparison, if it be dronke with discrete moderation. James Marston. London.	LM 2009, p. 162b
74523	Midd.	London	<i>Omnia desuper.</i> David Smith. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 103c
74540	Midd.	London	If it please God he can, sende a hundreth pounce for an olde man. Jo. Inman. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 110c
74564	Midd.	London	God sendeth fooles fortune. James Allin. London.	LM 2009, p. 172d
75182	Midd.	London	<i>In Domino confido.</i> Anne Powtrell. London.	LM 2008, p. 117d
75399	Midd.	London	God speede the plough, and we shall have corne ynough. p T.S. London.	LM 2009, p. 161d
75489	Midd.	London	Mijn hoofning tzu den vader door Jesus Christum mynen heyland. S.A. [V]enlot.	LM 2008, p. 116b
75514	Midd.	London	Mijn hoofning to den vader, door Jesus Christum mynen heyland. S.A. Venloe.	LM 2008, p. 114b
75718	Midd.	London	Good will and desire, makes two Flemmings to lay in here. S.D.S. London.	LM 2009, p. 173b
75760	Midd.	London	Good will and desire, makes two Flemmings to lay in heere. S.D.S. London.	LM 2009, p. 169c
75783	Midd.	London	Good wil and desire maketh two Flemmings to lay in here. S.D.S. London.	LM 2008, p. 102a
75819	Midd.	London	Good will and desire, makes two Flemmings to lay in here. S.D.S. London.	LM 2009, p. 174b
75884	Midd.	London	God sende in some, good chaunce to come. R.H. London.	LM 2009, p. 177a
76075	Midd.	London	<i>Nec spe nec metu.</i> R.L.	LM 2009, p. 167b
76246	Midd.	London	<i>Nec spe, nec metu.</i> R.L.	LM 2008, p. 114b
76306	Midd.	London	<i>Nec spe, nec metu.</i> R.L.	LM 2008, p. 102a
76436	Midd.	London	<i>Nec spe, nec metu.</i> R.L.	LM 2008, p. 108c
76657	Midd.	London	<i>Nec spe, nec metu.</i> R.L.	LM 2008, p. 107c
76666	Midd.	London	<i>Nec spe, nec metu.</i> R.L.	LM 2009, p. 163c
76673	Midd.	London	<i>Nec spe, nec metu.</i> R.L.	LM 2009, p. 166a
76785	Midd.	London	I hope for the best, for the worst I care not. Ralfe Lane.	LM 2009, p. 168b
76827	Midd.	London	I hope for the best, for the worst I care not. Rafe Lane.	LM 2008, p. 112a
76892	Midd.	London	I hope for the best, for the worst I care not. Rafe Lane.	LM 2008, p. 111d
76954	Midd.	London	Our number is great & money smal, God send us a lot to please us al. Grego. Lovell.	LM 2008, p. 99c
76957	Midd.	London	Our number is great and money small, God send us a lot to please us all. Gregorie Lovell.	LM 2008, p. 113b
77130	Midd.	London	Our number is great and money small, God send us a lot to please us all. Gregorie Lovell.	LM 2009, p. 162c
77930	Midd.	London	If God be with us, who can be against us? John Ingram. London.	LM 2009, p. 175a

78125	Midd.	London	The Blacksmithes hammer resembles the sound, of Musickes sweete tunes, whiche Tubal firste found. William Tanner of Lon.	LM 2008, p. 111d
78206	Midd.	London	From God it commeth thou mayest be sure, the gift of God to heale and cure. Alexander Mason. London.	LM 2009, p. 174c
78239	Midd.	London	From God it commeth, thou mayest be sure, the gift of God to heale and cure. Alexander Mason. London.	LM 2009, p. 177d
78266	Midd.	London	From God it commeth thou maist be sure, the gift of God to heale and cure. Per Alexander Mason. London.	LM 2008, p. 114b
78677	Midd.	London	Whatsoever in this Lotterie to us shall fall, we Weavers of London will prayse God for all. Christopher Smith. London.	LM 2008, p. 105a
79210	Kent	Crayford	Five I give, and five I have, by five I live, and five I crave. Thomas Harman Esquier of Craford in Kent.	LM 2009, p. 168b
79454	Midd.	London	God send me of his grace, howsoever it befall, and if it please him the greatest of all. Rich. Wakeman. London.	LM 2008, p. 103a
79606	Midd.	London	<i>Cura facit canos, quàmuis homo nesciat annos.</i> G.T. Dormall. London.	LM 2008, p. 118b
79643	Midd.	London	If it please God to sende us a good lot, it wil serve to buy the poore Joyners some wayneskot. Per William James. London.	LM 2009, p. 172c
79682	Midd.	London	In God is all my trust. Thomas Cleybroke. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 113b
79753	Midd.	London	As God hath apointed, the Painters be contented. Tho. Wadnal. Lond.	LM 2008, p. 111b
79798	Midd.	London	Some first, some next, some at the last, he may hap speed best, that makes no hast. Thomas Bright. London.	LM 2008, p. 113c
79810	Midd.	London	We be all minstrels and fayne would speede, good God in this lot do thou the deede. Ric. Frith. London.	LM 2008, p. 113a
79867	Midd.	London	We be all minstrels and fayne would speede, good God in this lot do the deede. Richard Frith. London.	LM 2009, p. 167a
79875	Midd.	London	We be all minstrels, and faine would speede, good God in this lot doe thou the deede. p Rich. Frith. London.	LM 2008, p. 99c
79916	Midd.	London	<i>Spes a natura data non erit frustra[ta].</i> Rich. Burston. London.	LM 2008, p. 105d
79917	Kent	??	<i>Semel e3 semper.</i> Thomas Cornelius. Kent.	LM 2008, p. 114b
79929	Midd.	London	If by foure lots at a prise fortune will gyve me a pluck, the Reader shall have a ring of gold, and say it is Ladies luck. p Robert Langham. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 101b
80156	Midd.	London	<i>Sors cuique sua est.</i> Simon Ludforde, Doctor of Medecin. London.	LM 2008, p. 102d
80251	Suff.	Ipswich	I aske no more, but for the poore. p John Dier de Ipswich.	LM 2008, p. 103b
80551	Bucks	Wing	My hap seldome turneth to gayne. per Gilleam Dor.	LM 2009, p. 162d
80568	York N	Skipton Castle	Have with you for company. p Henr. Comit. Cumbr. Skipton.	LM 2008, p. 106a
80571	York N	Skipton Castle	Have with you for companie. p Henr. Comitem Cumbr. Skipton.	LM 2008, p. 101b
80624	York N	Skipton Castle	Have with you for company. p Henr. Comitem Cumbr. Skipton.	LM 2009, p. 166b
80707	York N	Calton	Leade thy life in loyalte. John Lambert of Calton.	LM 2009, p. 160d
80917	Suss.	Horsted Keynes	Hersted Keynes is my name, the great lot would make me have fame. p Hersted Kaines parishe Sussex.	LM 2008, p. 114a
81033	Suss.	Ditchling	God blesse us everlastingly, and kepe us from sinne perpetually. p Richard Virall Diching in Sussex.	LM 2009, p. 165a
81258	Kent	Bromley	The riche ruleth the poore, and the borrower is servant to the lender. p the parishe of Bromley in Kent.	LM 2009, p. 176a
81554	Kent	Darenth	<i>Quid iustum est Deus.</i> p the parishe of D[er]nt in Kent.	LM 2008, p. 104b
81585	Kent	Southfleet	Be meeke in spirit. By the parish of Southflete. Kent.	LM 2009, p. 174c
81706	Devon	Chagford	Good chaunce for Chagford. p D.Hall Chagford.	LM 2008, p. 101c
81763	Devon	Whitstone ?	My pose is small, but a good lot may fall. p John Burnell. Whitston.	LM 2008, p. 99b
81917	Devon	Crediton	A good gale of winde, God sende some lucky lot to finde. Per George Gate. Gent. Crediton.	LM 2008, p. 101a
82063	Devon	Tiverton	If I speede well, the poore shall speede the better. Per John Waldron the elder. Tiverton.	LM 2008, p. 99b
82081	Devon	Tiverton	If I speede well, the pore shall speede the better. Per John Waldron the elder. Tiverton.	LM 2008, p. 106b
82193	Devon	Cullompton	Fortune be thou our friende, whether we lose or win. John Cockram. Collamton.	LM 2009, p. 170c
82256	Devon	Sidbury, Sidmouth	God helpe the poore of Sidbury and Sydmouthe. p Antho. Harvy. Sydbury.	LM 2008, p. 114a
82291	Devon	Sidbury, Sidmouth	God helpe the poore of Sidburie and Sidmouth. p Antho. Harvie. Sidbury.	LM 2009, p. 175a
82313	Devon ?	??	God helpe the poore. p Edgecote.	LM 2009, p. 167a
82583	Devon	Exeter	In the spring time trees waxe greene, God save Elizabeth our noble Queene. By John Trevet the elder of Exon.	LM 2009, p. 175a
82612	Oxon	Witney	Good luck upwards. The town of Whitton. Oxon.	LM 2009, p. 164a
82969	Essex	Little Braxsted	God send good luck to those that trust. p Clement Roberts de Braxsted gent.	LM 2008, p. 102a
83013	Essex	Great Baddow	For Badowe strete, the great lot must mete. Per Joh. Pascall. Ar. de Magna Badowe.	LM 2008, p. 108c

83121	Essex	Mayland	I wishe such lot to have, as my charges may save. Per Thomas Stace de Maylon. Yoman.	LM 2008, p. 111a
83192	Essex	Chelmsford	As to my prince I beare fayth and love, so have I put in my lot, as doth behove. p John Bridgies de Chelmsforde.	LM 2008, p. 106d
83198	Essex	Chelmsford	I am contented to take great payne, to put in my lot to have some gayne. Per Joh. Bridges de Chelmsford.	LM 2008, p. 106c
83382	Northants	Rothwell	Who so feareth the Lord, shall be blessed. p William Ponder de Rotchwel.	LM 2009, p. 168a
83412	Northants	Collyweston	Diew a downe. p Christopher Metcalfe, de Colliweston.	LM 2008, p. 116a
83804	Dorset	Shaftesbury	I hope for gain. p Robertum Somerf[f]eld de Shaftesbury in the parish of Saint Peters there.	LM 2008, p. 116a
83865	Dorset	Thornford	Happie is he that others faultes giveth warnyng unto. Per John Master of Thornefores.	LM 2008, p. 102d
83882	Dorset	Sherborne	Thi[s] is done with my good will, whyther it be to win or spill. p William Cowth de Sherborne, Marchaunt.	LM 2008, p. 103a
83986	Kent	West Peckham	Goe Rialles goe, if we have not good lots we are undoe. p paroch. de West Peckham in Comit. Kanc.	LM 2009, p. 177a
84051	Kent	Horsmonden	I have nothing, but with paynes, I have put in a lot hoping to have gaynes. p Jo Hicks de Horsemenden in Kent.	LM 2009, p. 164c
84687	Cornw	Gwinear	Have to the mark. p Benet Rossewarne of Gwyner in Cornewall.	LM 2008, p. 101d
84695	Cornw	St Buryan	God preserve us. p Joh. [V]ele of Borian in Cornewall.	LM 2008, p. 106c
84776	Kent	Canterbury	God speede well. S. Androwes parishe in Canterbury.	LM 2009, p. 165b
84955	Salop	Neen Savage	Either in prosperitie or adversitie, blessed be the Trinitie. p Franc. Head de new Savage.	LM 2008, p. 106b
85144	Hants	Southampton	Doe as you would be done unto. F.Caplin. South hampton.	LM 2009, p. 169d
85406	Devon	Clyst Saint Lawrence	God is a righteous judge. p Rob. Eveligh, Gent. of S. Laurence. Clifte.	LM 2008, p. 113c
85573	Devon	Axmouthe	Armouthe for a haven is a fit place, and a haven it may be if it please the Queenes grace. p William Mallocke of Armouthe.	LM 2008, p. 99d
85674	Devon	Colyford (Colyton)	Hop and hop highest. p Richard Hopper of Collyforde.	LM 2008, p. 113c
85836	Somerset	Wells	<i>Veritas omnia vincit.</i> Per Bartelmewe Haggat of Welles in Somers.	LM 2008, p. 109b
85914	Essex	Colchester	God helpe the fatherlesse. p. Martham Robinson. Colchester.	LM 2008, p. 159d
85955	Essex	Dedham	The Lorde is God, and governeth all, and as he will the prise shall fall. p William Littelbury. Dedham.	LM 2009, p. 165c
85998	Essex	Dedham	If it please God to sende me any thing, I truste to praise him both morning and evening, p John Luskin of Dedham.	LM 2009, p. 167d
86137	Essex	Colchester ?	The [...] man advaunce, of him th[...]ny chaunce. p John Beast B[...]r.	LM 2009, p. 174c
86225	Essex	Stanway	The lottes for lucke in lap are cast, but God doth guyde both first and last. By Edmund Bocking. Ar. Stanway.	LM 2009, p. 169a
86240	Essex	Stanway	The lottes for lucke in lap are cast, but God doth guyde both first and last. p Edmund Bocking. Ar. de Stanway.	LM 2009, p. 166c
86381	Essex	Stanway	Hap what hap will for I will assay, if fortune be frendly speede well I may. p Edmund Bocking Ar. Stanway.	LM 2009, p. 170d
86396	Essex	Stanway	Hap what hap will for I will assay, if fortune be friendly speede wel I may. p Edmund Bocking Ar. Stanway.	LM 2008, p. 112d
86456	York W	Kingsley Park	Helpe Gargrave as needes, Wakefield, Pont. and Leedes. Per Thomas Gargrave o[...fley].	LM 2008, p. 104c
86594	York W	Kingsley Park	Help Gargrave as needes, Wake. Pont. & Leedes. Thom. Gargrave. Kingsley.	LM 2008, p. 118b
86631	York W	Kingsley Park	Helpe Gargrave as needes, Wakefield, Pomfret and Leedes. p Thomas Gargrave of Kingsley.	LM 2008, p. 115c
86677	York W	Kingsley Park	Helpe Gargrave as needes, Wakefield, Pomfret, and Leedes. Per Thomas Gargrave. Kingsley.	LM 2008, p. 117d
86721	York W	Kingsley Park	Help Gargrave as needes, Wake. Pont. & Leedes. p Thom. Gargrave. Kingsley.	LM 2008, p. 115d
86875	York W	Stansfield (Halifax)	Stande in the fiede like a man. p Edward. Stansfield. Stansfielde.	LM 2009, p. 178a
86889	York W	Learings (Halifax)	God sende him heaven. p Thom. Grenewood. Leringes.	LM 2008, p. 107a
86999	York W	Doncaster	Do well for Doncaster. p Rich. Fenton of Doncaster.	LM 2009, p. 165c
87070	York W	Doncaster	Trigesies fortuna, millesies esto. p Joh. Hudson, clericum de Doncaster.	LM 2008, p. 118b
87158	Wilts	South Wraxall	Win it and weare it. p Robert Long Esquire of Southwraxall.	LM 2009, p. 175d
87299	Wilts	Tockenham	A good lot will us well like. p Tokenham.	LM 2008, p. 109a
87312	Wilts	Castle Eaton	God be praised. p the parishe of Castell Eaton.	LM 2009, p. 175d
87406	Norf	??	As God is pleased, so my heart shall be eased. Per Tho. Digby. Norff.	LM 2008, p. 100b
87431	Norf	??	As God is pleased, so my heart shall be eased. per Thom. Digbie. Norf.	LM 2008, p. 108a

87474	Midd.	Stoke Newington	Our neighbours about in iarre, among them God helpe at warre, and we in lottes and laughter may be seene, nowe prayse and thanks to God, and to our Queene. p Anne Patten de Stoke Newington.	LM 2008, p. 159b
87533	Midd.	London	I abyde my time. p Nicholas Halliday. London.	LM 2009, p. 162c
87597	Rutland	Exton	To the almightie God I betake, the adventure that we make. Lucie Harrington de Exton. Rutlandshire.	LM 2009, p. 163d
87679	Midd.	London	From the Lorde commeth all. p Henric. Smyth. London.	LM 2009, p. 178b
87699	Midd.	London	From the Lorde commeth all. p Henry Smith. London.	LM 2008, p. 112a
87910	Midd.	Westminster	God is a good man, S. Peter is the better, if we have not a good lot, God shall be our debter. Per S. Margarettes in Westm.	LM 2008, p. 109b
87947	Kent	Lenham	In the Lord God Jehovah is my trust, let it come to passe as it pleaseth him. p Thomas Reiner de Leinham. Kent.	LM 2009, p. 164a
87984	Midd.	London	Thou elfe, this is for my selfe. p Richard Clerk of London.	LM 2008, p. 102a
88084	York E	Hull	Even what pleaseth the Lord, is welcome. Peter Carlile.	LM 2009, p. 178b
88202	Midd.	London	<i>Fortune amy.</i> Sir Thom. Gresham. Knight. p Lond.	LM 2009, p. 173b
88384	Midd.	London	<i>Fortune amy.</i> Sir Thomas Gresham, Knight. per London.	LM 2008, p. 110d
88394	Midd.	London	<i>Fortune amy.</i> Sir Thomas Gresham. Knight. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 118a
88397	Midd.	London	<i>Fortune amy.</i> Sir Thomas Gresham. Knight. Lon.	LM 2009, p. 165b
88418	Midd.	London	<i>Fortune amy.</i> Sir Thomas Gresham. Knight. Lon.	LM 2009, p. 173a
88438	Midd.	London	<i>Fortune amy.</i> Sir Thomas Gresham, Knight. Per London.	LM 2008, p. 106c
88521	Midd.	London	Be it great or small, I am content withall. Cornelis Godfrey. p London.	LM 2008, p. 110b
88561	Midd.	London	<i>Spel alit Agricolas.</i> p S. P.B.W. Comp.	LM 2008, p. 107a
88627	Norf	Baconsthorpe	God send me good fortune. Thomas Methwolde. Bakonschorp.	LM 2008, p. 112b
88775	Norf	Shiphdam	If we have money to buie sheepe, we will soone after clip. p the towne of Shipham.	LM 2009, p. 174a
88795	Norf	Hockering	Thinke well and say little. Robert Smalpece of Hockering.	LM 2008, p. 159b
88844	Norf	Hingham	Hap may hap wel. P Rob. Constable of Hingham.	LM 2009, p. 173c
88864	Midd.	London	<i>Ditat feruata fides.</i> Wi. Barker. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 99b
88961	Northants	Courteenhall	Ye Officers al, be good to the fermour of Cortnal. By James D[a]ffield of Cortnall in Northamptonshire. Esquire.	LM 2008, p. 117b
88999	Northants	Weston Favell	Fayne I woulde have it. By John Mottershed of Weston Favel. Northampt.	LM 2008, p. 100d
89030	Northants	Northampton	As God wil, so be it. p John Balgay of the towne of Northampton.	LM 2009, p. 170b
89033	Northants	Northampton	As God wil, so be it. John Balgay of the towne of Northampt.	LM 2009, p. 160a
89137	Northants	Northampton	As God will, so be it. Jo. Balgaye of the Towne of Northampton.	LM 2008, p. 109a
89175	Northants	Northampton	Hope casteth out feare. By Joh. Brian of Northampton.	LM 2008, p. 115b
89222	Northants	Northampton	Hope casteth out feare. p Jo. Brian of Northampton.	LM 2009, p. 178b
89251	Northants	Northampton	Hope casteth out feare. By John Brian of Northampton.	LM 2009, p. 161c
89415	Northants	Grendon	I have my will. p John George Petyt of Gryndon. Northampt.	LM 2008, p. 112a
89441	Northants	Alderton	My mind is good. By Foulke Conway of Alderton.	LM 2009, p. 174a
89626	Northants	Harlestone	If it will be a good lot, God sende me. By Valentine Gregorie of Harlestone in Northamptonshire.	LM 2008, p. 109b
89783	Northants ?	??	As God will, so we will. p Tho. Jenny. Milliborn.	LM 2009, p. 160c
89850	Hants	Micheldever	God send us gaynes. p Jo. Smith de Micheldever.	LM 2009, p. 164c
89854	Hants	Micheldever	God send us gaynes. p Jo. Smith de Micheldever.	LM 2008, p. 109a
89901	Hants	Winchester	Be mery, whatsoever chaunce. p John Powel. Sokawinton.	LM 2009, p. 161a
89976	Hants	Sparsholt	One lot I set. p Johannem Godwin. Sparsholt.	LM 2009, p. 176b
90007	Hants	Hamble le Rice	Poverty parteth fellowship. p J. Frie. Hamlerice.	LM 2009, p. 177b
90066	Hants	Winchester	God be our speede, we have great neede. Per John White de Winchester.	LM 2009, p. 178a
90085	Hants	Winchester	God be our speede, we have great neede. p John White de Winchest.	LM 2009, p. 173a
90179	Midd.	London	Henrie Gamble. Howe soever it befall, God helpe the Coupers hall. p London.	LM 2008, p. 109d
90239	Midd.	??	I may as well as an other, have ye best lot or some other. Robert Hayes. Midd.	LM 2009, p. 164b
90564	Somerset	Bath	William Cavel, dwelling in Ba[the], God be my speede, and send me the best lot for I have most neede. Per Bathe.	LM 2008, p. 102c
90683	Midd.	Norton Folgate	In our adventure God sende us good speede, seven brethren by father and mother we are in deede. Per Norton Falgate. William Robinson.	LM 2008, p. 159a
90741	Midd.	East Smithfield	I Laurunce Tilman of Eastsmithfelde, am not the last, therfore I hope not all in wast. p Lond.	LM 2008, p. 104c

90971	Midd.	London	Mary Brown. The first shal be last, & the last shall be fir[st]. London.	LM 2008, p. 106b
90988	Salop	Wollerton	Rowland Barker. <i>Sors non omnibus eadem.</i> p Wolerton in the county of Salop.	LM 2008, p. 108c
91057	Midd.	London	Roger Farthing. Can any man denie, but that almightie God can a farthing multiplie? London.	LM 2009, p. 167c
91134	Midd.	London	Thomas Went. Better late than never. London.	LM 2009, p. 166b
91171	Midd.	London	Elizabeth Pattenforth. If good hap come receyve it I must, but in Gods grace is only my trust. London.	LM 2009, p. 176b
91223	Midd.	London	Arthur Kempe my fathers eldest sonne, God send me a lot though I come after none. per London.	LM 2008, p. 102b
91240	Midd.	London	James Johnson, if I have not the great lotte, by thought there is nothing to be gott. London.	LM 2009, p. 170b
91254	Worcs	Bransford ?	W. Poole. Rainsford. Not fortune, but God. per Worcestershire.	LM 2009, p. 173d
91290	Midd.	London	<i>Si le ventura viendra, le cinque de gaya participara.</i> London.	LM 2008, p. 117b
91345	Bucks	Astwood	Be it unto me according to thy mercie. Ric. Chibnall. Attewood.	LM 2008, p. 115b
91757	Devon	Plymouth	Advauncement by diligence. William Haukins of Plimmouth.	LM 2009, p. 169c
92230	Devon	Ideford	At Edforde under the hill. p Barthol. Borington. of Edford.	LM 2008, p. 99d
92252	Devon	Chudleigh	Serve God above all things. p John Riff of Chedly.	LM 2008, p. 101a
92453	Warks ?	Middleton ?	Have in for company. P Hugh Gorton of Middleton.	LM 2009, p. 163c
92458	??	??	Happy man, happy dole. P Rob. Besikare of Pakington.	LM 2009, p. 161a
92662	Devon	Ashton	Pray God be my fortune. p Christopher Cheyley of Ayston.	LM 2009, p. 173a
92706	Devon	Ashburton	God spee[d] [...] [s]hall do well ynough. Per [...] Pr [...] of Asheburton.	LM 2009, p. 172c
92720	Devon	Kenn	I trust in God. Jo. Gere de Kine.	LM 2009, p. 173a
92738	Devon ?	North Bovey ?	The better my lot, the happier am I. p Jo. Ellis of Northboute.	LM 2008, p. 115c
92758	Devon	Doddyscombsle igh	God sende good luck. p Jo. Saunders of Dods. Com[ly].	LM 2008, p. 113a
92785	Devon	Bishopsteignton	Arise aright. Per Thomas Hewet of Bishop Tenton.	LM 2008, p. 114b
92855	Midd.	London	Good fortune to all those, that be workers of Clothes. p the companie of Clothworkers.	LM 2009, p. 160d
92918	Midd.	London	Good fortune to all those, that be workers of Clothes. p the company of Clothworkers. London.	LM 2008, p. 107b
93042	Midd.	London	Good fortune to all those that be workers of Clothes. By the company of Clothworkers. Lond.	LM 2009, p. 167d
93165	Midd.	London	As God doth rule in every thing, I am contented with his apointing. p Ric. Martin of Cheapside, Goldsmith.	LM 2009, p. 164d
93364	Midd.	London	If Adams spe[...] in deede, relieve the neede. p Ric. Adams [...] don. Sadler.	LM 2009, p. 169c
93387	Midd.	London	If Adams speede, he wil in deede, relieve the neede. p Ric. Adams of London. Sadler.	LM 2008, p. 112a
93463	Midd.	London	Salt savoureth all things. p Wil. Gibbons. Salter.	LM 2008, p. 105a
93531	Midd.	London	Since no man can his chaunce commaund, let fortune aunswere my demaunde. p Anthony Cage[st]. London. Salter.	LM 2008, p. 103b
93678	Midd.	London	With yron and steele is made speare and shielde, to subdue our ennimies with Gods helpe in the field. p John Stile of London. Ironmonger.	LM 2008, p. 101d
93808	Midd.	London	Welbeloved friends I pray you al, send the great lot to the Ironmongers hall. p Rob. Beamond of London. Ironmonger.	LM 2009, p. 162a
93894	Midd.	London	While golde and silver are in use, the name of Goldsmiths shall endure. p John Wetherhill, Goldsmith.	LM 2009, p. 160b
93920	Midd.	London	While Golde and Silver are in use, the name of Goldsmithes shall endure. p John Wetherbyll, Goldsmith.	LM 2008, p. 99c
93981	Midd.	London	While golde and silver are in use, the name of Goldsmiths shall endure. p John Wetherhill. Goldsmith.	LM 2009, p. 161b
94060	Midd.	London	Even or od, my trust is in God. p William Dunham. Goldsmith.	LM 2009, p. 170d
94108	Midd.	London	Even or od, my trust is in God. p William Dunham, goldsmith.	LM 2008, p. 117b
94176	Midd.	London	Hab or nab, P the yonger Mab. John Mab the [y]onger, Goldsmith.	LM 2009, p. 172b
94207	Midd.	London	Hab or nab P the yonger Mab. John Mab the yonger. Goldsmith.	LM 2009, p. 166b
94240	Midd.	London	Hab or nab, P the yonger Mab. p John Mab the yonger. Goldsmith.	LM 2009, p. 163a
94305	Midd.	London	Hab or nab [...] the yonger Mab. John Mab the yonge [...] oldsmith.	LM 2009, p. 177c
94397	Midd.	London	What fortune brings to hand, with that content I stande. p Henry Cule, goldsmith, straunger.	LM 2008, p. 112d
94406	Midd.	London	What fortune brings to hand, with that content I stand. Per Henry Kule, Goldsmith. straunger.	LM 2009, p. 164a
94413	Midd.	London	<i>Memento mori Maline.</i> p Tho. Malyn of London. Grocer.	LM 2008, p. 112a

94497	Midd.	London	Though our ability be but small, yet that we put in, is in hope for us al, as those that be knit like shoe and sole, if God be with us, good luck shall befall. p Mathew Harrison of London. Cordewayner.	LM 2008, p. 102c
94620	Midd.	London	We Brewers God sende us, a good lot to me[n]de us. John Bankes of the parish of Saint Gil[e]s.	LM 2009, p. 169b
94672	Midd.	London	We Brewers God sende us, a good lot to mende us. Jo. Stephens in the parish of Saint Annes.	LM 2009, p. 170b
94683	Midd.	London	We Brewers God sende us, a good lot to mende us. p John Stevens in the parishe of S. Annes.	LM 2008, p. 113d
94693	Midd.	London	We Brewers God sende us, a good lot to mende us. John Stephens of the parish of S. Annes.	LM 2009, p. 172c
94729	Midd.	London	As God wil, so be it. p John Bunting of London. Baker.	LM 2008, p. 111d
94814	Midd.	London	<i>Et mibi, e3 multis.</i> Robert Shute reader of Grayes Inne.	LM 2009, p. 170b
94842	Midd.	London	<i>Et mibi, e3 multis.</i> Robert Shute reader of Grayes Inne.	LM 2008, p. 109c
94974	Surrey	Lambeth	As God will, so be it. Maister Thomas Colby of Lambeth.	LM 2009, p. 160b
95010	Surrey	Lambeth	As God wil, so be it. Maister Thomas Colbie of Lambeth.	LM 2008, p. 159c
95041	Surrey	Lambeth	As God will, so be it. M. Thomas Colby of Lambeth.	LM 2009, p. 174b
95431	Warks	Warwick	<i>Et dubito et spero.</i> Anne Countesse of Warwicke.	LM 2009, p. 161d
95479	Berks	Old Windsor	<i>Pour le mieulx.</i> Frauncis Michel, wife unto Humfrey Michel of old Winsor. gent.	LM 2008, p. 101c
95481	Berks	Old Windsor	<i>Pour le mieulx.</i> Francis Michel wife unto Humfrey Michel of olde Windsor. gent.	LM 2008, p. 109c
95482	Berks	Old Windsor	<i>Pour le mieulx.</i> Francis Michell, wife to Humfrey Michel of olde Windsore.	LM 2008, p. 102d
95551	Midd.	London	<i>Bonus esto bonis.</i> W.H. p Lon.	LM 2008, p. 104d
95688	Midd.	London	One bird in hand is worth two in the wood, if we have the great lot, it wil do us. William Albany. London.	LM 2009, p. 166b
96024	Midd.	London	<i>Acerbo Velutelli de Luca. Per trois bons compaignons.</i>	LM 2008, p. 159d
96086	Midd.	London	<i>Acerbo Velutelli de Luca. p Mio Conte appart. R.</i>	LM 2009, p. 174b
96132	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. P M. and A.	LM 2009, p. 176b
96137	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. P M. and A.	LM 2009, p. 175d
96212	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. P M. and A.	LM 2009, p. 162b
96373	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 113b
96421	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 104a
96464	Midd.	London	God preserve the citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 104c
96588	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. P M. and A.	LM 2009, p. 161c
96718	Suff.	Ipswich	God give me good successe. p Steven Greenewich. Ip[s]wich	LM 2009, p. 169c
96749	Worcs	Worcester	Even as it pleaseth God. John Collier. Worcester.	LM 2008, p. 106b
97014	Devon	Barnstaple	I am in health, hole and sounde, God sende me a prise of a thousande pounce. p Oliver Peard of Barnstaple.	LM 2008, p. 114d
97294	York E	Hull	Thinke wel and thanke God. p Thorne-ton. Hull.	LM 2009, p. 164b
97436	Midd.	London	In wealth and wo, <i>laudes Deo.</i> per George Allen. Skinner. London.	LM 2009, p. 166b
97586	Midd.	London	Marke, and muse, and spare not, God giveth the best, I care not. John Birde. London.	LM 2008, p. 99a
97625	Midd.	London	How it befall, God help Coupers hal. Henry Gamble. London.	LM 2009, p. 161c
98022	Somerset	Bath	God be my speede, and sende me the best lot, for I have neede. Wil. Cavell. p Bath.	LM 2008, p. 107d
98226	York E	Hull	William Carlill the yonger, in Hull I do dwell, I trust in the Lord, by this Lotterie for to speede well. Hull.	LM 2009, p. 162a
98308	Surrey	Surrey	<i>Exeat auspicio sors mibi fausta bona.</i> Rich. Stevens. Surrey.	LM 2008, p. 117d
98416	Kent	Southfleet ?	John Sedley is my name, of the best lot I would be glad, or else I were to blame. Kent.	LM 2009, p. 170c
98452	Midd. ?	London ?	This is the posie of children five, God send them all to thrive.	LM 2009, p. 170a
98534	Midd.	London	The thought is past the money payd, let losse and gaynes therof proceede. O Fortune adde thy friendly ayde, graunt hap to hope and well to speede. Jerome Payment. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 113b
98557	Cambs	Isle of Ely ?	Let truth try all. Ar. Bensal. Cambr.	LM 2008, p. 159d
98565	Midd.	London	Though hope be far above my hap, good luck may me advaunce. Henry Spelman. London.	LM 2009, p. 170c
98693	Midd.	London	Many desire that one shall have, to be that one of God I crave. Wil. Holmes. Lon.	LM 2009, p. 169c
98788	Midd.	London	<i>Fiat voluntas tua. p. F.W. London.</i>	LM 2008, p. 117d
99136	Midd.	London	As God will. Per William Jurden. London.	LM 2009, p. 160a
99249	Midd.	London	Nothing venture, nothing have. John Robins of London.	LM 2009, p. 168b
99333	Midd.	London	<i>Deus dat cui vult.</i> Derricke Anthony. London.	LM 2008, p. 112b

99339	Midd.	London	<i>vivit post funera virtus.</i> N.S. London.	LM 2009, p. 165d
99516	Midd.	London	<i>Ditat servata fides.</i> William Barker. London.	LM 2009, p. 178a
99547	Midd.	London	<i>Ditat servata fides.</i> William Barker. London.	LM 2008, p. 108a
99594	Midd.	London	God be my friende. Thomas Cony. London.	LM 2009, p. 174a
99673	Midd.	London	God be mercifull to me. O.D. Lon.	LM 2009, p. 178a
99759	Midd.	London	God sende me good luck to his pleasure. O.D. London.	LM 2009, p. 172a
99813	York W	Bentley Grange (Emley)	In the Lord I trust. p Robert Allot. Bentley Graunge.	LM 2008, p. 107b
100170	Midd.	Westminster	<i>Fortuna an sorte, nec curv forsan an forte.</i> The Offices of the kitchen, & the members of the same. Westm.	LM 2009, p. 162d
100232	Surrey	Hampton Court	Luck or no luck, no care. William Cecil. Hampton Court.	LM 2009, p. 166c
100384	Midd.	Hampton Court	<i>Non pur bain.</i> Hugh Alington. Hampton court.	LM 2008, p. 113d
100416	Midd.	Hampton Court	Nothing venture, nothyng get, go ryall, and mo fellowes set. John Somer. Hampton Courte.	LM 2008, p. 111c
100416	Salop	Shrewsbury	The untie of brethren pleaseth the Lord. p Rich. Penwel de vill' Salop. Mercer.	LM 2009, p. 166b
100483	Midd.	Westminster	Blessed Trinitie, helpe the Queenes Pultrie. Westm.	LM 2008, p. 116a
100744	Devon	Tavistock	First learne, then discerne. P John Fils of Tavestocke.	LM 2009, p. 169d
100745	Midd.	Westminster	As God will, so be it. The offices of the Greenecloth. Westm.	LM 2009, p. 166b
100747	Midd.	Westminster	As God will so beit. The office of the Greenecloth. Westm.	LM 2008, p. 114a
101890	Midd.	Westminster	<i>Fortuna an sorte, nec curv forsan an forte.</i> The office of the kitchen and the members of the same. Westm.	LM 2008, p. 107b
101899	Midd.	Westminster	<i>Fortune an sorte, nec curv forsan an forte.</i> The Offices of the kitchen, and the members of the same. Westm.	LM 2008, p. 106a
102049	Midd.	Westminster	<i>Fortuna an sorte, nec curv forsan an forte.</i> The offices of the Kitchen, & the membres of the same. at Westm.	LM 2008, p. 116b
102391	Essex	Leigh on Sea	For the gret lot I looke not for, but for that a gracious Queene God hath us sent, to put in vij lots I am content. p Tho. Samon de Lee, Mariner.	LM 2009, p. 176a
102450	Cambs	Cambridge	Jesus Colledge is my guyde. p Rich. Marshall de Cambridge.	LM 2009, p. 177a
102677	Essex	Abberton	If lucky lot shall shorte my Share, to use it well shal be my care. p Joh. Thimble. Aburton.	LM 2009, p. 169b
102950	Essex	Rettendon ?	If fortune frend Betingdon shal raigne. p Thom. Vicars de Betingdon.	LM 2008, p. 117d
102953	Essex	Chignell St James	There is good Ale, at S. James Chignale. p John Bowsey. Yoman.	LM 2008, p. 100d
102967	Essex	Roxwell	Hit or misse, surely I shall, whatsoever happen, gyve thanks to God for all. p William Walter de Boxswell. Gent.	LM 2009, p. 167a
103194	Essex	Great Leighs	Much Lees hopeth well. p Thomas Gynes. Gent.	LM 2009, p. 172c
103250	Essex	Saffron Walden	Richard Stockmar of Walden his pose. Poverty parts Companie. Essex.	LM 2008, p. 102c
103530	Lincs	Blankney	<i>Bene fortunet spiritus almu.</i> Joh. Thorold Blankney. Lincolne.	LM 2008, p. 105b
103565	Lincs	Wainfleet St Mary	It is thirten to one, I get none. Per H. Upton of Wainfleete. S.	LM 2008, p. 109a
103679	Herts	Shenley	If fortune fayle as oft he must, my love must quayle and lie in the dust. p F. Harvy de Shemley.	LM 2009, p. 167b
103753	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 110a
103815	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. p. M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 103d
103872	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. P M. and A.	LM 2009, p. 174a
103879	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. P M. and A.	LM 2009, p. 175d
104107	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. P M. and A.	LM 2009, p. 163b
104536	Herts	Norton	Let us have at all. p John Tompson of Norton. com Hertf.	LM 2009, p. 163d
104722	Midd.	London	Some gaine of the lotterie, God sende to the Grocerie. G.C.	LM 2008, p. 106a
104941	Cambs	Melbourn	Better be happy than rich. per Thom. Sterne of Melborne.	LM 2009, p. 169c
104987	Cambs	Rampton	In neede, good fortune speed. p Tho. Alcock. Rampton.	LM 2009, p. 167b
105029	Cambs	Over	Love fulfilleth the law. p William Smy. Over.	LM 2009, p. 166a
105292	Cambs	Cambridge	For the towne of Cambridge in this open place, God save the Queene, & the Duke of Norffolks grace. p Roger Sleg. maior Cant.	LM 2009, p. 176b
105377	Cambs	Cambridge	For the towne of Cambridge in this open place, God save the Queene, & the Duke of Norffolks grace. Per Roger Sleg, maior of Cantabridge.	LM 2009, p. 172a
105386	Cambs	Cambridge	For the towne of Cambridge, in this open place, God save the Queene, and the Duke of Norffolks grace. Roger Slegge, Maior of Cambridge	LM 2009, p. 172d
105391	Cambs	Cambridge	For the [...] ridge in this oen place, God s [...] Queene, and the Duke of Norfolkes g [...] p Roger Slegge, Maior Cantab.	LM 2009, p. 177c

105441	Cambs	Cambridge		For the Towne of Cambridge in this open place, God save the Queene, & the Duke of Norfolkes grace. Per Robert Slegge. Maior Cantabr.	LM 2008, p. 107c
105470	Cambs	Cambridge		For the towne of Cambridge in this open place, God save the Queene & the Duke of Norffolkes grace. p Roger Sleg. Maior of Cambridge.	LM 2008, p. 105d
105636	Somerset	Hinton George	St	I meane well. p Martin Henton de S. Georges.	LM 2008, p. 117d
105691	Somerset	Hinton George	St	I meane well. p Martin of Henton S. Gregories.	LM 2008, p. 100c
105701	Somerset	Hinton George	St	I meane well. P Martin de Henton. S. George.	LM 2009, p. 161b
105907	Suss.			God save the Queene, whether we lose or win. p William Anderson. Sussex.	LM 2009, p. 172a
106064	Suss.	Greene		God save the Queene, and send us good lucke to Greene. p Tho. Greatwike. Suss.	LM 2008, p. 111d
106140	Suff. ?	??		God send us good lucke. p Robertum Hunt. Suff.	LM 2009, p. 166b
106171	Suss.	Goring		Give God glorie. Per Goring. Sussex.	LM 2008, p. 107a
106177	Suss.	Fittleworth		God sende downe a good lot for Fitworth town. p Jo. Emalt. Sussex.	LM 2009, p. 173b
106198	Suss.	Amberley		Good lucke God sende, to Amberley men. p Wil. Rose. Sussex.	LM 2008, p. 110d
106420	Cambs ?	Isle of Ely ?		God rule [...]	LM 2009, p. 177c
106539	Cambs	Wisbech		God is good. Robert Skortred of Wisbiche.	LM 2008, p. 113c
106594	Cambs ?	Newton in the Isle ?		In space commeth grace. p Ric. Warren de N[eln]ton.	LM 2009, p. 177b
106806	Hunts	Sawtry		Sawtrey by the way, now a grange, that was an Abbay. George Bowles. Gent. of Sawtrey in the Coun. of Hunt.	LM 2008, p. 101a
106820	Hunts	Glatton		If hope may have his hire, much do I not desire. Robert Key of Glatton in the countie of Hunt. Gent.	LM 2009, p. 168c
106822	Hunts	Stanground		Now or never. Edward Emery of Stranground.	LM 2009, p. 161b
106859	Hunts	Woodston		After evil hap by fire, to have good lucke is my desire. per Thurston Howet of Wadston in the countie of Hunt.	LM 2009, p. 170a
106899	Somerset	Limington		I wil if I may. p John Eston de Limington.	LM 2008, p. 103c
106934	Somerset	Charlton Adam		God save the Queene. p E. Ball. East Cherelton.	LM 2008, p. 107d
106977	Somerset	Huish (Yeovil)		Speake Paret I praye you. p Alice Evered de Hawishe.	LM 2008, p. 102a
107057	Somerset	Martock		Deeme the best. p William Deme. Martocke.	LM 2008, p. 108a
107131	Hunts	Hamerton		In my desire God me defende. p Silvester Bedell de Hamerton. gent.	LM 2008, p. 103d
107135	Hunts	Brampton		My money is in, wheresoever I dwell, I put my trust in God, who ever doth well. p Reingolde Kingles de Brampt.	LM 2008, p. 107d
107207	Hunts	Alconbury Weston		<i>Non fortunæ rota, sed Dei providentia.</i> P Thomas Worliche de Alkensbury. Weston. Generos.	LM 2009, p. 162c
107211	Hunts	Leighton Bromswold		Liberalitie bringeth a man to honour. Tho. Spilwater, de Leigheton.	LM 2009, p. 174c
107292	Surrey	Shalford		God graunt this lot may bring me gains. George Elliot. Salford. Surrey.	LM 2009, p. 169d
107418	Surrey	Chobham		To have my will, can not be ill. Anne Brodhurst. Chabham. Surrey.	LM 2009, p. 175b
107445	Surrey	Wonersh		We hope God will encrease the store. p J. Meller the Wovershe. Sur.	LM 2009, p. 173b
107796	Northants	Aynho		Nothing venture, nothing win. Edward Love. Dinho.	LM 2009, p. 172d
107894	Hunts	Hemingford Abbots		Robert Morrocke dwelling within the lane, desireth God to send his money with a gaine. Per Robert Morrocke of Hemingford Abbot in Coun. Hunt.	LM 2008, p. 110b
108143	Suss.	??		Well I hope to have a good lotte. p Tho. Smith. Sussex.	LM 2008, p. 105a
108302	Surrey	??		If my lucke be good, thanked be God. Thom. Dannel. Surrey.	LM 2008, p. 107d
108410	Midd.	London		God from whom all things. O.D. London.	LM 2008, p. 99a
108596	Midd.	London		God sende me good lucke to his pleasure. O.D. London.	LM 2009, p. 162c
108679	Midd.	London		<i>O clemens, ô pia. Acerbo Velutelli de Luca.</i>	LM 2008, p. 100b
109043	Midd.	London		God preserve the Citie of London. P M. and A.	LM 2009, p. 172d
109235	Suff.	Ipswich		S. Laurence spake not in boast, eate the one side whyle the other doth roast. p John Moore. Ipswich.	LM 2008, p. 105a
109265	Suff.	Ipswich		The Kay parish doth wishe, whatsoever the nette shall fishe. Per Augustine Parker. Ypswich.	LM 2009, p. 163b
109357	Suff.	Ipswich		Fourtene shillings I wil take, the great lot I wil not forsake. p Frauncis Heighgate de Ipswich.	LM 2009, p. 175d
109457	Norf	Great Yarmouth		If Yarmouth great in fortunes favour be, the greatest lot may chaunce to fall to me. Thom. Bettes of Muche Yarmouth.	LM 2009, p. 165b
109473	Norf	Great Yarmouth		The first ne second lot I crave, the third it is that I wil have. John Gosteling of much Yarmouth.	LM 2009, p. 165a

109508	Norf	Waxham	Although I can not well see, yet will I venture in the lottery. Sir Thom. Woodhouse of Wa[r]ham.	LM 2008, p. 118b
109663	Norf	Great Yarmouth	If Yarmouth great in fortunes favor be, the greatest lot may chaunce to fall to me. Thom. Bets of Much Yarmouth.	LM 2009, p. 165d
109842	Norf ?	Scottow ?	The Lord God of Israell, God sende us a place in heaven to dwell. P Edm. Mowton of Scotte.	LM 2009, p. 165a
109984	Norf	South Creake	A lot God sende me of the best, for no good commeth of the least. P Barbara Pepis of South Creake.	LM 2009, p. 166d
110359	Norf	Thetford	In God my chaunce. p Rich. Calye de Thetforde.	LM 2008, p. 108b
110453	Norf	Thetford	Do wel and have wel. p G. Atkinson de Thetford	LM 2009, p. 172b
110496	Hants	Winchester	God be our speede, for we have great neede. p John White de Winchester.	LM 2008, p. 106d
110616	Lincs	Boston	Hap good God send me that seldome had any, and helpe them that thinke wel, and speake wel by many. Per Humfridum Bate of Boaston.	LM 2009, p. 160c
110637	Lincs	Boston	A bountifull blessing for Boston. p Joh. Bell of Boston.	LM 2008, p. 114c
110738	Devon	Tavistock	First learne, then discerne. p John Filz Tavestocke.	LM 2008, p. 100c
110752	Devon	Tavistock	First learne, then discerne. p John Filz Taverstoke.	LM 2009, p. 168d
110811	Devon	Tavistock	First learne, then discerne. p Jo. Filz Tavestock.	LM 2009, p. 165c
110829	Devon	Tavistock	First learn, then discerne. p Jo. Fitz. Tavestock.	LM 2008, p. 113a
110870	Devon	Milton Abbot	Trust be true or else adieu. p Edmund Tremain. Milton. Abbot.	LM 2008, p. 111c
110894	Devon	Collacombe (Lamerton)	In God and good fortune. Roger Tremayne of Callacome.	LM 2009, p. 165a
111038	Devon	Totnes	Have at all. p Walter Bogan. Totnes.	LM 2008, p. 109a
111152	Devon	Stoke Fleming	God helpe us. p Tho. Hayman de Stokefleming.	LM 2009, p. 160d
111450	Midd.	London	<i>Qui modo sum Codrus, sors fave creatus ero.</i> A.W. London.	LM 2009, p. 177a
111545	Midd.	London	<i>Philosophorum vita commendatio mortis est. Londini. Per Doctorem Cornelium de Lanvoy et uxorem.</i>	LM 2008, p. 115d
111701	Midd.	London	I am a little pretie boy, and dwell at the harpe, if I have any Lot, God make me thankfull for it. Richard Martin in S. Peters parish in Cheape in London.	LM 2009, p. 172a
111701	Midd.	London	Whether I have it or have it not, I lay in my money with all my heart. Simon Hare. London.	LM 2008, p. 100d
111802	Lincs	Blankney	Launche out lustily. William Thorolde de Blankney	LM 2008, p. 100b
111892	Lincs	Humby	<i>Sors, spes atque salus, coeli sunt munera patris, si pater hæc dederit, certa Savilus habet.</i> Jo. Savill de Humby.	LM 2008, p. 107b
112010	Lincs	Sleaford	<i>Laffordia nova et vetus.</i> William Carre. Sleaford.	LM 2008, p. 107c
112247	York Y	York	<i>In te Domine operavi.</i> Gregory Peacock of Yorke.	LM 2008, p. 114a
112501	York Y	York	God the giver of all, send me the great lot before the small. Ric. Morton de York.	LM 2008, p. 103d
112640	Lincs	Horncastle	God speede well, I give a shoote at Hornecastle. John Sacheverel.	LM 2009, p. 167b
112713	Lincs	Horncastle	God speede me well, I give a shoute at Hornecastel. p Joh. Sacheverel.	LM 2008, p. 159c
112785	Lincs	Horncastle	God speede well, I give a [s]hoote at Hornecastle. John Sacheverell. Hornecastle.	LM 2009, p. 172c
112885	Lincs	Theddlethorpe	Hope well, and have wel. Per Thomas Orsbie of Thedilthorpe.	LM 2009, p. 175a
112971	Lincs	Louth	Louth linked in love, lucky be thy lot. p Richarde Holdernes of Louth.	LM 2008, p. 103b
113019	Lincs	Louth	Louth linked in love, lucky be thy lot. p Ric. Holdernes of Louth.	LM 2008, p. 103d
113110	Lincs	Lowth	It is better to swim than to sinke. Per William Simcot of Louth.	LM 2009, p. 165d
113573	Berks	Pangbourne	At all time of neede, God be our speede. John Halway in Pangborne. Barks.	LM 2009, p. 161b
113827	Berks	Reading	God sende us good fortune. p the Maior and Burgesses of Reding. Bark.	LM 2009, p. 162a
113869	Berks	Reading	God sende us good fortune. By the Maior and burgeses of Reading. Berk.	LM 2008, p. 107c
113881	Berks	Reading	God sende us good fortune. By the Maior & Burgesses of Reading. Berk.	LM 2008, p. 117b
114052	Midd.	London ?	God and good lot. W.P.	LM 2008, p. 114c
114292	Midd.	London ?	God and good lot. W.P.	LM 2009, p. 170c
114476	Midd.	London ?	God and good lot. W.P.	LM 2009, p. 167d
114599	Midd.	London	As God will, so be it. Anthony Pilborough, and Reynold Hollingworth. Lond.	LM 2009, p. 168c
114656	Midd.	London	Whatsoever fortune fall, I content my selfe with all. William Owen. Lond.	LM 2008, p. 100c
114878	Midd.	London ?	Howe so ever Saint Katherins whele shall be running, the inhabitauntes therof will come home laughing. William [I]den S. Katherins.	LM 2008, p. 105b
115063	Midd.	London	<i>Deus dat cui vult.</i> Dericke Anthony. London.	LM 2008, p. 106a

115134	Midd.	London	Gybers, Cole, and Florida, have brought me into great decay, I pray to God of his mercy and grace, that this may take better place. Thomas Parkins. London.	LM 2008, p. 114b
115302	Midd.	London	The Hunter in chase doth followe his game, desirous of a good lot to maynteyne the same. Th. Hunter. London.	LM 2008, p. 101b
115335	Midd.	London	Givers, Cole, and Florida, have brought me into great decay, I pray to god of his mercy & grace, that this may take better place. Thomas Parkins. London.	LM 2008, p. 105c
115366	Midd.	London	Unto this lotterie am I sent amongst a number moe, hoping to gaine some gayneful lot, God graunt my lot be so, <i>in virtute e³ fortuna</i> . Antho. Walter. London.	LM 2009, p. 177b
115426	Midd.	London	There is no drink like unto wine in comparison, it be dronke with discrete moderation. James Marston. London.	LM 2009, p. 168a
115429	Midd.	London	There is no drink like unto wine in comparison, if it b[...] dronk with discrete moderation. James Marst[o]n. London.	LM 2009, p. 172c
115560	Midd.	London	As God wil, so be it. p Reginald Wolfe. London.	LM 2009, p. 175c
115934	Midd.	London	<i>Nec spe, nec metu. R.L.</i>	LM 2008, p. 106d
116019	Midd.	London	<i>Nec spe, nec metu. R.L.</i>	LM 2009, p. 160d
116114	Midd.	London	Our number is great, and mony is smal, god send us a good lot to please us all. Gregory Lovell. London.	LM 2009, p. 161c
116137	Midd.	London	Our number is greate and money small, god send us a good lot to please us withall. Gregory Lovel. London.	LM 2008, p. 108b
116198	Midd.	London	<i>Si fortuna volet</i> . H.S. London.	LM 2009, p. 161b
116310	Midd.	London	<i>Nec spe, nec metu. R.L.</i>	LM 2009, p. 172d
116312	Midd.	London	<i>Nec spe, nec metu. R.L.</i>	LM 2009, p. 172a
116316	Midd.	London	<i>Nec spe, nec metu. R.L.</i>	LM 2009, p. 175a
116383	Midd.	London	The black Smiths hammer resembles the sou[n]d, of musikes sweete tune which Tubal first found. William Tanner. London.	LM 2009, p. 168b
116546	Midd.	London	What so ever in this lottery shal befall, we Weavers of London wil praise God for all. Christopher Smith. London.	LM 2009, p. 163d
116709	Kent	Cranbrook	James Cotcheford being in great povertie, trusting in Gods mercie that he will blesse me. per Cranebrok in Kent.	LM 2009, p. 160d
116821	Essex	??	God send me good fortune Gods grace I do crave, some prise to my portion that I may have. Alborow Brice. Essex.	LM 2008, p. 108c
117073	Berks	Newbury	Let come as God will. p William Millat. Newbery.	LM 2009, p. 170b
117162	Berks	Newbury	I adventure for gaine. p Tho. Arnold. Newbury.	LM 2009, p. 163b
117167	Berks	Newbury	God send me good fortune. p James Newby. Newbery.	LM 2009, p. 163d
117172	Berks	Newbury	God send me good fortune. James Newby. Newbery.	LM 2008, p. 106a
117210	Berks	Steventon	God giveth all. William Stevens. Stevinton.	LM 2008, p. 102b
117399	Gloucs	Longford	Fortune let fall. p Thom. Phetipace. Gent. Longford.	LM 2008, p. 105d
117525	Oxon	Henley	Hap happily Henly. p William Mercer de Henly.	LM 2009, p. 160d
118029	Oxon	Woodstock	Repentance with grace of God we crave, a better lot what man can have ? p George Whitton. Woodstocke.	LM 2008, p. 106a
118066	Oxon	Woodstock	Repentaunce with grace of God we crave, a better lot what man can have? p George Whitton. Woodstocke.	LM 2008, p. 103b
118148	Oxon	Oxford	<i>Alijs dat, alijs aufert fortuna</i> . p William Levins.	LM 2008, p. 102d
118288	Oxon	Oxford	<i>Alijs dat, alijs aufert fortuna</i> . p William Lewins.	LM 2009, p. 169c
118401	Oxon	Broughton Castle	Not covetous. p Rich. Fennys of Broughton.	LM 2008, p. 104a
118455	Oxon	Hampton Poyle	Hap well, and have well. p Thomas Whiting de Hampton Poille.	LM 2008, p. 112c
118589	Oxon	Cropredy	Where little is, more neede to crave, withoute blame the great lot to have. p Robertum Robins de Cropredy.	LM 2009, p. 174a
118613	Oxon	Stoke Lyne	If God be with me, who can be against me? Per William Holte of Stokelin.	LM 2009, p. 173a
118662	Oxon	Calthorp	Some lots do make, some lots do marre, god send me a good one to buy some tarre. p Tho. Pope. Cothrup.	LM 2009, p. 178a
118666	Oxon	Banbury	Hap good or hap ill, I hold my selfe contented still. Per Henry Halhed of Banbury.	LM 2008, p. 103b
118826	Worcs	Grafton	As God wil. John Talbot. Grafton.	LM 2009, p. 175b
119025	Midd.	London	Both lot and living, is of Gods giving. p Nicholas Culverwell. London.	LM 2009, p. 177a
119141	Midd.	London	Both lot and living, is of Gods giving. p Nicholas Culverwell.	LM 2008, p. 103b
119197	Midd.	London	For the Haberdashers. Our summe put in, is in hope to win. p C. and H. Lon.	LM 2009, p. 175a
119572	Midd.	London	For the Haberdashers. Our summe put in, is in hope to winne. P C. and H. of London.	LM 2009, p. 169b
119573	Midd.	London	For the Haberdashers. Our summe put in, is in hope to winne. p C. and H. of London.	LM 2008, p. 105b
119874	Midd.	London	For the Haberdashers. Our summe put in, is in hope to winne. Per C. and H. London.	LM 2009, p. 169a

119945	Midd.	London	For the Haberdashers. Our summe put in, is in hope to winne. p C. and H. of London.	LM 2008, p. 109b
119958	Midd.	London	For the Haberdashers. Our summe put in, is in hope to win. p C & H. of Lon.	LM 2008, p. 105b
120062	Midd.	London	The knowne losse breedeth hope of gaine. Gerard Chester.	LM 2008, p. 115d
120068	Midd.	London	The knowen losse, breedeth hope of gayne. p Garrard Chester.	LM 2008, p. 115a
120069	Midd.	London	The knowen lost, bredeth hope of gayne. Gerrard Chester.	LM 2008, p. 117a
120400	Midd.	London	For the Haberdashers. Our summe put in, is in hope to win. P C. and H. Lond.	LM 2009, p. 174c
120518	Midd.	London	For the Haberdashers. Our sum put in, is in hope to win. p C. and H. of Lond.	LM 2009, p. 173d
120592	Midd.	London	For the Haberdashers. Our summe put in, is in hope to winne. Per C. and H. London.	LM 2009, p. 173b
120602	Worcs	Upton upon Severn	All good fortune commeth from God. p Ric. Smith armig. de Upton upon Severn.	LM 2009, p. 163a
120645	Worcs	Newbold-on-Stour with Armscote	What shall hap we will be contente. p Humfrey Siche de Armescot & Newbold.	LM 2008, p. 102a
120767	Worcs	Leigh	<i>Non mihi, nec tibi, sed dividatur.</i> p Jo. Archarde de Leigh	LM 2009, p. 163d
120810	Worcs	Hanging Aston (Blockley)	God speede the plough. p T. Widows de Hanging. Aston and Dorne.	LM 2009, p. 162b
120813	Worcs	Badsey & Aldington	Lucke is a Lorde. p Thom. Smith, de Badsey and Aleampton.	LM 2008, p. 105b
120869	Devon	Wembury	A new fine. p Thom. Rider of Wenburie.	LM 2008, p. 109a
120922	Midd.	London	For the Haberdashers. Our summe put in, is in hope to winne. p E. and H. London.	LM 2008, p. 117b
121019	Midd.	London	For the Haberdashers. Our sum put in, is in hope to win. P C. and H. London.	LM 2009, p. 177c
121295	Midd.	London	For the Haberdashers. Our summe put in, is in hope to win. p C. and H. of Lon.	LM 2008, p. 100d
121299	Midd.	London	For the Haberdashers. Our summe put in, is in hope to winne. p C. and H. of London.	LM 2008, p. 115b
121531	Midd.	London	For the Haberdashers. Our summe put in, is in hope to win. p C. & H. of Lond.	LM 2008, p. 99b
121540	Midd.	London	For the Haberdashers. Our summe put in, is in hope to win. C. and H. London.	LM 2009, p. 176a
121594	Midd.	Holborn	At all. p Ayleworth. p Jo. Aileworth of London.	LM 2008, p. 116c
121684	Midd.	London	At all P Aylworth. p John Aylworth of London.	LM 2009, p. 172c
121795	Gloucs	Bristol	The lots be cast in lap, but the lord giveth the hap. p Thomas Chester. Bristol.	LM 2008, p. 106a
121799	Gloucs	Bristol	The lottes be cast in lappe, but the Lorde gyves the happe. Thomas Chester. Bristoll.	LM 2009, p. 177b
122409	Salop	Shrewsbury	Lord send felicitie to faithful frends. George Ireland. Salop.	LM 2009, p. 164b
122460	Salop	Shrewsbury	The unitie of brethren pleaseth the Lord. Rich. Powel. Salop.	LM 2009, p. 167d
122658	Gloucs	Dursley	If God be with me, who can be against me? Per Edmund Webbe. Duresley. Barkley.	LM 2009, p. 166a
122956	Salop	Ludlow	If fortune to the best lotte me refer, I trust the greatest shall be my share. p Robert Lewes of Ludlowe.	LM 2008, p. 117a
123327	Midd.	London	A sharpe share for a thick hide. Thomas Barnes London.	LM 2009, p. 172d
123429	Midd.	London	What is a tree of Cherries worth, to four in a company. Thom. Laurence. London.	LM 2009, p. 170b
123430	Midd.	London	What is a tree of Cheries worth to foure in a company ? p Tho. Laurence of Lon.	LM 2008, p. 116d
123456	Midd.	London	What is a tree of Cheries woorth, to foure in a companie? p Thomas Laurence of London.	LM 2008, p. 102d
123459	Midd.	London	What is a tree of Cheries worth to foure in a Companie ? p Thomas Laurence of London.	LM 2008, p. 106d
123462	Midd.	London	What is a tree of Cherries worth to foure in a company? Tho. Laurence. London.	LM 2009, p. 172b
123487	Midd.	London	What is a tree of Cherries worth to foure in a company? p Tho. Laurence. Lond.	LM 2008, p. 99c
123583	Midd.	London	What is a tree of Cheries worth to foure in a company? Per Thomas Laurence. London.	LM 2008, p. 100d
123628	Midd.	London	What is a tree of Cheries worth, to foure in companie? Per Thomas Laurence of London.	LM 2008, p. 102c
123718	Midd.	London	The Founder of grace whose favour ye wot, may sende to us Founders a very riche lot. p C. F. of London.	LM 2009, p. 164a
123965	Midd.	London	I seeke not for the best, nor loke not for the worst. p William Burd. London.	LM 2009, p. 173c
124127	Midd.	London	The knowen losse, breedeth hope of gayne. Gerarde Chester.	LM 2009, p. 161a
124224	Midd.	London	I seeke not for the best, nor loke not for the worst. p William Burd. London.	LM 2008, p. 159c

124278	Midd.	London	I seeke not for the best, nor looke not for the worst. p William Burd of London.	LM 2008, p. 159a
124300	Midd.	London	I seeke not for the best, nor loke not for the worst. p William Burd of London.	LM 2008, p. 106a
124505	Midd.	London	<i>Labore parta charissima</i> . Per Nicholas Browne of London.	LM 2009, p. 176a
124631	Midd.	London	Sith God doth give, though nought I crave, unfold, let see what hap I have. p John Hutton of London. Stapler.	LM 2008, p. 103c
124706	Midd.	London	Sith god doth give though nought I crave, unfold, let see what hap I have. p John Hutton of London. Stapler.	LM 2008, p. 101c
124971	Midd.	London	As God hath appointed, I am contented. Jo. We[nex] of S. Martins.	LM 2008, p. 116a
124982	Midd.	London	My fortune hath bene wel ynough, as fortune me frame God speede the plough. p Alice Wever of S. Martins.	LM 2008, p. 100c
125094	Midd.	London	Nothing venture, nothing have. p John Davenant, Marchaunt of London.	LM 2008, p. 111a
125223	Midd.	London	Nothing venture, nothing have. p Jo. Davenant merchant of London.	LM 2008, p. 118a
125792	Wales	Bromfield	Good deedes if they be evill placed, evil deedes I accompt, and cleane disgraced. p Edward Trevor in Bromfield by Chester.	LM 2009, p. 161c
125823	Wales	Trevalyn	Happe well or happe ill, in God I will hope still. p Marie Trevour of Trevallin.	LM 2008, p. 114c
126094	Gloucs	Gotherington	Reade my lot and spare not, wyn or lose I care not. p Nicholas Weller. Goodrington. Cleve.	LM 2009, p. 175d
126329	Worcs	Peopleton	In the name of Jesus so be it. p William Allen de Pepleton.	LM 2009, p. 175d
126401	Worcs	Fladbury	<i>Crescite e³ multiplicamini</i> . Per <i>Milonem Sandes, Armigerum, de Flatbury</i> .	LM 2009, p. 160b
126472	Worcs	Worcester	Occupations do lacke money to occupie, therefore God defende them from povertie. p William Porter de civit. Wigorn.	LM 2009, p. 162a
126474	Worcs	Worcester	Occupations do lacke money to occupie, therfore God kepe them from povertie. p Wi. Porter de Civit. Wigorn.	LM 2008, p. 111b
126482	Worcs	Holt	Nothing impossible to God. p Jo. Samford, alias Carpenter de Holt.	LM 2009, p. 174d
126607	Worcs	Bradley	God sende me good fortune. p Richarde Gower de Bradley.	LM 2008, p. 112c
126825	Norf	Norwich	God sende me good fortune. Edward Fenne Nor.	LM 2009, p. 161b
126866	Norf	Norwich	This lot and the gaine, the pore shall maintaine. p Thom[?] Parker. Norwich.	LM 2009, p. 177c
127529	Norf ?	Heigham ?	Holle is my name, God send a good lot to mayneteyne the same. T.H.	LM 2009, p. 177a
127626	Norf	Norwich	The faythfull promise verily, encourageth me to this Lotterie. Christopher Some. Norwich.	LM 2008, p. 103b
127737	Norf	Norwich	The faithfull promise verily, encourageth me to this Lottery. Christopher Some. Norwich.	LM 2008, p. 107b
127819	Norf	Norwich	The faithful promise verily, encorageth me to this lottery. Christoph. Some. Norw.	LM 2008, p. 100a
127938	Norf	King's Lynn	As God hath appoynted, I am contented. George Walden of Lin.	LM 2009, p. 177c
128088	Norf	King's Lynn	The Lorde is my lot, forget thou me not. Thom. Overend of Linne.	LM 2009, p. 174a
128184	Norf ?	??	Whensoever it shall please you this posie to cal, God sende us a good lot else God be with all. p Thomas Spencer of old Malin.	LM 2008, p. 100c
128424	Gloucs	Chipping Campden	God of his grace, prosper my race. Edmund Rylie of Campden. Kistesgate.	LM 2009, p. 164d
128568	Norf	Norwich	Falleth it wel or il, yet good hope wil I have still. Valentine Browne. Norwich.	LM 2009, p. 170c
128651	Norf	Norwich	Speede I well or ill, I live in hope still. Ellis Rogers. Norwich.	LM 2008, p. 99b
128715	Norf	Norwich	I am content with that God sent. Nicholas Baker. Norwiche	LM 2009, p. 167d
128920	Northd ?	Newcastle upon Tyne ?	If it do chaunce as chaunce it may, the great lot I may cary away. William Hodson. Newcastle.	LM 2008, p. 102b
128957	Northd ?	Newcastle upon Tyne ?	If it do chaunce as chaunce it may, the great lot I may cary away. William Hodson. Newcastle.	LM 2009, p. 170a
129001	Northd ?	Newcastle upon Tyne ?	If it doe chaunce, as chaunce as it may, the great lot I may cary away. William Hodson. Newcastle.	LM 2009, p. 164b
129188	Norf	Norwich	The Sunne that is so bright, is my lot both day and night. Peter Peterson. Nor.	LM 2008, p. 101a
129357	Norf	Norwich	The Sunne that is so bright, is my lotte both day and night. Peter Peterson. Norwich.	LM 2009, p. 161b
129591	Norf	Norwich	What so ever befall, thanke God of all. Christoph. Layer. Norwich.	LM 2009, p. 176b
129604	Norf	Norwich	Whatsoever befall, thank God of all. Christopher Layer of Norwich.	LM 2009, p. 173b
129675	Norf	Norwich	Whatsoever befall, thanke God of all. Christofer Layer. Norwich.	LM 2008, p. 112c
129884	Norf	Norwich	Whatsoever befall, thanke God of all. Christofer Layer of Norwich.	LM 2008, p. 102a
130047	Wilts	Salisbury	We[ver]s, God you speede, always at your neede. Joh[n] Eyre senior. Sarum.	LM 2008, p. 117c

130093	Wilts	Salisbury	<i>Veritas vincit.</i> Lionell Ticheborne. Sarum.	LM 2008, p. 115b
130347	Cornw	Truro	<i>Veritas vincit.</i> p John Tusser de Truro, for the clergie of Cornwall.	LM 2009, p. 160b
130423	Wilts	Sevenhampton (Highworth)	Contented with our fortune. p Sevinghampton.	LM 2009, p. 169a
130445	Wilts	Wilcot	God be on our side. Per the parish of Wilcot.	LM 2008, p. 104b
130630	Wilts	Kington Michael St	God speede us well, the servaunts of master Snel of Kingston.	LM 2009, p. 165d
130788	Wilts	Christian Malford	Runne a pace and catche the best. Per William Richemont of Christen Malford.	LM 2008, p. 108d
130859	Rutland	Exton	An innocent I am, and hope in God till then. p Theodotia Harrington.	LM 2008, p. 113a
130885	Rutland	Exton	An innocent I am, and hope in God till then. Per Theodociā Harrington.	LM 2008, p. 117d
130885	Rutland	Exton	An innocent I am, and hope in God till then. p Theodocia Harrington.	LM 2008, p. 118a
131399	Dorset	Farnham	God sende me good lucke and good fortune. Thomas Inprede of Fernham.	LM 2009, p. 160b
131407	Dorset	Wimborne Minster	Welstede of Wimborne wyseth it well. Per John Welstede of Wimborne minster.	LM 2009, p. 161d
131452	Dorset	Hinton Martell	God giveth the increase. Thomas Everingham of Hinton. Martell.	LM 2008, p. 99b
131487	Dorset	Woodcutts	God may sende chaunce. p John Edmundes of Woodcottes.	LM 2009, p. 175b
131530	Dorset	Abbotsbury	To save or spill, as Fortune will. John Yong of Abbotsbury.	LM 2009, p. 176a
131634	Dorset	Abbotsbury	To save or spil, as fortune will. John Yong of Abbotsbury.	LM 2009, p. 169b
131812	Dorset	Bridport	God send me grace and gayn. Water Mone. Birporte.	LM 2009, p. 174d
131813	Dorset	Bridport	God save the Queenes majestie. William Alford. Birport.	LM 2008, p. 103d
131860	Dorset	Bridport ?	Salomon was King Davids sonne. John Crab.	LM 2008, p. 107a
131996	Dorset	Bridport	Happy man, happy lot. p Rich. Tigan Birporte.	LM 2008, p. 112c
132020	Dorset	Bridport	What the Lord wil for the haven, welcome be it. p Ric. Davige. Birport.	LM 2009, p. 178b
132107	Dorset	Kington Magna	I hope and trust. p Robert Dowding of the parish of great Kington.	LM 2009, p. 168b
132490	Somerset	Bridgwater	Be doubtful. John Edwards of Bridgewater.	LM 2009, p. 169c
132578	Somerset	Wellington	God giveth all. By William Gifford of Weltington.	LM 2008, p. 118b
132726	Somerset	Wootton Courtenay	Dos ampla ca[[l]litas. p Ric. Tuichener of Wotton in Somerseshire.	LM 2008, p. 113c
132739	Somerset	Wells	<i>Dilexit Andream Dominus.</i> Tho. Bayly of Welles in Somers.	LM 2009, p. 175b
132983	Somerset	Wells	<i>Si Deo placiat.</i> Margaret Haggattes. Welles. Somers.	LM 2008, p. 100d
133410	Derby	Barton Blount	Lots happen as it pleaseth God. Per John Mery. Barton.	LM 2008, p. 105d
133494	Derby	Chaddesden (Spondon)	If I have good hap I hit. Per Thomas Newton. Chadsden.	LM 2008, p. 118b
133698	Devon	North Tawton	<i>Veritas liberabit.</i> Antho. Kelly de Northtawnton.	LM 2008, p. 104d
133751	Devon	Barnstaple	If hap help not, hope is hindered. p Clement Burton of Barnestaple.	LM 2009, p. 178a
133940	Devon	Cheriton Bishop	Nought venture, nought have. per Stephen Broning of Cheriton. Bishop.	LM 2009, p. 165d
134134	Devon	Cullompton	Fortune be thou our friend, whether we lose or win. Jo. Cockeram of Colamton.	LM 2009, p. 160a
134221	Devon	Totnes	Have at all. P Walter Boggan of Totnes.	LM 2009, p. 177d
134272	Devon	West Alvington	Fortune I hope will favour me. p Tho. Mathew. Westalvington.	LM 2008, p. 112d
134277	Devon	Loddiswell	Trust be true, else I rue. p William King. Boddisswill.	LM 2008, p. 103b
134379	Devon	Modbury (Shilston)	The Olive tree on hil that growes, to have a share his name here showes. p Oliverum Hill. Madburie.	LM 2008, p. 112d
134492	Devon	Collacombe (Lamerton)	In God and good fortune. p Roger Tremaine of Collacombe.	LM 2008, p. 104c
134498	Devon	Collacombe (Lamerton)	In God and good fortune. p Roger Tremaine of Collacombe.	LM 2009, p. 174b
134511	Devon	Plympton St Mary	Faine would I have, though nothing I crave. Per Hierom May of Plunto Mary.	LM 2008, p. 99c
134537	Devon	Bere Ferrers	The crowe is white. p Ric. Garvington of Bere. Ferres.	LM 2008, p. 110d
134575	Devon	Plympton St Mary	Faine would I have, though nothing I crave. per Jerom May of Plimton Mary.	LM 2008, p. 116b
134608	Devon	Buckland Monachorum	Monkes Buckland, wisheth a good lot in his hand. Per Elize[us] Grimes of North Buckland.	LM 2008, p. 114b
134735	Warks	Foleshill (Coventry)	God send me speede. p William Ashmore of Folleshall. p Coventrie.	LM 2008, p. 114a
134749	Hants	Kings Somborne	Fortune is mutable. p the parishe of Kings Somborne.	LM 2008, p. 101b
134796	Hants	Kingsclere	We hope well. For the parishe of Kingescler.	LM 2009, p. 167b
134981	Cornw	Treneglos	I am a man unlearned. p Tho. Kytto. parochie de Treneglos.	LM 2008, p. 111c

135228	Cornw	Fowey	A Dier and a Carpenter. p Richard Bowring of Fowey.	LM 2009, p. 173c
135320	Cornw	Lostwithiel	God helpe me and my parteners. p Tho. Leigh of Lostwithell.	LM 2008, p. 106d
135350	Cornw	Truro	<i>Veritas vincit.</i> p John Tusser of Trure.	LM 2008, p. 115c
135392	Cornw	Truro	<i>Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit.</i> p John Tusser de Treuro, for and from the clergie of Cornewal.	LM 2009, p. 177b
135405	Cornw	Crowan	I hope to speede. p Ralfe Millows of Crowen in Cornewall.	LM 2009, p. 164c
135450	Cornw	Wendron	Coffer bright is my stay. per Raphe Terlewie of Guinderne in Cornwal.	LM 2009, p. 173c
135632	Cornw	Morvah	God be prayسد. Richard Trinbahe of Morvets in Cornewall.	LM 2008, p. 114b
135764	Cornw	Liskeard	Sith carke ne care may nought prevayle, let hap and fortune yet prevayle. By John Cruse, Liskerd parish.	LM 2008, p. 105b
135768	Cornw	Liskeard	Sith cark ne care, may not prevaile, let hap & fortune yet prevaile. J. Cruse Les.pa.	LM 2009, p. 173a
135791	Cornw	Liskeard	Sith carke ne care may not prevayle, let hap and fortune yet prevayle. By John Cruse. Liskerde parishe.	LM 2008, p. 108d
135852	Cornw	St Germans	Where nothing is due, small rekenings ensue. per George Keckwich, S. Germa.	LM 2008, p. 108d
135882	Cornw	Menheniot	Be helping to the afflicted. By John Trelawnye. Menhiniot parishe.	LM 2009, p. 177b
135947	Cornw	Northill	Somewhat is better than naught. By Nicholas Spooore. Northil parish.	LM 2008, p. 109c
136197	Somerset	Misterton	God send us gaine. John Partridge de Misterton.	LM 2009, p. 169c
136312	Norf	Norwich	Rejoyce in hope. John Hopkins. Norwich.	LM 2009, p. 163b
136493	Norf	Norwich	Time trieth truth. Robert Sucklin. Norwich. Junior.	LM 2008, p. 105a
136620	Norf	Norwich	Time trieth truth. p Rob. Sucklyn of Norwich.	LM 2009, p. 166a
136884	Norf	Norwich	Help happy hope. T. Layer. Norwich.	LM 2008, p. 116d
136894	Norf	Norwich	Helpe happy hope. T. Layer. Norwich.	LM 2008, p. 111b
137061	Norf	Norwich	Help happie hope. Thomas Layer. Norwiche.	LM 2008, p. 103d
137104	Wilts	Steeple Ashton	My name is William Gauterel, if I have good luck I may do wel. p William Gauterell of Steple Ashton. Wiltsh.	LM 2008, p. 111d
137106	Norf	Norwich	Help happy hope. Tho. Layer. Norw.	LM 2008, p. 117a
137187	Norf	Norwich	Helpe happy hope. Tho. Layer of Norwich.	LM 2009, p. 164d
137322	Lancs	Warrington	God sende us parte. p Tho. Butler Esquier. Per Warrington.	LM 2009, p. 166a
137907	Lancs	Preston	The sheepe beareth wool. p Ric. Tapping Preston.	LM 2008, p. 107a
138227	Lancs	Barton (Irlam)	With the helpe of have at the best. p George Lathem de Irlham in Lanc.	LM 2008, p. 111c
138244	Lancs	??	God speede me wel. p Jacobum Holme de De[]eholme in Lancaster.	LM 2009, p. 174a
138376	Heref ?	Walford, Coughton ?	Nought venture, nought win. p John Clarke of Wolfelcotte.	LM 2009, p. 173a
138449	Heref ?	??	I take the grace that God will send. P John Hide.	LM 2009, p. 167c
138489	Heref ?	??	Steale no more. p Stead. Radulphum Stead de Stoke.	LM 2008, p. 159c
138546	Heref	Ledbury	If I may the best win, I may the better helpe my kin. p Nic.Couper de Ledbury. Forren.	LM 2008, p. 115c
138649	Heref	Brierley (Leominster)	Brierley breedes no brambles. P Ellinor Thomkins of Brierley.	LM 2009, p. 176b
138898	Oxon	Adderbury	Maydens be Fortunate, if they call to God for grace, therfore I desire his helpe in this place. p Alice Reynoldes. Aderbury.	LM 2009, p. 160b
138963	Oxon	Banbury	Not what I wish, but what God will, who in my lot his mind fulfil. p Edward Brightwel. Banburie.	LM 2008, p. 104b
138990	Oxon	Hampton Poyle	Happy by gods grace. p Henrie Wise of Hampton Poile.	LM 2008, p. 105c
139023	Warks	Barford	O fortune be our friend & send to us good chaunce. p Jo. Bayles of Bereford.	LM 2009, p. 177a
139028	Warks	Warwick	For a good marriage prayeth Margery Holt of Warwike.	LM 2008, p. 159d
139111	Warks	Brailes	Rafe Alleyne that is my name, wishing my selfe a happy gayne. p Rafe Alleyne of Brayles.	LM 2008, p. 99b
139164	Warks	Warwick	The towne of Warwicke mindes to hop, when they shall wyn the greatest lot. p Rich. Fysher Wariwke,	LM 2009, p. 174b
139214	Warks	Warwick	The towne of Warwick mindes to hop, when they shall win the greatest lot. p Ric. Fisher of Warwick.	LM 2009, p. 167a
139249	Warks	Compton Verney	<i>Ut possumus, quando ut volumus non licet.</i> p Elizabeth Porter of Compton Verney.	LM 2009, p. 174d
139276	Salop	Burford	<i>Quis nisi mentis inops oblatum respuit aurum?</i> Edmund Cornwall. Burford.	LM 2008, p. 108b
139281	Salop	Burford	<i>Quis nisi mentis inops, oblatum respuit aurum?</i> Per Edmnnd Cornewall. Burford.	LM 2009, p. 168d
139299	Essex	Boreham	<i>Per omnia secula seculorum,</i> God send a good lot to Boreham. Edmund Stane. Boreham. Yeoman.	LM 2009, p. 161c

139413	Oxon	Woodstock	Repentance with grace of God we crave, a better lot what man can have? George Witton. Woodstocke.	LM 2009, p. 167c
139456	Oxon	Woodstock	Repentaunce with grace of God we crave, a better lot what man can have ? p George Witton. Woodstock.	LM 2009, p. 178a
139590	Heref	Llangarren (Lugwardine)	I have delivered my money to carrie. P Richarde Winston de Langaram.	LM 2009, p. 163d
139597	Heref	Llanwarne	A pore man I am, and money is with me bare. p Johannes Jones, Clarke, parson of Lanwarne.	LM 2008, p. 159c
139826	??	??	<i>Ema[s] spe[s] pretio.</i> p W. Stiward. Tey.	LM 2008, p. 116a
139838	Cambs	Ely	Age asketh amendment. P. Adam. Per William Adam. Ely.	LM 2009, p. 176b
139903	Camb	Ely Cathedral	<i>Sors mea dominus.</i> p Andrew Perne.	LM 2009, p. 170d
140026	Midd.	London	As God will, it must be still. Henry Binneman. London.	LM 2009, p. 177b
140202	Midd.	London	God speede the little children that learne the A.B.C. which desire rather play, than to gain by the lotterie. Tho. Roe. Alderman.	LM 2009, p. 177d
140342	Midd.	London	Hard ware <i>est boon.</i> N.B. London.	LM 2008, p. 101d
140395	Midd.	London	Hard ware <i>est boon.</i> H.B. London.	LM 2008, p. 112d
140467	Midd.	London	God preserve the citie of London. p R. and C.	LM 2008, p. 108c
140475	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. P R. and C.	LM 2009, p. 175d
140482	Midd.	London	God preserve the citie of London, P R. and C.	LM 2009, p. 160b
140493	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. P R. and C.	LM 2009, p. 172d
140614	Leics	Knaptoft	<i>Mibi diffidens, in Domino solo confido.</i> Sir George Turpin of Knaptoft in Com. Leic. Knight.	LM 2009, p. 161b
140732	Midd.	London	As Foulers mindes are fed with every right redresse, so Fouler I, lest fortune faile, do seke for some successe. Th. Fouler. Lon.	LM 2009, p. 162a
140733	Leics	Leicester	Good hap will not happen to every man, my hap I will trie, gaine what I can. George Bouser of Leicest. gent.	LM 2009, p. 162a
140943	Dorset	More Critchell	As is chaunce so let me have, for that it is which I do crave. Thomas Dakombe of little Critchell.	LM 2009, p. 162d
140976	Dorset	Witchampton	God that created and made all things, sende good luck and good Fortune to Wichehampton. William Brodestoke de Wichehampton.	LM 2009, p. 163a
141165	Dorset	Wimborne St Giles	O blessed God in thy divine Trinity, send me good lucke in this new lottery. Alice Evans of Upwymbourne. S. Giles.	LM 2009, p. 163d
141373	Beds	Stevington	Time trieth truth. William Hatley. Stevinton.	LM 2009, p. 169d
141429	Beds	Harrold	We trust to have a good recompence. p Nicholas Franklin. Harrold.	LM 2008, p. 116a
141443	Beds	Henlow	Be as be may. Wil. Hurst. Henlow.	LM 2009, p. 170a
141497	Midd.	London	<i>Per faulte de bon ordre, ma fallu a ces quatre lotz mordre. Per S.P.E.W.</i>	LM 2008, p. 107a
141530	Suss.	Washington	<i>Ex Deo omnia.</i> p Katherin Binde de Washington.	LM 2009, p. 163b
141612	Beds	Bedford ?	Have at the best. Per William Bul. Beford.	LM 2009, p. 170a
141671	Beds	Yelden	As it pleaseth God, so be it. p John Neale. Yelden.	LM 2009, p. 164b
141688	Midd.	London	At the fairest. Tho. Bedels. Lon.	LM 2009, p. 174a
141720	Beds	Chalgrave (Wingfield)	Here is my tene Shillings. p Robertum Bonion. Chalgrane.	LM 2009, p. 166d
141774	Beds	Toddington	God and good fortune now graunt me favor, I shal neede hereafter to be lesse craver. p Henri. Cheiny militem de Codington.	LM 2008, p. 103d
141820	Beds	Bedford ?	I hope to gaine. Per Thomas Newton. Bedf.	LM 2008, p. 100a
141877	Beds	Toddington	God and good fortune now graunt me favoure, I shall neede heereafter to be less craver. p Henry Cheiny militem de Codington.	LM 2008, p. 100a
141928	Beds	Renhold	O Lord I am no craver, but as Fortune shall favour. Aler. Skrogs of Roughal.	LM 2009, p. 163a
142080	Bucks	Haddenham	Have at all. p William Peers of Haddenham.	LM 2009, p. 164a
142081	Bucks	Haddenham	Have at all. p William Pierce of Hadenham.	LM 2009, p. 160c
142243	Bucks	Long Crendon	God sende us good fortune. p John Purgen, long Cr[e]ndon.	LM 2009, p. 174a
142425	Bucks	Willen (Caldecote)	God is the gyver of all goodnesse. P Roger Nichols de Willamton Com. Caldecote.	LM 2009, p. 164c
142712	Bucks	Great Horwood	Have at all. p John Brickill of Horwood. Mayor.	LM 2008, p. 106a
142733	Bucks ?	Whitchurch	If I had knowne, p Jo. Steward of Whitchurch.	LM 2008, p. 106b
142884	Heref	Hereford	If lucke hit none of thirtie, then caste hym under borde, if one of thirtie speede, then lucke shall be a lorde. P Tho. Church. de civitat. Heref.	LM 2009, p. 174b
143149	Oxon	Yarnton	Maiden, ye be very straunge. p Justinian Weller of Yarneton.	LM 2009, p. 178b
143616	Derby	Codnor (Heanor)	<i>Sans mal penser.</i> p Joh. Zouche, militem de Codner.	LM 2008, p. 159c
143664	Derby	Codnor (Heanor)	<i>Sans mal penser.</i> p Joh. Zouche militem. Codner.	LM 2008, p. 112b

143680	Derby	Codnor (Heanor)	<i>Sans mal penser.</i> p Joh. Zouch militem de Codner.	LM 2008, p. 118b
143696	Derby	Codnor (Heanor)	<i>Sans mal penser.</i> p John Zouche knight de Codner.	LM 2009, p. 170b
143751	Derby	Codnor (Heanor)	<i>Sans mal penser.</i> John Zouche knight of Codner.	LM 2008, p. 116b
143960	Derby	Killamarsh	In God is all my trust. p James Ashton. Killowmarshe.	LM 2008, p. 103d
143969	Derby	Killamarsh	In God is my trust. p James Ashton. Killomarch.	LM 2008, p. 112b
144217	Derby	Derby	All commeth of God. p Raphe Hogheton. Darby.	LM 2009, p. 165b
144321	Derby	Croxall	I have gone so long upon usurie, that I would faine have helpe by the lotterie. p George Curson. Croxall.	LM 2009, p. 162a
144395	Derby	Chellaston	Oure money into the Blanke willingly we adventure, hoping with our owne to gayne according to Scripture. p Arthur Preton. Chillaston.	LM 2008, p. 115a
144466	Derby	Ticknall	In God is my trust, to have the best, or else the least. p Robert Abel. Ticknal.	LM 2009, p. 175d
144629	Notts	Warsop? Worksop?	I am a poore scholer, and go to my booke. By William Cokin of Worsop.	LM 2008, p. 109c
144656	Notts	Beckingham	Be happie. p Robert Harrison of Lekingham. Gent.	LM 2008, p. 101b
144703	Notts	Misterton	I trust to have the best. p John Poche of Misterton gent.	LM 2008, p. 103d
144778	Notts	Hawton	Hope well, or have well. P Sir William Hollys of Houghton, knight.	LM 2009, p. 166a
145007	Notts	Grove Hall	Learn to live eternally, wel and merily, saith Sir John Hearsey. John Hearsey of Grove. knight.	LM 2008, p. 112a
145041	Notts	Worksop	Goodrich the Bailiffe of Worksop towne, for his lot prayes a good summe. By Thom. Goodrich of Worksop. Yeoman.	LM 2009, p. 163d
145050	Notts	Hempshill (Greasley)	Wrong dealing is to be punished. By Patreake Sacheverel of Gresley. Gent.	LM 2008, p. 117a
145070	Notts	East Retford	Take tyme while tyme is. By Frauncis Tee of East Retforth.	LM 2009, p. 175d
145102	Notts	West Burton	God send go[od] speede. p Andrew Hering of Westburton. Gent.	LM 2009, p. 175c
145239	Notts	West Retford	Obedience is better than sacrifice. By Rob. Horner of West Ketforth.	LM 2008, p. 106c
145247	Notts	Elkesley	God giveth the encrease. By Alexander Burton of El[sl]ey.	LM 2008, p. 113d
145333	Notts	Milnthorpe (Norton Cuckney)	Seeke for thy parte. By Christofer Sike of Mylverthorpe.	LM 2009, p. 169d
145408	Notts	Bilborough with Strelley	No vertue should be eschued. By Robert Gibson of Bilborough, com. Straley.	LM 2008, p. 117d
145486	Derby	Beighton	One good lot were good lucke, if it might hit. Richard Jesupe. By Richard Jesupe of Beaton, gentelman.	LM 2008, p. 106b
145640	Suss.	West Wittering	Fortune is hard, and frendship is deere. Per West Whitteringhey parish. Sussex.	LM 2008, p. 117d
145662	Suss.	Chichester	If any thing come we be content. p Civi. Cicester. Sussex.	LM 2008, p. 113b
145783	Suss.	Stedham	God send us good lucke. p Stedham parishe. Suss.	LM 2008, p. 113b
145852	Suss.	Eartham	If one hit, both may speede. p Waltar and Ertham parish. Sussex.	LM 2008, p. 113b
146076	??	??	What God hath appoynted, we are contented. p Katherine Tarry.	LM 2009, p. 176b
146172	Ireland	??	I Rowland yong of age and yet a Page, put al my trust in God. Per Rowland Page.	LM 2008, p. 102d
146251	Notts	Hawton	Hope well and have wel. p Sir William Houghton. Knight.	LM 2008, p. 104d
146308	Staffs	Whittington (Kinver)	Kinsar, home, home agayne. p Ed:[mundum] Wennerton. Whittenton.	LM 2009, p. 165b
146338	Midd.	London	From the Lord commeth all. Henry Smith. London.	LM 2009, p. 177d
146340	Staffs	Wolverhampton	I am bolde, to put in silver and golde. By William Croswal of Wol[n]er Hampton.	LM 2008, p. 107d
146347	Staffs	Wolverhampton	I being a Hampton man by father and mother, do jeopard so much as my elder brother. By Thomas Crowwall of Wolverhamp.	LM 2008, p. 101c
146372	Staffs	Wolverhampton	We put in our money gotten with swet, with which we hope the best lot to get. By Michel Arrowsmith of Wolverhampton.	LM 2008, p. 100a
146386	Staffs	Bushbury	We take great pain, yet our money goeth for our gaine. By William Pit of Bushbury.	LM 2008, p. 114b
146400	Staffs	Kingswinford	Just judgement in Judges is joyfull. p Edmund James of Swineford. Regis.	LM 2008, p. 115c
146423	Staffs	Penn	A lot to win, Penne putteth in. Roger Baker of Penne.	LM 2008, p. 106c
146491	Durham ?	Cornforth ?	God me speede. Launcelot Stot of Cornefortes.	LM 2008, p. 159b
146539	Durham	Durham	Helpe in time of neede. Will. B[---r] of Durham, yeoman.	LM 2008, p. 118b
146585	Durham	??	He th[at] woul[d] [...] [sh]all all forgo. William Bayly of [...] Draper.	LM 2009, p. 168c
146794	Durham ?	Seaton ?	God speede it well. Per William Midlington de Garton.	LM 2008, p. 99b
146940	Durham	Long Newton ?	<i>Domine ut videam.</i> Edward Bankes.	LM 2008, p. 108a

146943	Durham	Sockburn	God save the Bul of Westmerland. Robert Peerson Vicare of Sockborne.	LM 2008, p. 101c
146971	Durham	Harraton	Hope and have. Jo. Hedworth of Harverton, Esquire.	LM 2008, p. 114c
147062	Lincoln ?	Navenby ?	Remember us for we stand in neede. p E. Kellam. Naynbie.	LM 2009, p. 168d
147112	Kent	Ickham	In his witts he is not sound, that hazardeth not a pennie for a pound. p Nicholas Atkinson. Ickham.	LM 2008, p. 107c
147158	Staffs	Pillaton Hall (Penkridge)	<i>Festina lente</i> . p Francisc. Littelton de Pillatnal.	LM 2009, p. 170b
147179	Staffs	Pillaton Hall (Penkridge)	Fortune be favourable. p Marie Litleton of Pillatnall.	LM 2008, p. 115b
147290	Staffs	Penkridge	We hope well. p Roger Fynnne of Penkriche.	LM 2008, p. 110c
147300	Notts	Cotham	As God will, so I desire. By Robert Markham. Ar. of Cotham.	LM 2008, p. 107b
147352	Northants	Northampton	As God will so be it. P Jo. Balgay of Northampton.	LM 2009, p. 175c
147393	Northants	Northampton	According to trust. Henry Wanley Northam.	LM 2009, p. 175b
147432	Northants	Kelmarsh	As God wil. Edward Osborne. Kielmarsh. North.	LM 2009, p. 177c
147537	Northants	Courteenhall	Ye officers all, be good to the farmer of Courtнал. James Duffield. Courtнал. Northampton.	LM 2009, p. 175c
147556	Northants	Naseby	The time is come. Thomas Hawford. Navesby North.	LM 2008, p. 111b
147582	Northants	Northampton	As God wil, so be it. John Balgay of Northampton.	LM 2008, p. 114b
147589	Northants	Northampton	As God will, so be it. John Balgay. Northampton.	LM 2009, p. 160b
147594	Northants	Northampton	As God will, so be it. John Balgay. Northampton.	LM 2009, p. 168c
147604	Northants	Irchester	As God will. Nicholas Manning of Archester.	LM 2008, p. 104a
147656	Northants	Sywell	Good lucke. Per Ed. Rowse. Gent. Siwel.	LM 2009, p. 161c
147751	Northants	Isham	What shall be, shall be. p John Humfrey. Isham.	LM 2008, p. 104a
147823	Northants	Higham Ferrers	Sith fortune by lotting is nowe to be proved, as hap proveth happie, so lotting is loved. William Rud. Highamferries.	LM 2009, p. 173d
147897	Northants	Maidwell	The second mine. William Hands. Madewel.	LM 2009, p. 169d
147915	Northants	Catesby	Foure lotts put in as you may see, the mother one, and daughters three. Katherin Oneley. Catesby.	LM 2008, p. 112a
148008	Northants ?	Barby ?	If no lot fal, then take you al. William. Frenche. Darby.	LM 2008, p. 116a
148169	Northants	Wappenham	Fortune may me soone advaunce, and to the best lot sende me chaunce. Nicholas Brograve. Wapnam.	LM 2008, p. 100b
148191	Northants	Towcester	Every man doth put in for gaine, and I shall have my fortune what so ever doth obtaine. Richard Fitzhew. Tossiter.	LM 2008, p. 113d
148268	Northants	Belgrave	As I intend, so God me sende. Laurence Washegrave. Bowlgrave.	LM 2009, p. 161a
148380	Northants	Althorp	Content I am as god doth send, if nought I gaine, then there an ende. John Spencer, Knight. Althorpe.	LM 2008, p. 111b
148395	Northants	Horton	Not choise but chaunce, must me advaunce. p Sir Ro. Lane knight. Horton.	LM 2009, p. 162a
148657	Midd.	London	As God made handes before knyves, so god send a good lot for the cutlers wives.	LM 2009, p. 169b
148909	Lincs	Sleaford	<i>La fordia nova et vetus</i> . p William Carre. Sleaford.	LM 2008, p. 110a
149182	Essex	Ingatestone Hall	<i>Sans Dieu rien</i> . John Peter. Ingarstone.	LM 2009, p. 170d
149190	Essex	Ingatestone Hall	<i>Sans Dieu rien</i> . John Peter. Ingarston.	LM 2008, p. 99d
149263	Essex	Ingatestone Hall	<i>Sans Dieu rien</i> . Jo. Peter. Ingarston.	LM 2008, p. 107d
149328	Essex	Ingatestone Hall	<i>Sans Dieu rien</i> . John Peter. Ingarston.	LM 2008, p. 111a
149347	Midd.	London	Sith lottes be uncertaine to whom they shal fall, if God will, some may happen to the Chanons of Paule.	LM 2009, p. 173d
149625	York W	Kingsley Park	Helpe Gargrave as needes, Wake. Pont. and Leedes. Tho. Gargrave. Kingsley.	LM 2008, p. 106a
149637	York W	Kingsley Park	Help Gargrave as needes, Wake. Pont. & Leedes. Per Thomas Gargrave. Kingsley.	LM 2008, p. 116c
149640	York W	Kingsley Park	Helpe Gargrave as needes, Wakefield, Pomfret, and Leedes. p Thomas Gargrave. Kingsley.	LM 2008, p. 109a
149735	York W	Halifax (Learings)	God sende him heaven. p Thom. Greenwood. Leringes.	LM 2008, p. 107a
149796	York W	Doncaster	Do wel for Doncaster. p Ric. Fenton. Doncaster.	LM 2008, p. 100b
149807	York W	Doncaster	<i>Trigesies fortuna, millesies esto. p Ioannem Hudson, Cleric. Doncaster.</i>	LM 2009, p. 173c
149866	York W	Gawthorpe (Dewsbury)	Game gladly for Gascoigne. Frauncis Gascoigne. Gawthorpe.	LM 2008, p. 110d
149959	York W	Kingsley Park	Help Gargrave as needes, Wake. Pont. & Leedes. p Tho. Gargrave. Kingsley.	LM 2008, p. 106b
150036	York N	Skipton Castle	Have with you for company. p Hen. Comit. Cumbre. Skipton.	LM 2008, p. 115c
150118	York W	Keighley	Money maketh the Merchaunt. p John Medehop.	LM 2008, p. 108c

150159	York N	Skipton Castle	Have with you for company. p Henri Com. Cumbr. Skipton.	LM 2008, p. 105a
150218	York N	Skipton Castle	Have with you for company. p Henri. Comitem Cumbr. Skipton,	LM 2008, p. 110b
150334	York Y	York	<i>Veritas temporis filia.</i> Thom. Archbishop of Yorke.	LM 2008, p. 115a
150382	York Y	York	<i>Veritas temporis filia.</i> Thom. Archbishop of Yorke.	LM 2009, p. 177a
150447	York Y	York	<i>Veritas temporis filia.</i> Thomas Archebishop of Yorke.	LM 2008, p. 110d
150638	Cornw	Lanteglos by Fowey	I put it in adventure. By John Vian Lanteglos, juxta Fowey.	LM 2008, p. 115a
150727	Cornw	St Neot	The covetous devoure the poore. By John Warren S. Nyot parishe.	LM 2009, p. 166d
150949	Cornw	Saltash	God sende the lotts well to passe for the Queenes town of Saltashe. By John Welles of Salt-Ashe.	LM 2008, p. 159d
151179	Cornw	Egloskerry	Doubt no doublenesse. By Thomas Dingley. Egloskery parish.	LM 2009, p. 166b
151373	York Y	York	God gyveth. William Watson of Yorke.	LM 2009, p. 160c
151381	York Y	York	God giveth. W[...] Yorke.	LM 2009, p. 167c
151417	York Y	York	God the giver of all, send me the great lot before the small. Robert Morton. York.	LM 2009, p. 178b
151543	York Y	York	Ware thine eye Woodcocke. p John Leadall of York.	LM 2008, p. 114c
151557	York Y	York	Ware thyne eye Woodcock. p John Leadall of Yorke.	LM 2008, p. 110d
151727	York E ?	??	We must take what we can get. Per Leonarde Wyckham of Hulwate. Banke.	LM 2009, p. 167a
151759	York E	Bugthorpe	I came to late. p Laurence Holme of Burgthorp.	LM 2008, p. 100c
151763	York E	Walkington	Walke Walkington. Per Jo. Southerin of Walkington.	LM 2008, p. 117d
151789	York E	Thoralby Hall (Bugthorpe)	I serve God. p Wil. Chamberlayne of Thorwilby.	LM 2008, p. 115b
151798	York Y	York	<i>Mea sorte contentus ero.</i> p John Leadall of Yorke.	LM 2009, p. 172b
151899	Dorset	Hinton Martell	God giveth the increase. Thomas Everingham of Henton Mortell.	LM 2009, p. 166a
151981	Cornw ?	Calstock ?	My money is from me gone, I hope it will bring ten for one. By Steven Honicomb, Castlestoke.	LM 2008, p. 105c
152039	Cornw	Launceston (Dunheved)	Give the best prise I pray thee good fortune, unto the Queenes Majesties towne of Launston. By Thomas Hicks. Dunhend burgh.	LM 2008, p. 101d
152053	Cornw	Launceston (Dunheved)	Give the best price, I pray thee good fortune, unto the Queenes maiesties towne of Launceston. p Tho. Hicks. Donhen. Burges.	LM 2009, p. 163c
152100	Cornw	Launceston (Dunheved)	Give the best prise I pray thee good Fortune, unto the Queenes Majesties towne of Launston. By Thomas Hickes. Dunhende. Burges.	LM 2008, p. 106a
152176	Suff.	Ipswich	Saint Clements parishe shal be content, whatsoever befall. Per John Humfrey de Ypswich.	LM 2008, p. 159a
152187	Suff.	Ipswich	Saint Clements parish shall be content, whatsoever befall. p John Humfrey de Ypswiche	LM 2008, p. 159a
152310	Suff.	Ipswich	Saint Laurence spake not in bost, eat the... while the other doth rost. p Joh. More. Ip[...]	LM 2008, p. 118b
152348	Suff.	Ipswich	S. Laurence spake not in boast, eate the one side while the other roast. p John Moore. Ipswich.	LM 2008, p. 101b
152370	Suff.	Ipswich	S. Laurence spake not in boast, eate the one side while the other roast. p John More of Ipswich.	LM 2009, p. 169c
152409	Cornw	Bodmin (Bodwen)	Christ the waye, the truth, and the doore, considereth the riche and forgetteth not the poore. per Ri. Michel de Bodwin. Burges.	LM 2008, p. 111a
152441	Cornw	Egloshayle	John Kestell the yonger of Egleshayle, God send him well to prevaile. p predict. Johannem Kestell de Egleshayll pred. junior.	LM 2008, p. 113c
152459	Cornw	Whitstone	God sende us good speede. per Thomas Kempe de Witston.	LM 2008, p. 106d
152521	Cornw	Saint Minver	Fortune favoereth freely. p Francis Penkeuil de Saint Minter. Ar.	LM 2008, p. 111c
152626	Cornw	Launcells	In God is all my trust. p Walter Iule parochi. de Launcels.	LM 2008, p. 112d
152708	Cornw	Stratton	My trust put I in God truly. p Jo. Marres. paroc. de Stratton. Gen.	LM 2008, p. 106c
152794	Cornw	Altarnun	In South Kerne. Biske. p Mariam Hard. paroch. de Alknnon.	LM 2008, p. 111c
152796	Cornw	Altarnun	In South Carne Bisky. p Mariam Hard, paroc. de Altonon.	LM 2008, p. 106c
153045	York E	Hull	Hope well Hul thou maist be happy, hitherto the Lord hath delt with thee lovingly. p R. Dalton. Hull.	LM 2008, p. 110a
153046	York E	Hull	Hope well Hull thou maist be happy, hytherto hath God dealt with thee lovingly. R. Dalton. Hull.	LM 2008, p. 115b
153122	York E	Hull	I live in hope, I serve in feare, let truthe reporte what heart I beare. p James Clarkson. Hull.	LM 2009, p. 161d
153414	York E	Hull	Hope well Hull thou mayst be happie, hetherto God hth dealt with thee lovingly. p R. Dalton. Hull.	LM 2008, p. 105b
153438	York E	Hull	Hope wel Hul thou mayst be happie, hitherto hath God dealt with thee lovingly. p R Dalton. Hul.	LM 2008, p. 101a
153463	York E	Hull	Hope wel Hul thou mayest be happy hitherto hath God delt with thee lovingly. p R. Dalton. Hul.	LM 2008, p. 111d
153688	York N	Scarborough	Whether my lot speede wel or evill, blessed be the Lord of Israel. Margaret Cooke. Skarborowe.	LM 2008, p. 115a

153728	York E	Great Kelk	The lot of. x. shillings in Kelke have we gathered, to send to the lotterie, the Lorde will it speede. p Rich. Huthward. Kelke.	LM 2008, p. 103c
154008	Northd ?	Newcastle upon Tyne ?	If it do chaunce as chaunce it may, the great lot I may carrie away. William Hodgeson. Newcastle.	LM 2009, p. 162a
154050	Northd ?	Newcastle upon Tyne ?	If it do chaunce as chaunce it may, the great lot I may cary away. William Hodson. Newcastle.	LM 2009, p. 167d
154283	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 159b
154431	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. P M. and A.	LM 2009, p. 173a
154560	Midd.	London	God preserve the citie of London. P M. and A.	LM 2009, p. 164b
154562	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. P M. and A.	LM 2009, p. 164b
154644	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 114d
154696	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. P M. and A.	LM 2009, p. 176b
154709	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. P M. and A.	LM 2009, p. 162a
154813	Cornw	Kenwyn	With lucke. p John Trewhane of Kewan.	LM 2008, p. 104a
154865	Cornw	Newlyn East (Newlyn Pydar) in	<i>Dieu guerras.</i> p John Arundle of Newlin.	LM 2009, p. 173a
154919	Cornw	St Agnes	I wishe well. p John Palpere of S. Tanis.	LM 2009, p. 162d
155062	Cornw	Padstow	A broken Key openes no locke. p John Vivion of Padshowe.	LM 2008, p. 105a
155201	York W	Aston	Alowe to Aston abundantly. John Dom. Darcie. Aston.	LM 2009, p. 167a
155225	York W	Hatfield Gate	God send good fortune to Hatfielde. Henry Savile Armiger Hatfielde.	LM 2009, p. 173a
155325	York W	Rotherham	Give me hap & cast me into the sea. Wil. Swifte. Rotheram.	LM 2008, p. 159c
155441	York N	South Cowton	With the possessed contented, what befalleth welcome. George Bowes of South Cowton, knight.	LM 2008, p. 118a
155465	York N	Gatenby (Burneston)	I hope to have good fortune. John Jackson of Gaystingbye.	LM 2009, p. 164d
155679	York N	Stanwick St John	God sende me grace, but to obtaine the seconde or third place. Antho. Caterigge of Stawiche.	LM 2009, p. 167d
155742	York N ?	??	[...]e to the beste lotte. P Hugh Carleton.	LM 2009, p. 175d
155765	Hants	Ringwood	I trust well. p Jo. Marlow of the parish of Kingwood.	LM 2008, p. 111d
156331	York N	Calton	Lead thy life in loyaltie. p John Lambert. Calton.	LM 2009, p. 168a
156370	York N	Calton	Leade thy life in loyaltie. p Jo. Lambert of Calton.	LM 2009, p. 162d
156685	Cambs	Sutton (Isle of Ely)	Gyve gladly. p Gunton. p Edward Gunton. Sutton.	LM 2008, p. 103a
156694	Cambs	Sutton (Isle of Ely)	Cast my lotts gladly. p Tho. Cattell. Sutton.	LM 2009, p. 165c
156708	Westm.	Grayrigg (Kendal)	Encrease and multiplie. p Aliciam Ducket. Grairig in Kendal.	LM 2008, p. 112c
156718	Camb	Isle of Ely	Whyther I misse or hit, as God wil so be it. Anth. Nicole. Ely.	LM 2008, p. 110c
156774	Camb	Isle of Ely	Stering stovers stever not. p Robert Styward. Ely.	LM 2008, p. 102a
156934	Northd	Bothal	<i>Priusquam incipias opus est consulto.</i> Will Duxfield, parson of Botley.	LM 2009, p. 172b
156954	Durham	Aldin Grange	<i>Veritas temporis filia.</i> p Christopher Athe of Aldingrage.	LM 2008, p. 115c
157168	Staffs	Uttoxeter	Hold fast the Hauke. p Frauncis Allen of Uttoxeter.	LM 2008, p. 109c
157186	Staffs	Rocester Abbey	The great Prise is fayre wearing. p Thomam Trentham of Recheater.	LM 2009, p. 165a
157205	York Y	York	God giveth. William Watson of York.	LM 2008, p. 111a
157232	York Y	York	God gyveth. p William Watson of Yorke.	LM 2008, p. 113c
157261	York Y	York	God giveth. Wil. Watson of Yorke.	LM 2009, p. 178b
157450	York Y	York	As I have neede, God be my speede. James Beckwith. Yorke.	LM 2008, p. 99c
157547	Kent ?	??	Serve God and a[bstayne] from ill, desire Gods pleasure and have thy will. P Adam Arnold of Gad.	LM 2009, p. 168c
157589	Kent	Ickham	In his wit he is not sounde, that hazardeth not a peny for a pound. p Nicholas Atkinson. Ickham.	LM 2009, p. 167a
157797	Staffs	Whittington	God sende me good lucke. p Robert Thicknes of Whittington.	LM 2008, p. 111a
157812	Midd.	London	God send us the light of heaven. T.G.O.D. London.	LM 2009, p. 168d
157841	Midd.	London	God sende us the light of heaven. T.G.O.D. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 117a
157858	Midd.	London	God sende us the light of heaven. T.G.O.D. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 113a
157971	Midd.	London	Set not thy candel under a bushell. O.D. London.	LM 2008, p. 117b
157976	Midd.	London	Set not thy candell under a bushel. O.D. London.	LM 2009, p. 166d
158208	Midd.	London	He that is mighty hath done great things for me. O.D. London.	LM 2009, p. 168b
158485	Berks	Windsor	If my pose hap right, one lot wil on me light. p Ric. Redford of new Winsor.	LM 2008, p. 113d
158840	Westm.	Dillicar (Kendal)	Accept our good will. p Anth. Warde. Delicar in Kendall.	LM 2009, p. 168c

158993	Midd.	The Savoy	<i>Incrementum dat Deus.</i> Petrus Carew de Savoy.	LM 2009, p. 160a
159186	Kent	East Greenwich	In hope of Eastgreenewich God sende us to remayne, and of some good lot to have the gayne. By the parishe of Eastgreenewich. Kent.	LM 2008, p. 159b
159262	Kent	Bexley	Where many do shoote, one may hit. By the parish of Bexley. Kent.	LM 2009, p. 163c
159370	Kent	Horton Kirkby	Good hap helpe Horton. Per the parish of Horton. Kirkby. Kent.	LM 2008, p. 106b
159389	Kent	??	God send us Bachelers good wives. p John Litlegrome. Kent.	LM 2008, p. 107c
159467	Kent	Hever	Heave after. p Heaven for the great lot. Per the parish of Heaven. Kent.	LM 2008, p. 102b
159584	Kent	Westerham	<i>Fiat voluntas tua.</i> p Ralfe Sheres. Clarke of Westram. Kent.	LM 2008, p. 99c
159853	Kent	Isle of Thanet (Ramsgate)	Saint Laurence is an angry Saint. By the parish of S. Laur. [on the Isle?] of Tanet.	LM 2009, p. 165c
160221	Suss.	Warningcamp	In Warningcamp I dwel, hopyng to speede well. p Th. Strong. Sussex	LM 2009, p. 178a
160231	Suss.	??	I woulde give a grote, to have the best lot. p Edward Staker. Sussex.	LM 2008, p. 107a
160364	Suss.	Angmering	We put to bring, for Augmering. Stephen Chatfield. Sussex	LM 2009, p. 173c
160558	Suss.	Isfield	A good beginning hath a good ending. Per Henry Hedger de Ifeld.	LM 2008, p. 99c
160662	Suss.	Horsham borough	God send me a good summe. p George Hall of Horsham Barrowe.	LM 2008, p. 102c
160823	Suss.	Chichester	If a... [come], we be content. p civitatem Ci[cester]. Sussex.	LM 2008, p. 117c
160864	Suss.	Eartham (Up Waltham)	If one hit of bothe, Waltham may speede. p Arthā parish. Sussex.	LM 2009, p. 162b
161245	Suss.	Bexhill	<i>Deus bene videt presentia et futura.</i> p Barthelmew Jeffrey. Bexil. Sussex.	LM 2008, p. 111c
161373	Suss.	Battle	God sende, and I will spende. p Tho. Alfrey. Battell. Sussex.	LM 2009, p. 176a
161390	Suss.	Chiddingly	O good Lady fortune of thee this I crave, that I but the great lot for my part may have. p Rich. Smith Chidingly. Sussex.	LM 2009, p. 172c
161445	Surrey	Malden	The parishe is to poore, it can venture no more. Tho. Rabis. Maldon.	LM 2009, p. 161a
161450	Surrey	Cobham	I will take it as it is, whether I shal hitte or mis. p John Godhelpe. Cobham.	LM 2009, p. 173d
161575	Surrey	Great Bookham	To save you from losses, take hede of your purses. John Marter. Great Dokeham.	LM 2008, p. 114d
161676	Surrey	Kingston upon Thames	Good fortune send us friendly, money, plate, linen, and Tapistrie. John Stephen, Kingston super Tham.	LM 2009, p. 173a
161690	Surrey	Kingston upon Thames	Good fortune send us friendly, mony, plate, linnen or tapistry. John Stephen of Kingston upon Thames.	LM 2009, p. 176b
161831	Surrey	East Clandon	Many shall lose, and fewe shall winne. p W.Lee of east Clandon. Surrey.	LM 2008, p. 114d
161910	Surrey	Losely	I loke for no more. p William Moore. Lowseley.	LM 2009, p. 178b
162024	Surrey	Beddington	Good lucke for Bedington. p F.C.Beddington.	LM 2008, p. 99d
162054	Surrey	Carshalton	Contented is Carssalton. Per R.H. Carsalton.	LM 2009, p. 165c
162355	Suss.	??	Glad would we be, if a good lot we may see. p Tho. Hammond. Sussex.	LM 2009, p. 174b
162429	Suss.	??	In the Lorde I trust. p Richarde Luttard. Sussex.	LM 2008, p. 110b
162546	Suss.	Arundell	God speede well, the auncient Towne of Arundell. Per Christopher Haynes. Sussex.	LM 2009, p. 161a
162977	Hants	Botley	Of sufferance commeth ease. Henry Smith. Boteley.	LM 2009, p. 163a
163059	Hants	Wylde	Fortune is friendly. John Havington. Wylde.	LM 2008, p. 99d
163066	Hants	Medstead	Catche what I can. John Dawes. Medstede.	LM 2009, p. 166d
163159	Hants	Chilton Candover	Hope for the best. Chilton. Candever. Joh. Boxe.	LM 2009, p. 172b
163240	Hants	Hartley Wespall	God sende good hap. p Harteley Waspayle.	LM 2008, p. 107a
163306	Hants	Shalden	God sende us our lotte agayne. p Sholdon.	LM 2009, p. 175b
163458	Hants ?	??	The Ashen leaves are greene. Per Sutton.	LM 2008, p. 106b
163735	Hants	Cliddesden	All things worke for the best to them that love God. p Claddesden.	LM 2008, p. 116b
163906	Suss.	Cuckfield	Desire not to enrich thy self with thy neighbours goods. p Nynuian Chaleoner, Cockfield. Sussex.	LM 2008, p. 109a
163945	Suss.	Brighton	Draw Brighemston a good lot, or else returne them a Turbot. per J. Tuppin Brighemston. Sussex.	LM 2009, p. 168b
164134	Hants	Isle of Wight	Good lucke I crave. By John Ednot of Wight.	LM 2008, p. 118a
164268	Hants	Isle of Wight	Content as it falleth. Edw. Horseley of Wight. Ar.	LM 2008, p. 159b
164308	Hants	Isle of Wight	God is just. By Joh. Worsley Esquire, of Wight.	LM 2008, p. 113b
164320	Hants	Isle of Wight	If the Lord wil, I shall gayne. By John Dingley. Gent. of Wight.	LM 2008, p. 117a
164394	Hants	Isle of Wight	Trie ere ye trust. By John Basket of Wight.	LM 2008, p. 118b

164401	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. P M. and A. London.	LM 2009, p. 162d
164471	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 115b
164476	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 116d
164497	Midd.	London	God preserve the citie of London. pM. & A. Lond.	LM 2008, p. 114c
164617	Midd.	London	God make all sure for the Armorsers. Thom. Tindal. London.	LM 2009, p. 162b
164697	Midd.	London	God above can well devise, to who shal chaunce the chieftest prise. Anne Seres. London.	LM 2008, p. 106b
164787	Gloucs	Bristol	Good fortune and grace to Mombridge place, be it early or late, P Wi. Yate. Bristol.	LM 2009, p. 166b
164890	Gloucs	Bristol	Desiring the almighty such fortune me send, that for it we may all rejoyce at the end. Per Henry Daves. Bristol.	LM 2008, p. 116a
164921	Gloucs	Bristol	Reache right and rest. P John Roberts. Bristoll.	LM 2009, p. 174d
165088	Midd.	Enfield	Wisedome liketh not chaunce. Thomas Wroth knight, of Enfield, Midd.	LM 2009, p. 164a
165163	Midd.	Stanwell	<i>Homo sine pecunia, est quasi corpus sine anima.</i> per Henry Draper of Stanwel. Midd.	LM 2008, p. 99d
165183	Midd.	Edmonton	[Huffebaunce], God send good chaunce. p Th. Doone of Edminton. Midd.	LM 2008, p. 102d
165271	Gloucs	Filton	If Fortune favour me, I will not frowne. p Ric. Astell of Filton. Barkley.	LM 2009, p. 166c
165457	Midd.	Holborne	High Holborne. God be thy speede, for of the great lot thou hast need. p J. Hoge. Mid.	LM 2008, p. 110d
165517	Midd.	Hounslow	I hope by gods grace, well to speede, p Alice Roone of Hemids[]owe. Midd.	LM 2008, p. 117b
165713	Gloucs	Bristol	The lottes be cast in lap, but the Lord giveth hap. p Thom. Chester. Bristol.	LM 2008, p. 115c
165844	Gloucs	Bristol	The lottes be cast in lap, but the Lord giveth the hap. p Tho. Chester. Bristol.	LM 2008, p. 105d
166248	Midd.	London	As God will, so be it. Nicholas Turke. London.	LM 2008, p. 103a
166587	Midd.	London	The trees that lowe do stande, the winde doth seldom blow, but they that are grown up on high do often overthrow. William Mildhal. London.	LM 2008, p. 114b
166821	Ireland	Dublin	I shoote at the fairest marke. p Anne Sedgrave of Dublin.	LM 2009, p. 161d
166872	Ireland	Dongarvan	The Queenes Majestie God hir preserve, whose pay my fater hath to serve. Tomas Stafford, Sonne to the Constable of Dungarvan.	LM 2009, p. 174c
166886	Ireland	Dublin ?	<i>Fortuna cæca.</i> Robert Weston Lord Chauncelour of Ireland.	LM 2008, p. 111d
167064	Ireland	Dublin	I shoote at the fairest marke. p Anne Sedgrave of Doble.	LM 2009, p. 167c
167382	??	??	A good lot. John Byllet.	LM 2008, p. 114a
167477	Warks	Coventry	Aske and have. George Ashe. Coventrie.	LM 2008, p. 106c
167485	Midd.	London	If eche wight take, for lucre sake, aloft the skies to flie, shoulde dispaire make fortune to quake, sith dreames doe us annoy. I.S.A.L. London.	LM 2008, p. 113d
167542	Derby	??	Worke wisely with wisedome. Walter Vernon of Darbyshire.	LM 2009, p. 175a
167587	Midd.	??	And if these two, one lot doe fall, Muschampe and Heathe men doe them call. Middlesex.	LM 2009, p. 166b
167603	Midd.	??	And if these two on lot doth fall, Muschampe and Heath men do them call. Midd.	LM 2008, p. 111d
167785	Ireland	Waterford	All good gifts commeth of God. Edward Gough of Waterforde.	LM 2009, p. 178a
167866	Ireland	Waterford	Deale justly. Nicholas Dobbin of Waterford.	LM 2009, p. 168b
168649	Midd.	London	The lot is put into the pot, but the lord doth guide the lot. William Gravet. London.	LM 2008, p. 99c
168742	Midd.	London	God blesse the white towre of Lon. Tho. Rigges. London.	LM 2008, p. 116c
168747	Midd.	London	God blesse the white Toure of London. p Thom. Rigge. Lond.	LM 2008, p. 112a
168765	Midd.	London	God blesse the white toure of London. Thomas Riggs. London.	LM 2008, p. 99c
168789	Midd.	London	God blesse the white Towre of London. Thomas Brigs. London.	LM 2008, p. 107b
168934	Midd.	London	Oft God so beliefte, wie oft wat can het beletten? L.D.H. London.	LM 2008, p. 110c
169540	Midd.	London	As God will, I am content. Elizabeth Martin. London.	LM 2008, p. 100b
169542	Midd.	London	As God wil I am content. p Elizabeth Martin. London.	LM 2009, p. 167c
169573	Midd.	London	As God will I am content. Elizabeth Martine. London.	LM 2008, p. 111d
169823	Midd.	London	Chaunce that chance shall, in God put all. J.A. London.	LM 2009, p. 166d
169957	Midd.	London	Chaunce what chaunce shall, in God put all. I.A. London.	LM 2008, p. 111c
169970	Midd.	London	Chaunce that chaunce shall, in God put all. J.A. London.	LM 2008, p. 106b
170014	Midd.	London	I venture, by hope a lotte for to win, or els all my stock is lost in vayne. Edmund Barne. London.	LM 2008, p. 100d
170088	Midd.	London	I venture by hope a lot for to gayne, or else al my stocke is lost in vayne. Edward Barne. Lond.	LM 2008, p. 112c

170095	Midd.	London		I venture by hope a lot for to gaine, or else al my stocke is lost in vaine. Edward Barne. London.	LM 2008, p. 109d
170532	Leics	??		Florishing faith floweth. p Mary Fulshurst. Leycester.	LM 2008, p. 111a
170573	Leics	??		Flourishing Faith floweth. p Mary Fulshurst. Leicestershire.	LM 2008, p. 111d
170612	Leics	??		Flourishing faith floweth, P Mary Fulshurst. Leicestershire.	LM 2009, p. 161d
170738	Midd.	London		Now & ever. p M.U.I.K.A.S. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 111b
170798	Midd.	London		Now and ever. p M.U.I.K.A.S. London.	LM 2008, p. 106d
170936	Dorset	Lyme Regis		All my gaynes is by adventure. P Robert Midwinter. Lime, Regis.	LM 2009, p. 168d
170982	Dorset	Lyme Regis		I favor as I finde. p Robert Monne, Lime. Reg.	LM 2008, p. 100d
170993	Dorset	Lyme Regis		If fortune me favour, freinds I shall have plenty. p Agnes Mone de Lime Reg.	LM 2009, p. 166c
171085	Notts	Clayworth		God send good fortune. p William Filz William. Cleworth.	LM 2009, p. 172a
171127	York W	Kingsley Park		Helpe Gargrave as needes, Wake. Pont. and Leedes. p Th. Gargrave. Kingsley.	LM 2008, p. 114a
171147	Northants	Stoke Bruerne		God send good fortune. By Edward Edwardes of Stokebryeme in Northhamptonshire.	LM 2008, p. 112b
171246	??	??		A parishe as poore as a louse, God sende us a good lot to maintaine our churche house. p Nicholas Crowme. S. Thomas parish.	LM 2009, p. 177d
171497	Devon	Crediton		Thinke and thanke. P Tho. Dowrishe. Crediton.	LM 2009, p. 164d
171693	Devon	Newton Cyres	St	Nothing venter, nothing winne. per Edmundum Doove, Newton. S. Sires.	LM 2008, p. 104d
171695	Devon	Newton Cyres	St	Nothing venture, nothing win. Edmund Drue. Newton.S.Siers.	LM 2009, p. 169d
171754	Devon	Crediton		My house is al burned, to my great losse and pain, God send me the best lot, to builde it up again. P. John Trobridge. Crediton.	LM 2009, p. 160a
171797	Devon	Shobrooke		I hope to heare the Trumpet sound, a lot worth to me a thousand pound. Edward Dennis. Shewbroke.	LM 2009, p. 161d
171806	Midd.	London		What so ever I win, be it good or bad, I will not hastely belive before the trueth [ve] [hard]. Jerome Beall. London.	LM 2008, p. 111b
171947	Midd.	London		<i>Sors cuique sua est.</i> Simon Ludford. London.	LM 2008, p. 159a
172206	Bucks	High Wycombe		<i>Spera in domino.</i> Tho. Cobham. muche Wicomb	LM 2009, p. 175d
172207	Bucks	High Wycombe		<i>Spera in Deo.</i> p Tho. Cobham. Wicomb magna.	LM 2009, p. 166a
172247	Bucks	High Wycombe		<i>Spera in Deo.</i> p Thom. Cobham. Wicomb magna.	LM 2009, p. 178b
172302	Bucks	Dorney		Good lucke to Dorney. p Richard Tirrey of Dorney.	LM 2009, p. 173d
172368	Bucks	Dorney		Good lucke to Dorney. p Rich. Tirry. Dorney.	LM 2009, p. 162d
172375	Bucks	Dorney		Good lucke to Dorney. p Rich. Tirrey. Dorney.	LM 2009, p. 163d
172574	Bucks	Amersham		Feare God. p Henry Same. Agmondesham.	LM 2008, p. 103b
172716	Bucks	Hambleton		Trust not in chaunce, God will advaunce. p Rob. Saunders. Hamelden.	LM 2008, p. 99b
172772	Bucks	Chalfont Giles	St	V[...] Fleetewood de la Vache, Cha[...]	LM 2009, p. 168c
172905	Essex	Stanway		Hap what hap will, for I will assay, if fortune be frendly, speede wel I may. p Edmund Bocking. Ar. Stanwey.	LM 2008, p. 109d
172990	Essex	Mount (Bures John)	Bures St	If I the greatest lotte shall winne, my fellowes parte shalbe therin. p Andream Sa[n]ford. Bures.	LM 2008, p. 114c
173372	Midd.	London		God preserve the Citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 159d
173427	Midd.	London		God preserve the citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 111b
173454	Midd.	London		God preserve the Citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 112a
173556	Midd.	London		God preserve t[h]e citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 110d
173626	Midd.	London		God preserve the Citie of London. P M. and A.	LM 2009, p. 172c
173792	Midd.	London		God preserve the Citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 103d
173857	Northants	Pattishall		I am a yonger brother and borne to no lande, good fortune in this lottery God may me sende. Joh. Steward. Pattishill.	LM 2008, p. 110c
173971	Midd.	London		God preserve the citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 104c
174035	Midd.	London		God preserve the Citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 100d
174063	Midd.	London		God preserve the Citie of London. P M. and A.	LM 2009, p. 172c
174173	Midd.	London		God preserve the Citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 112b
174211	Midd.	London		O Lorde, it is in thy mightie power, to make beggers riche in an hower. William Lambe gent. London.	LM 2009, p. 178a
174329	Dorset	Bindon		I hope after hap. p Gartrude Light. Bindon.	LM 2008, p. 118b
174386	Dorset	Bradford Peverell		I wishe a good lot. John Barnes. Bradford Peverell.	LM 2009, p. 172c
174389	Dorset	Bockhampton		Amongest all the good lots, I praye God sende me one. Rob. Jacob. Bokehampston.	LM 2008, p. 110c
174553	Midd.	London		Helpe Lord, sayd Peter. p F.M.G. keeper in London.	LM 2008, p. 114b

174615	Midd.	London	Helpe Lord said Peter. p F.M.G. keeper in Lond.	LM 2009, p. 166b
174671	Midd.	London	Helpe Lord said Peter. p F.M.G. Keeper in Lond.	LM 2009, p. 162c
174704	Midd.	London	Help Lorde said Peter. p F.M.G. keeper in Lond.	LM 2009, p. 166b
174965	Salop	Shrewsbury	I rest only upon Gods providence. George Leigh. Salop.	LM 2009, p. 169a
174969	Salop	Shrewsbury	I rest only upon Gods providence. George Leigh. Sallop.	LM 2008, p. 159a
175268	Hants ?	Southampton ?	I hope for the best. p Elizabeth Compton, de [Southarp-].	LM 2008, p. 159c
175344	Ireland	Youghal	Sweete meat, sowre sauce. p John Showre de Yewell.	LM 2008, p. 117a
175363	Somerset	Langport	God send us comfort. p Wil. Larcombe de Langporte.	LM 2008, p. 111a
175395	Somerset	Easton Chard	In God is al my trust. p Jo. Moore the yonger, Ale Brewer.	LM 2009, p. 167a
175501	Norf	Norwich	The faithful promise verily, encorageth me to this lottery. Christoper Some. Norwich.	LM 2008, p. 109d
175555	Norf	Norwich	The Sunne that is so bright, is my lot bothe day and night. Peter Peterson. Norwich.	LM 2009, p. 176b
175605	Norf	Norwich	Whatsoever befall, thanke God of all Christofer Layer. Norwich.	LM 2009, p. 165c
175685	Norf	Norwich	Helpe happy hope. Thomas Layer. Norwich.	LM 2009, p. 162a
175738	Norf	Norwich	This for me, whatsoever it be. Ric. Somme. Norwich.	LM 2009, p. 165a
175744	Norf	Norwich	<i>Spero non metuo</i> . Dorothy Gardener of Norwich.	LM 2008, p. 118b
175930	Norf	Norwich	O lot advaunce, my luckie chaunce. Nic. Bate of Norwich.	LM 2009, p. 177d
176067	Ireland	Dublin	<i>Domine usquequo</i> ? Adam Loftus Archbishoppe of Dublyn.	LM 2009, p. 162a
176179	Ireland	Dunshaughlin	God save my sovereigne and all hir well willers. John Plonket knight of Dunshangle. Irelande.	LM 2008, p. 110a
176206	Ireland	Delvin	<i>Hostibus hom tergo, sed forti pectore notus</i> . Lord Baron of Delvin.	LM 2009, p. 174b
176255	Ireland	Lismullen	Sir Thomas Cusack of lesse Molin towne, hopes to win the five. M. pound. T.C.	LM 2008, p. 103d
176276	Ireland	Isle of Lambay	John Chaloner of Lambay to crave. J.C.	LM 2009, p. 177d
176298	Ireland	Dublin ?	<i>Sperando spero</i> . I. Crofton, Clericus Consilij.	LM 2009, p. 177b
176410	Ireland	Newcastle (South Dublin)	Bothe me and all mine, shall pray to God for the Queenes majestie, long over us to raigne. Per Frauncis Agarde. Seneshall of the Bens.	LM 2009, p. 178b
176593	??	??	The eternall God doth fortune dispose, as to hym semeth best. Eliza. Beck, Widow.	LM 2009, p. 173c
176674	Devon	Exeter	In God is all my trust. p Roger Robinson. Sainct Martins. Exceter.	LM 2008, p. 108b
176677	Devon	Exeter	In God is all my trust. Roger Robinson. S. Martins. Excester.	LM 2009, p. 167d
176745	Devon	Exeter	Martine the poste and Besse my wife, if they have not one lot, they will fall at strife. p Ric. Hart. Exceter.	LM 2008, p. 114a
176817	Devon	Exeter	Imitate Christ, and expell vice, God send me the greatest price. Richarde Sprouze. S. Pancras Excester.	LM 2008, p. 107c
177023	Devon	Exeter	In the Spring time trees waxe greene, God save Elizabeth our noble Queene. p William Trevell the elder. Exon.	LM 2009, p. 165c
177167	Devon	Exeter	Cast the grapple over the boate, if God wil, for the great lot. p Nicolas Martin, free of the companie of merchants of Excester.	LM 2009, p. 172a
177232	Gloucs	Bristol	Hap wel, P Wil. Pepwel. Bristol.	LM 2009, p. 168b
177297	Gloucs	Bristol	Good fortune and grace to Mombridge place, be it early or late. P Wil. Yate. Brist.	LM 2009, p. 165c
177651	Gloucs	Bristol	Hap wel, for Wi. Pepwel. Bristol.	LM 2009, p. 167a
177688	Gloucs	Bristol	Hap well, For William Pepwell. Bristoll.	LM 2009, p. 163a
177718	Gloucs	Bristol	Hap well. p William Pepwell. Bristoll.	LM 2008, p. 103a
177807	Hants	Southampton	Praysed be God. p B. Cortmill. Southampton.	LM 2008, p. 104c
177827	Hants	Southampton	Gods gift I trust to have. p I.E. S.Hampton	LM 2008, p. 108a
177838	Hants	Southampton	<i>Ob felix Fortuna</i> . p Wi. Bradock Southampton.	LM 2008, p. 105c
177995	Hants	Southampton	Beginne in Gods name. Per Tir S. Hampton.	LM 2009, p. 175b
178032	Dorset	Broadwindsor	If fortune favour friendes, I shall have the moe. p Jo. Wil. Brodwinsore.	LM 2008, p. 109a
178096	Dorset ?	Burton Bradstock ?	By the Sea strand. p Thom. Rowland. p Thom. Rowland of Burton.	LM 2008, p. 105b
178196	Dorset	Chedington	Good lucke God send me, the second lot mine to be. p William Goppie. Chedington.	LM 2008, p. 102b
178237	Dorset	Stockland	Little I have, and litle I put in. p John Barker. Stokland.	LM 2009, p. 175d
178313	Kent	Eleham	The Lorde giveth and the Lorde taketh. Robert Curteys of [E]leham.	LM 2008, p. 105c
178416	Kent	Canterbury	Win god win al. p Tho. Goodwin Deane of Canterburie.	LM 2009, p. 175a
178436	Kent	Canterbury	Winne God, winne all. p Tho. Goodwin of Canterbury.	LM 2009, p. 164c
178462	Kent	Canterbury	Canterbury in decay, God helpe may. p Civit. Cant.	LM 2009, p. 168d
178567	Kent	Canterbury	<i>Mons Dei, mons pinguis</i> . John Hill. Canterbury.	LM 2008, p. 103d

178677	Midd.	London	<i>Vincit veritas.</i> p F.P.	LM 2008, p. 104b
178720	Midd.	London	<i>Vincit veritas.</i> p F.P.	LM 2008, p. 118a
178791	Midd.	London	Some gaine of the lotterrie, God send to the Grocerie. G.C.	LM 2009, p. 165b
179065	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 108b
179136	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 113d
179519	Cornw	Falmouth (Truro)	Falmouth doth decay, God sende it good lucke this day. p Rich. Singleton of Trewre Borough.	LM 2008, p. 109a
179526	Cornw	Falmouth (Truro)	Falmouth doth decay, God sende it good luck this day. p Richarde Singleton of Truro Borough.	LM 2009, p. 177a
179711	Cornw	Truro	<i>Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit.</i> p John Tusser de Truro for and from the clergie of Cornewall.	LM 2008, p. 115b
180369	Midd.	London	Set not thy candel under a bushel. O.D. London.	LM 2009, p. 170a
180406	Midd.	London	The light shining in darkenesse. O.D. London.	LM 2009, p. 177b
180514	Midd.	London	God is my refuge. O.D. London.	LM 2008, p. 106d
180526	Midd.	London	God is my refuge. O.D. Lond.	LM 2009, p. 163c
180538	Midd.	London	God is my refuge. O.D. London.	LM 2009, p. 164a
180583	Midd.	London	God graunt me his holy spirite. O.D. London.	LM 2009, p. 174d
180640	Midd.	London	God be mercifull unto me. O.D. London.	LM 2009, p. 161b
180753	Midd.	London	<i>O clemens, ô pia. Acerbo Velutelli de Luca.</i>	LM 2008, p. 103b
180817	Midd.	London	<i>Sors cuique sua est.</i> Simon Ludford. London.	LM 2008, p. 159a
181134	Midd.	London	<i>Fortune amy.</i> Tho. Gresham. Lond.	LM 2009, p. 163c
181137	Midd.	London	<i>Fortune amy.</i> Sir Thomas Gresham. Knight. Lon.	LM 2009, p. 172c
181254	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 117b
181537	Midd.	London	Nowe and ever. Per M.U.J.K.A.S.	LM 2009, p. 165b
181559	Midd.	London	Nowe or never. p M.U.I.K.A.S. London.	LM 2008, p. 111a
181568	Midd.	London	Now & ever. p M.Y.J.K.A.S. Lon.	LM 2009, p. 168b
181628	Suss.	Rye	God helpe the poore towne of Rie.	LM 2008, p. 111c
181671	Suss.	Rye	My wil O Lord to thine accord. Hollibrand Donning of Rie.	LM 2009, p. 165d
181751	Suss.	Rye	Even as God wil, so be it. p John Dunning. Rie.	LM 2009, p. 174b
181791	Suss.	Rye	Even as God will, so be it. Per John Dunning. Rye.	LM 2009, p. 163a
181837	Kent	Fordwich (Sandwich)	The favour of the Queene in this worlde I crave, and after my death heaven I may have. p Valentin Norton of Fordwich. Sandwich.	LM 2008, p. 101a
181960	Kent	Sandwich	Is all cleere? Per John Clarke. Sandwich.	LM 2009, p. 166d
182492	Midd.	London	God preserve the citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 100d
182667	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 106c
182743	Midd.	London	God preserve the citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 115b
182752	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 159d
182833	Midd.	London	God make all sure for the Armorsers. p Thomas Tindall. London.	LM 2008, p. 116a
183138	Midd.	London	Thinke and thanke God, master Roger Martine, Lord Maior of the Citie of London, for the Mercers company.	LM 2008, p. 108a
183154	Midd.	London	Thinke and thanke God. M. Roger Martin, Lord Maior of the Citie of London. for the Mercers company.	LM 2008, p. 104b
183210	Midd.	London	God preserve the citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 104c
183480	Northants ?	Catesby ?	If lacke may have good luck, as King doth hope in deed, then shal I looke for shillings ten, of twentie pounce to speede. Henry King of Calesby.	LM 2008, p. 104c
183540	Devon	Modbury	Pollicie preventeth povertie. p Thom. Pridiaux. Madburie.	LM 2008, p. 101b
183957	Devon	Netherton	Lord let luckiest lot light on Lowman. per John Lowman. Netherton.	LM 2009, p. 170a
184084	Devon	Totnes	Have at all. p Walter Bogan of Totnes.	LM 2008, p. 115c
184175	Devon	Malborough	I hope well. p John Harwarde. Malborowgh.	LM 2009, p. 175b
184193	Devon	Churchstow	If I have the best lot, I will pay that I owe. Per Tho. Gilbert. Chursbowe.	LM 2009, p. 163d
184196	Devon	Churchstow	At Venne, the wyves beare more rule than men. Per William Liston. Churstowe.	LM 2009, p. 161a
184304	Hants	Burghclere	God helpe. For the parishe of Borrowcler.	LM 2009, p. 162d
184361	Hants	Wolverton	God sende me a good lotte. for the parishe of Wolverton.	LM 2008, p. 113c
184382	Hants	Abbot's Ann	God give grace. For the parish of Abbotsham.	LM 2008, p. 103c
184409	Hants	Hurst Castle (Milford on Sea)	Hurst, durst, thurst, rust. For the castle of Hourst.	LM 2009, p. 162c
184434	Hants	Eling	Venturers winneth good. p the parishe of Elyng.	LM 2009, p. 167d
184507	Hants	Breamore	God be for Bremer. for the parish of Bremer.	LM 2009, p. 176a

184527	??	??	It shall be good luck if I speede. For Limmines.	LM 2009, p. 177b
184632	Devon	Ugborough	God sende him good stap. p Robertum Lappe. Ugborowgh.	LM 2009, p. 175b
184773	Devon	Modbury	With honor goe, with vertue live, & fortune shall thee largely give. p Henr. Champernoune. Madbury.	LM 2009, p. 163d
184821	Devon	Modbury	The Olive tree on hil that growes, to have a share his name here shewes. p Oliver Hill. Madbury.	LM 2008, p. 108a
184833	Devon	Modbury	The Olive tree on Hil that growes, to have a share his name here shewes. p Oliver Hill. Madbury.	LM 2009, p. 177d
184854	Devon	Modbury	The Olive tree on hil that growes to have a share his name here shewes. p Olyner Hill of Badburie.	LM 2008, p. 159d
184902	Devon	Tiverton	Lorde blesse me with thy hande, both by sea and lande. P Thomas Prowse sonne of Robert Prowse. p Thomas Prowse. Tiverton.	LM 2009, p. 168c
184950	Devon	Topsham	Topsham is builded upon a Red Rydge, god send me a good lot to maintayne the Kay & Bridge. p Jo. Michell of Topsham.	LM 2008, p. 105a
184961	Devon	Topsham	Topsam is buylded uppon a Red Rydge, I praye God sende me a good lot to mayntayne the Kay and Bridge. p John Michell of Topsam.	LM 2009, p. 175b
185063	Devon	Cullompton	Fortune be thou our frende, whether we lose or win. p Joh. Cockram of Colamton.	LM 2008, p. 111b
185370	Devon	Shobrooke	I hope to heare the trumpet sound, a lot worth to me a thousand pound. Edward Denis, Esquire of Shewbroke.	LM 2008, p. 104a
185394	Devon	Calverleigh	Thomas Southcote of Cawoodley, for one of these lotts I will assay. p Thom. Southcote gent. of Cawodley.	LM 2009, p. 167d
185489	Devon	Tiverton	God sende me some children, so that God may blesse them. p Rich. Waldron de Tiverton.	LM 2009, p. 162d
185490	Devon	Tiverton	God send me som children, so that God may blesse them. p Ri. Waldron of Tiverton.	LM 2008, p. 105d
185734	Devon	Crediton	Thinke and thanke. p Thom. Dowreche Esquire of Crediton.	LM 2009, p. 164b
186171	Kent	Tenterden	Of many people it hath bene said, that Tenterden steple, Sandwich haven hath decayed. p Edward Hales, Tenterden. Kent.	LM 2008, p. 159d
186216	Kent	Cranbrook	I will take no thought as neere as I can, for God hath ynough for every man. p Henry Allarde of Cranbroke. Kent.	LM 2009, p. 161d
186272	Kent	Lynsted	God be my speede, for of the best lot I have most neede. Per Thomas Bacon Linsted. Kent.	LM 2008, p. 99b
186382	Kent	Great Chart	God send us good luck. Edward Ellis, great Chart Kent.	LM 2009, p. 160a
186536	Devon	Barnstaple	If hap helpe not, hope is hindred. p Clement Burton of Barnestaple.	LM 2009, p. 176b
186560	Devon	Barnstaple	If hap helpe not, hope is hindred. p Clement Burton of Barnestaple.	LM 2009, p. 161d
186575	Devon	Barnstaple	If hap helpe not, hope is hindred. p Clement Burton of Barnestaple.	LM 2008, p. 115a
186625	Devon	Barnstaple	One and thirty lotts. God sende us a fayre day, for the maintenaunce of the long Bridge, and finishyng of the Kaye. p John Darte of Barnest.	LM 2008, p. 105a
186628	Devon	Barnstaple	One and thirtie lotts God send a fayre day, for the mayntenaunce of the long Bridge, and finishing of the kay. p Jo. Darte of Barnestaple.	LM 2008, p. 114c
186647	Devon	Barnstaple	One and thirtie lotts. God send a fayre day, for the maintenance of the long Bridge and finishing of the Kay. p John Darte of Barnestaple.	LM 2008, p. 117a
186661	Devon	Barnstaple	One and thirtie lotts, God send a faire day, for the maintenance of the long Bridge, and finishing of the Kay. p John Darte of Barnestaple.	LM 2009, p. 163b
186754	Devon	Barnstaple	The father of heaven sende us some gayne, for in building for the common wealth, we have taken great payne. p John Arscot of Barnestaple.	LM 2008, p. 113a
186793	Devon	Barnstaple	The father of heaven send us gain, for in building for the common wealth we have taken greate pain. Jo. Arskot. Barnestable.	LM 2008, p. 110a
187032	Wilts	Swallowcliffe	Hast, maketh wast. p John Roberts of Swalclif.	LM 2009, p. 164d
187075	Wilts	Compton Chamberlain	Be not dismayde, till fortune be assayde. P Rob. Bownd of Compton, Chamberlayne. Wiltish.	LM 2009, p. 165a
187093	Wilts	Warminster	<i>Si Deus nobiscum, quis contra nos?</i> Per Nicholas Joh. of Warmaster. Wiltshire.	LM 2009, p. 167a
187200	Wilts	Ashton Gifford	Welcome be the grace of God. P Rich. Crowche of Aysheton. Gifford.	LM 2009, p. 172d
187216	Wilts	Hill Deverill	<i>Fiat voluntas Dei in omnibus.</i> P Philip Ludlow de Hill. Deverell Wiltesh.	LM 2009, p. 170b
187224	Wilts	Fonthill Bishop	I have grea[t] [...]ve good hap. P William Grove of [...] Bishop. gent.	LM 2009, p. 166c
187424	Worcs	Salwarpe	If I speede well, I wil be merie where I dwell. p Rich. Trinmeld. Salwarp. Marches of Wales.	LM 2008, p. 107c
187470	Worcs	Sodington Hall (Mamble)	A lot or nothing. p Katherine Blont. S[o]dington. Marches of Wales.	LM 2008, p. 110c

187506	Worcs	Wichenford	Do well and doute not. p John Pu[--]use. [Alshdo] Wichenford. Marches of Wales.	LM 2008, p. 103c
187513	Worcs	Wichenford	Love and live. p Walterum Washeborne. Wynchenforde, Marches. Walles.	LM 2008, p. 117b
187705	Berks	??	<i>Dies affert multa</i> . p Edward Martin. Bark.	LM 2008, p. 159b
187794	Berks	Reading	Ric. Watlington. God sende good winning to the poor parishners of S. Laurence in Reding.	LM 2008, p. 108c
188087	Midd.	London	Better it is ye greatest lot to have, than fortie of the smallest, so God me save. William Couper of London.	LM 2008, p. 109c
188106	Midd.	London	Better it is the great lot to have, than forty of the smallest so God me save. Will. Couper. Lond.	LM 2009, p. 173d
188335	Midd.	London	Better it is the greatest lot to have, than forty of the smallest so God me save. William Couper. London.	LM 2009, p. 176a
188448	Midd.	London	The spred Eagle spred, hopeth for a good lotte to be red. A. and C. Stilliarde. London.	LM 2008, p. 114d
188548	Midd.	London	The spread Eagle spred, hopeth for a good lotte to be red. A. and C. Stilliard. London.	LM 2008, p. 103a
188559	Midd.	London	The spred Eagle spred, hopeth for a good lotte to be red. A. and C. Stilliarde. London.	LM 2008, p. 109a
188644	Midd.	London	The spread Eagle spread, hopeth for a good lotte to be red. A. and C. Stilliarde of London.	LM 2008, p. 114b
188704	Midd.	London	The spred Egle spred, hopeth for a good lotte to be red. A and C. Stilliard. London.	LM 2008, p. 107c
188707	Midd.	London	The spred Egle spred, hopeth for a good lotte to be red. A. and C. Stilliard. Lond.	LM 2009, p. 172d
188787	Midd.	London (Antwerp)	Peter Grunaldo. Antwerp	LM 2009, p. 163a
188864	Midd.	London	Better it is the greatest lot to have, than fourty of the smallest, so God me save. William Cowper. London.	LM 2008, p. 117b
188932	Midd.	London	The spred Egle spred, hopeth for a good lotte to be red. A. and C. Stilliard. London.	LM 2008, p. 115d
188956	Midd.	London	The spred Egle spred, hopeth for a good lotte to be red. A. and C. Stilliard. London.	LM 2009, p. 168b
188993	Midd.	London	The spred Egle spred, hopeth for a good lotte to be red. A. and C. Stilliard. London.	LM 2009, p. 168a
189089	Beds	Harlington	Happ[i]e hap may hit to Harlington. p Th. Strawbridge. Harlington.	LM 2008, p. 117c
189153	Beds ?	Westoning ?	Richard Bayly is my name, God sende me good lucke upon the same. Per John Bayly. Whitston.	LM 2009, p. 163a
189177	Beds	Toddington	God and good fortune nowe graunt me favour, I shall neede hereafter to be lesse craver. p Henr. Cheyny. Milit. Todington.	LM 2009, p. 169b
189255	Beds	Renhold	O Lord I am no craver, but as fortune shall favour. p Alexander Skrogge. Runhall.	LM 2009, p. 168d
189291	Midd.	St Dunstan in the East	Dunton upon the hill, would gayne with a good will. p John Barbor Dunton.	LM 2009, p. 165a
189440	Bucks	Bradenham	<i>In Domino confido</i> . p Edward Lord Winsor. Bradenham.	LM 2009, p. 161c
189657	Bucks	Dorney	Good lucke to Dorney. p Rich Tirrey. Dorney.	LM 2008, p. 99a
189706	Bucks	Ellesborough	<i>Omnia desuper</i> . p Wil. Hawtrie. Ellisborough.	LM 2008, p. 100c
189948	Bucks	Chalfont St Giles	<i>Vincit veritas</i> per Thomam Fleetewood de la vache Chalfount. S. Giles.	LM 2008, p. 107c
190114	Midd.	London	Good fortune to all those, that be workers of clothes. p the company of Clothworkers. London.	LM 2009, p. 172a
190157	Midd.	Hendon	If hope have hap then am I glad, if hope lacke hap I am not sad, good hope I crave and hope for gayne, the which to have I hope certayne. Per Alice Nicols, Hendon, Buttermayde.	LM 2009, p. 167a
190165	Midd.	London	Good fortune to all those, that be workers of Clothes. p the company of Clothworkers. London.	LM 2008, p. 116c
190451	Midd.	London	Good fortune to all those, that be workers of Clothes. p the companie of Clothworkers. London.	LM 2009, p. 166d
190534	Midd.	London	Good fortune to all those that be workers of Clothes. p the company of Clothworkers. London.	LM 2009, p. 175b
190590	Midd.	London	If hope have hap, then am I gladde, if hope lacke hap, I am not sad, good hap I crave and hope for gaine, the which to have I hope certaine. p Edward Palmer haberdasher. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 110a
190598	Midd.	London	Rowland Hinde Gent, sonne & heire to M. Augustine Hinde late Alderman of London. p Lond. Gentleman.	LM 2008, p. 105b
190854	Midd.	London	Welbeloved friends I pray you all, send the great lot to the Ironmongers hall. p Rob. Beamond of London. Ironm.	LM 2009, p. 172d
191232	Midd.	London	Even or od, my trust is in God. p William Dunham. Goldsmith.	LM 2009, p. 167b
191255	Midd.	London	Even or od, my trust in God. p William Dunham. Goldsmith.	LM 2009, p. 168c
191341	Midd.	London	Even or od, my trust is in god. Wil. Dunham, goldsmith.	LM 2008, p. 114c
191354	Midd.	London	Even or od, my trust is in God. p William Dunham, Goldsmith.	LM 2009, p. 175d

191611	Midd.	London	Hab or nab P the yonger Mab. per John Mab the yonger Goldsmith.	LM 2009, p. 175d
191675	Midd.	London	Hab or nab, P the yonger Mab. John Mab the yonger, Goldsmith.	LM 2009, p. 164a
191710	Midd.	London	What fortune brings to hande, with that content I stand. p Henric. Cule, Goldsmith, straunger.	LM 2009, p. 168c
191745	Midd.	London	What fortune brings to hande, with that content. I stande. p Henry Cule Goldsmith, straunger.	LM 2008, p. 105b
191931	Midd.	London	Thoughe oure abilitie be but small, yet that we put in is in hope for us al, as those that are knit like shoe and soale, if God be with us, good luck shall befall. p Mathewe Harrison of London. Cordwainer.	LM 2008, p. 113c
191953	Midd.	London	Though our habilitie be but smal, yet that we put in, is in hope for us al, as those that are knit like shoe and soale, if God be with us, good lucke shall befall. p Mathew Harrison of London. Cordwainer.	LM 2009, p. 160a
192462	Midd.	London	Even or od, my trust is in God. p William Dunham, Goldsmith.	LM 2008, p. 109c
192480	Midd.	London	Even or od, my trust is in God. p William Dunham. Goldsmith	LM 2008, p. 112c
192487	Midd.	London	Even or od, my trust is in God. p William Dunham. Goldsmith.	LM 2009, p. 177b
192783	Midd.	London	We Brewers God send us, a good lot to mend us. John Stevens in the parishe of Saint Annes.	LM 2008, p. 118a
192818	Midd.	London	As God will, so be it. p John Bunting of London. Baker.	LM 2008, p. 110d
192820	Midd.	London	As God will, so be it. p Jo. Bunting of London. Baker.	LM 2008, p. 116c
192898	Midd.	London	Till tyme doth serve, hope shall preserve. Thom. Burgen of Grays Inne.	LM 2008, p. 106d
193066	Somerset	Whitlackington	What chaunce to me befall, I am content with al. Sir George Speake of Whitlackington in Somersetshire. Knight.	LM 2008, p. 117b
193347	Midd.	London	As God doth rule in every thing, I am content with his appoynting. Per R. Martine of Cheapeside, Goldsmith.	LM 2008, p. 100a
193431	Midd.	London	As I depend on gods providence and wil, let come what may I am content stil. p Ric. Martine of Cheapside, Goldsmith.	LM 2008, p. 118b
193443	Midd.	London	As I depende on Gods providence & will, let come what may I am content still. p Rich. Martin of Cheapside, Goldsmith.	LM 2008, p. 106d
193674	Midd.	London	Salte savoureth all things. p William Gibbons. Salter.	LM 2008, p. 115a
193796	Midd.	London	As salt by kind gives things their savour, so hap doth hit where fate doth favour. John Harding of London. Salter.	LM 2009, p. 170d
194142	Midd.	London (Antwerp)	<i>Dat cui vult Deus.</i> p P.L.I. vande Wall of Andwerpe.	LM 2008, p. 159d
194197	Midd.	London	First deserve, and then desire. p J.E.M.M.S. Wood. London.	LM 2009, p. 163a
194405	Midd.	London (Danzig)	William Dickenson of Dansick, gods wil [be] done, the second lotte is better than none, yet neverthelesse with. xv. pounde, the best lot were very wel found.	LM 2008, p. 115c
194454	Midd.	London (Danzig)	William Dickenson of Dansick, Gods will be done, the second lot is better than none, yet neverthelesse with fiveteene pound, the best lotte were very well founde.	LM 2009, p. 160d
194569	Midd.	London (Danzig)	William Dickenson of Dansicke, Gods will be done, the second lot is better than none, yet neverthelesse with fiftene pound, the best lot were very well founde.	LM 2008, p. 159d
194586	Midd.	London (Danzig)	William [...] of Dansicke, Gods will be done, the [...]lot is better than none, yet neverthelesse with fiftene pound, the best lot were very well founde.	LM 2009, p. 162c
194606	Midd.	London (Danzig)	William Dickenson of Dansick. Gods wil be done the seconde lot is better than none, yet neverthelesse with fiftene pounde, the beste lot were very well founde.	LM 2008, p. 102b
194679	Midd.	London (Danzig)	William Dickenson of Dansicke, Gods will be done, the second lot is better than none, yet neverthelesse with fiveteene pound, the best lotte were very well founde.	LM 2009, p. 163b
194759	Norf	Tacolneston	I put my trust in God that is just. John Browne of Takleston.	LM 2008, p. 103d
194774	Norf	Tacolneston	I put my trust, in God, that is just. John Browne of Taklestowne.	LM 2008, p. 159a
194777	Norf	Tacolneston	I put my trust, in God that is just. John Browne of Takilstowne.	LM 2009, p. 175b
194783	Norf	Tacolneston	I put my trust in God, that is just. John Browne of Tackelston.	LM 2008, p. 105b
194838	Norf	Tacolneston	I put my trust, in God that is just. John Browne of Tackleston.	LM 2008, p. 99b
194907	Norf	Norwich	God is just, in whom I trust. Mary Some of Norwiche.	LM 2009, p. 160b
194936	Norf	Norwich	<i>Spe non metu.</i> Dorathie Gardener of Norwich.	LM 2009, p. 162d
194963	Midd.	London	<i>Fortune peult, ou elle veult. P.S.P.P. Compan. Lond.</i>	LM 2008, p. 159c
195245	Derby	Codnor (Heanor)	<i>Sans mal penser.</i> Per John Zouche de Codner.	LM 2008, p. 107d
195247	??	??	If God do preserve, then fortune shall serve. per Daniell Ventres. Cant.	LM 2009, p. 177d
195315	Derby	West Hallam	God send a good lot for my children and me, which have had twentie by one wife truly. p William Doughtie de Westhalom.	LM 2008, p. 107d

195319	Derby	Aston upon Trent	All must be, as God wil. p J. Eyer de Eston, upon Trent.	LM 2009, p. 162c
195330	Derby	Egginton	<i>Virtute vince.</i> Per Robert Sligh de Eginton.	LM 2008, p. 110d
195467	Staffs	Lichfield	<i>Dominus diriget sortis.</i> Peter Morwing Prebendarie of Lichefielde.	LM 2008, p. 109a
195504	Staffs	Shenstone	Speede I or not. Nicho. Silvester, vicar of Shenston.	LM 2008, p. 116b
196031	Midd.	London	<i>In Domino confido.</i> p A.S. London.	LM 2008, p. 108b
196071	Midd.	London	Nowe or never. p A.J.T.H.R.S.	LM 2009, p. 173a
196163	Midd.	London	God giveth to whom he will, as God will so be it, in God is all my trust. p Thom. Walker. Vintener of London.	LM 2008, p. 114c
196173	Midd.	London	God gyveth to whom he will, as God will so be it, in God is all my trust. P Thom. Walker Vintener of London.	LM 2009, p. 175a
196432	Midd.	London	For the Haberdashers. Our summe put in, is in hope to win. p C. & H. of Lon.	LM 2008, p. 110d
196479	Midd.	London	For the Haberdashers. Our summe put in, is in hope to win. p C. & H. of Lon.	LM 2008, p. 108b
196598	Midd.	Holborn	At all, P Aileworth. p John Aileworth. London.	LM 2009, p. 163d
196725	Midd.	London	<i>Labore parva charissima.</i> p Nicholas Browne. Lon.	LM 2009, p. 174a
196790	Midd.	London	Nothing venture, nothing have. p Joh. Davenant merchant of London.	LM 2009, p. 175d
196873	Midd.	London	P.J.A. Cottenman of London.	LM 2009, p. 174d
197055	Cornw	Newlyn East	<i>Dieu guerras.</i> p John Arundell of Newlyn.	LM 2009, p. 168d
197132	Cornw	Probus	I wishe well. John Williams of Probis.	LM 2008, p. 116a
197277	Cornw	Fowey	I pray God we may all amend. p Jo. Rayshelengh. of Fowey.	LM 2008, p. 101a
197286	Cornw	Fowey	Trie and then trust. p Rouland Jennings of Fowey.	LM 2009, p. 160a
197287	Cornw	Lanhydrock	I feare the Lord God. p Thom. Littelton of Lanchydioke.	LM 2008, p. 111c
197291	Cornw	Lanhydrock	Do well and have wel. p Edward Kyllion of Lanchydrocke.	LM 2008, p. 105d
197513	Cornw	Truro	<i>Veritas vincit.</i> p Jo. Tusser of Trure.	LM 2008, p. 100d
197525	Cornw	Truro	<i>Veritas vincit.</i> Per Joh. Tusser de Treuro	LM 2008, p. 107b
197610	York W	Aston	Alow [t]o Ascon abundantly. p John Lord Darcy. As[co]n.	LM 2008, p. 117c
197658	York W	Rotherham	Give me hap, and cast me in the sea. p William Swift. Rotheram.	LM 2009, p. 177b
197945	Surrey	Kingston upon Thames	Let us make good chere, John Stephan hath ben here. p Jo. Stephan de Kingeston , super Tham.	LM 2008, p. 109a
198065	Gloucs	Cherrington	The greates lotte in minde I crave, but what [...] right, that shal I have. p George Showel. Che[-]rington.	LM 2009, p. 178b
198177	Gloucs	Hundred of Whitstone	God save the Queene, and realme. p Henrie of Whistone.	LM 2008, p. 100d
198278	Gloucs	Aust Clive	Harken al ye this lot perteyneth unto me. p Nich. Baker. Aust. Henburie.	LM 2008, p. 109b
198375	Devon ?	Welcombe ?	Speede well, alwayes the better. per Jo. Peard of welcome.	LM 2009, p. 167d
198628	Gloucs	Wick Rissington	To praise God is all our parte, Thom. Sandforde. Wik. Rissindon. Slawter.	LM 2008, p. 104a
198689	Gloucs	Henbury	I am a poore Pilgrame, wandring in mundo. Per Jo. Atwood. Henburie.	LM 2009, p. 163b
198712	Gloucs	Leonard Stanley	At this time and for ever, God send me good speed. p William Persons. Leonard Stanley. Whitstone.	LM 2008, p. 103b
198898	Gloucs	Cirencester	<i>Converte nos, Deus salutaris nostri.</i> p Rich. Davis vill Cirencester.	LM 2009, p. 164a
198938	Devon	Barnstaple	If hap helpe not, hope is hindred. Per Clement Burton of Barnestaple.	LM 2008, p. 113a
199153	Lincs	Blankney	<i>Bene fortunet spiritus almus Blanckney.</i> John Thorolde. Lincolne.	LM 2009, p. 163a
199209	Surrey	Losely	I looke for no more. p William More. Lowsley.	LM 2009, p. 161b
199369	Surrey	Godalming	God helpe Godalming. p Ric. Bridge. Godalming	LM 2009, p. 161c
199388	Surrey	Godalming	God help Godalming. Rich. Briger, Godalming.	LM 2009, p. 174d
199417	Surrey ?	??	God send fortune to Wanley. p Aidith Joy. Wanley.	LM 2009, p. 170c
199479	Surrey	Bagshot	This alone for Bagshot, and Basonstone. p Tho. Lipscombe. Bagshot.	LM 2008, p. 103c
199580	Wales	Carmarthen	Per Hugh Griffeth Ap Evon of Carmarthen. Try, and then trust.	LM 2009, p. 173a
199680	Dorset	Frampton	O lot appeare, to my desire. p Nicholas Browne. Framton.	LM 2009, p. 176a
200062	Midd.	London	<i>Vincit veritas.</i> F.P.	LM 2009, p. 165c
200130	Midd.	London	<i>Vincit veritas.</i> F.P.	LM 2008, p. 116c
200166	Midd.	London	<i>Vincit veritas.</i> F.P.	LM 2008, p. 114a
200289	Midd.	London	Some gaine of the lotterrie, God send to the Grocerie. G.C.	LM 2008, p. 114a
200410	Gloucs	Bristol	Hap well, for William Pepwel of Bristol.	LM 2008, p. 111d
200461	Gloucs	Bristol	God speede the plough. P Mathewe Nede of Bristoll.	LM 2009, p. 169a
200587	Gloucs	Bristol	Let us on God call, to speede Tailers all. p Walter Jones Bristol.	LM 2008, p. 118a
200657	Gloucs	Bristol	Reche right and rest. John Roberts of Bristol.	LM 2008, p. 116c

201056	Kent	Crundale	God speede us wel. By the parish of Condel. Ken[t]	LM 2008, p. 116b
201078	Herts	Hertford	Hertford. Hertford. God be thy speed, God send us a good lot for we have greате neede. Ric. Bull. Hertford.	LM 2008, p. 108d
201110	Midd.	London	Helpe Lord sayd Peter. p F.M.G. keeper in Lond.	LM 2009, p. 166b
201203	Midd.	London	Some gayne of the Lotterie, God sende to the Grocerie. G.C.	LM 2009, p. 163d
201444	??	??	Lord help the litle ones. C. of G.L.	LM 2009, p. 160a
201608	Devon	Halberton	Morow Hicke, morow Robin, Hick mother geth. p Ric. Bery of Alderton.	LM 2008, p. 110a
201642	Devon	Stoke Canon	Stale Ale and Graines, is good for an olde mans vaines. J. Hopkin. Stoke Canon.	LM 2009, p. 178a
201680	Devon	Axmouthe	Axmouthe for a haven is a fyt place, and a haven it may be if it please the Queenes grace. p Wil. Mallock of Axmouthe.	LM 2008, p. 116d
201798	Devon	Uffculme	I live in hope to have the best lot. p John Champeneys of Uscombe.	LM 2008, p. 109a
201882	Devon	Egg Buckland	The Chancell is in decay. p Andrewe Wotton of Eyke. Blicklande.	LM 2008, p. 109a
201903	Devon	Plymouth	Advancement by diligence. p William Hawkins of Plimmouth	LM 2009, p. 162d
201996	Devon	Plymouth	This lotterie liberall, wil be beneficiall. p Thom. Edmunds of Plimmouth.	LM 2009, p. 169a
202046	Devon	Plymouth	This lottery liberall, will be beneficiall. p Tho. Edmunds of Plimmouth.	LM 2009, p. 164c
202139	Midd.	London	Whether the lot be litle or muche, the feare of God maketh men riche. Tho. Stanley, Esquire, p London.	LM 2008, p. 99b
202211	Suss.	Hastings	From Hastings we come, God send us good speed, never a pore fisher town in England of ye great lot hath more neede. p Hastings. Richard Lise.	LM 2008, p. 118a
202618	Midd.	London	Come hither ye blessed of my father, when I was harbourless you tooke me to lodging. p London. Arthur Rainscroft.	LM 2008, p. 105a
202717	Devon	Exeter Cathedral	<i>Domine hic autem quid? p Decanum e³ Capitulum. Exon.</i>	LM 2008, p. 99c
202746	Devon	Exeter Diocese	Beware of had I wist. By me William. Exon.	LM 2009, p. 169a
202762	Devon	Clyst Hydon	Nor mine nor thine, but let it be divided. By me John Wright, person of Clifthidon in Devon.	LM 2008, p. 102c
202916	Devon	Exeter Cathedral	<i>Domine hic autem quid? p Decanum e³ Capitulum Exon.</i>	LM 2008, p. 110b
203154	Midd.	London	God is my refuge. O.D. London.	LM 2008, p. 106b
203243	Midd.	London	God graunt me his holy spirit. O.D. London.	LM 2008, p. 113a
203274	Midd.	London	God graunt me his holy spirite. O.D. London.	LM 2009, p. 169b
203330	Devon	Ashburton	God speed the plough, and we shall do wel ynough. p Rob. Pridieux of Ash Burton	LM 2009, p. 175a
203347	Devon	Exminster	God giveth al things. p Roger Hunt de Exminster.	LM 2008, p. 103a
203347	Devon	Exminster	God giveth al things. p Roger Hunt de Exminster.	LM 2008, p. 103a
203394	Devon	Chudleigh	God is the best. p Thomas Hunt of Chedley.	LM 2008, p. 113a
203402	Devon	Chudleigh	Jesus preserve us all. p John Merey of Chedly.	LM 2008, p. 99a
203416	Devon	Teigngrace	Happy man, happy dole. J. Marshal of Teingrace.	LM 2009, p. 177b
203510	Devon	Widcombe in the Moor	God sende winning. p Ric. Rug of Wedicom.	LM 2008, p. 99a
203514	Devon	Brixham	God send us good luck. John Dawes of Bricksam.	LM 2009, p. 162d
203686	Hants ?	Southampton ?	As she is a maid, desireth of God hir for to aid. per Anne Caplin de S.	LM 2009, p. 166b
203722	Devon ?	Blackawton with Strete ?	God helpe the pore. p Nichol. Webbe de Stert.	LM 2008, p. 117d
203748	Devon ?	Marldon ?	Naught hazard, naught win. p Thomas Ames de Marden.	LM 2009, p. 165a
203859	Wilts	Devizes	God save the counsell. p Robert Lederen de Devisez.	LM 2009, p. 166c
203934	Ireland	Ballibragan	<i>In manus tuas Domine.</i> I put in my money. Nicho. Taffe of Ball.Bragan.	LM 2008, p. 99b
204111	Ireland ?	??	My friendes in myne absence wisheth me well to speede, to win the best lot at my most neede. per Thomas Aboyne.	LM 2009, p. 175a
204177	Ireland	??	<i>Plus en sera.</i> Mary Stucley.	LM 2009, p. 163d
204543	Ireland	Youghal	God prosper me forewardes. Thomas Coppingher of Youghol, in the realme of Irelande.	LM 2009, p. 163b
204583	Ireland	Youghal	In the Lorde is my trust. Philip Roman of Yoghull.	LM 2009, p. 169d
204660	Ireland	Youghal	I hope to gaine by the Queenes maiestie. James Unake. Filz Thomas of Youghal, Gentleman.	LM 2009, p. 164b
204673	Ireland	Youghal	God send the Queene good issue. William Walshe of Yoghul.	LM 2008, p. 100a
204857	Ireland	Cork	The father of heaven sende me good fortune. Andrew Galway of Corke in Ireland. Alderman.	LM 2009, p. 178a
204914	Ireland	Cork	The father of heaven, sende me good fortune. Andrew Galwy of Corke in Ireland, Alderman.	LM 2009, p. 164d

204925	Ireland	Cork	The father of heaven send me good fortune. p Andrew Galway of Corke in Ireland. Alderman.	LM 2009, p. 166b
204984	Ireland	Cork	The father of heaven sende me good fortune. Andrew Galwy of Corke in Irelande. Alderman.	LM 2008, p. 116d
205007	Ireland	Waterford	Love God. p Thomas Wise of Waterford, Merchaunt.	LM 2009, p. 161b
205139	Ireland	Waterford	Love God. Thom. Wise of Waterford. Merchant	LM 2009, p. 160b
205153	Ireland	Waterford	Love God. Thomas Wyse of Waterford. Merchaunt.	LM 2009, p. 173a
205333	Midd.	London	Godt mijn hulff. p G.N.A.	LM 2008, p. 115d
205407	Somerset	Wells	<i>Dominus dabit incrementum.</i> Joh. Rug of Welles.	LM 2008, p. 115d
205535	Somerset	Wells	<i>Dominus dabit incrementum.</i> Jo. Rug of Welles.	LM 2008, p. 100c
205545	Somerset	Wells	<i>Dominus dabit incrementum.</i> John Rug of Wels.	LM 2008, p. 113c
205660	Dorset	Dorset	<i>Benedictio Domini divites facit.</i> p John Cottrell of Dorsetshire.	LM 2008, p. 117c
205854	Cumb	Carlisle Castle	<i>Aut mihi aut nulli. p Henricum, Dominum Scroope. Carlile.</i>	LM 2008, p. 106d
206143	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. P R. and C.	LM 2009, p. 160a
206272	Ireland	Waterford	Feare God. Andrewe Wise of Waterford.	LM 2009, p. 160d
206307	Ireland	Waterford	Feare God. Per Andrew Wise of Waterford.	LM 2008, p. 114a
206454	Ireland	Waterford	Feare God. Andrew Wise of Waterford.	LM 2009, p. 162b
206517	Ireland	Dublin	Fye upon filthie gayne. Richard Philips of Dublin.	LM 2008, p. 104d
206722	Ireland	Dongarvan	The Queenes Maiestie God hir preserve, whose pay my father hath to serve. Thomas Stafford, sonne to the Constable of Dungarvan.	LM 2009, p. 177a
206768	Ireland	Dongarvan	The Queenes majestie God hir preserve, whose pay my father hath to serve. Th. Stafford, sonne to the Constable of Dongarvan.	LM 2008, p. 101a
206923	Heref	Burghill	Heare muche, speake little. p Laurence Wellington de Bourghill.	LM 2008, p. 159b
207068	Heref	Hereford	If lucke hit none of thirtie, then cast hym under borde, if one of thirty speede, then lucke shall be a Lord. Per Thomas Church. Civit. Hereford.	LM 2009, p. 167c
207551	Gloucs	Tirley	<i>Ex multis unum.</i> p Jo. Dousing. Trewly. Westnensley.	LM 2009, p. 163d
207655	Gloucs	Tewkesbury	I put in shillings ten, I may winne if God say Amen. P Rich. Ridgedall Burges Tewxbery.	LM 2009, p. 169a
207698	Gloucs	Cirencester	The head of a snake, with garlick is good meate. p Thomas Watson, Ville Cirencestr.	LM 2008, p. 103a
207794	Gloucs	Newent	A mery heart is the lyfe of the bodie. p Alexander Drew. Newest Batlow. Glou.	LM 2008, p. 113b
207861	Gloucs ?	??	Fortune favour and frowne not. p George Fishe.	LM 2008, p. 117b
208003	Gloucs ?	Westbury or Prestbury ?	<i>Medium teneri beati.</i> p Henricum Occall.	LM 2009, p. 165b
208005	Gloucs ?	Westbury or Prestbury ?	<i>Medium tenere beati.</i> p Henry Occall. Wesbury.	LM 2009, p. 164d
208019	Worcs	Kempsey	Good lot, good mariage. Mary Brodman. Kempsey.	LM 2008, p. 113d
208228	Gloucs	Morton Hindmarsh	I wishe for money and raine. p Jo. Palmer. Morton Hendmershe. Westmere.	LM 2009, p. 177d
208415	York E	Hull	Thinke wel, and thanke God. John Thorneton Hul	LM 2009, p. 178a
208460	York E	Hull	Thinke wel, and thank god. John Thornton. H[u]l.	LM 2008, p. 113d
208475	York E	Hull	Thinke well, and thanke God. John Thorneton. Hull.	LM 2008, p. 111a
208549	York E	Hull	Hope well Hul thou maist be happy, hitherto God hath dealt with thee lovingly. R. Dalton of Hu.	LM 2008, p. 116d
208755	Wales	Lampeter Pont Stephen	Deale truly. p John Morris. Cleric. Vic. de Lanbedare. Pont. Steph[en] in Com. Cardigan.	LM 2009, p. 178b
208764	Wales	Abergwili	This is faire play. Rich. Davies, Sacre Theologie doctorem de Abergavenyn, in Com. Carmerthen.	LM 2009, p. 166d
208784	Kent	Charlton	Fortune favour Cheriton. The deanrie of Dover.	LM 2008, p. 115c
208865	Kent ?	??	God aides two poore maides. p Tho. Willys, and K. Knolles.	LM 2008, p. 110b
208878	Kent	Sittingbourne	<i>Tu presens cura, domino committe futura.</i> Per the Deanrie of [S]ittingborne.	LM 2008, p. 117c
209019	Wales	Carmarthen	Happie is he, with bloyk y we nethe. p Ric. Lewes de villa Caermerthen.	LM 2008, p. 108b
209362	Dorset ?	Poole	Nothing venture, nothing have. Thomas Lewis of Poole.	LM 2008, p. 115a
209475	Dorset	Steeple, Isle of Purbeck	As god hath apointed, we are contented. Nic. Barefoote of Sleepe in Purbecke.	LM 2008, p. 107c
209630	Gloucs	Down Ampney	Perfect unitie is voyde of wicked flatterie. p Joh. Hungerforde de Downeamney.	LM 2009, p. 178a
209738	Gloucs ?	Hundred of Whitstone ?	Something venture, something have. Per Robert Redferne, Whitston.	LM 2008, p. 102d
209799	Gloucs	Rockhampton	Yea and nay cock and pye. per William Harris, Rockhampton. Grombalds Ashe.	LM 2009, p. 167b
209937	Dorset	Powerstock	God send me such fortune as I hope to have. Per James Keat. Poorestocke.	LM 2008, p. 116a

210007	Essex	Harwich	Harwich is a town standing by the Sea side, to have a good lot, God be our guide. per William Saunders. Essex.	LM 2008, p. 103b
210032	Essex	Harwich	Harwich is a towne and standeth by the sea side, to have a good lot God be our guide. In Essex. W. Sandes.	LM 2009, p. 160d
210321	York E	Hull	Hope wel Hul thou mayest be happy, hitherto god hath delt with thee lovingly. Ric. Dalton. Hull.	LM 2009, p. 172b
210350	York E	Hull	Hope well Hull, thou mayst be happy, hetherto God hath dealt with thee lovingly. R. Dalton. Hull.	LM 2009, p. 163a
210368	York E	Hull	Hope [we]ll Hull thou maist be happy, for hytherto God hath dealt with the lovingly. Raufe Dalton. Hull.	LM 2008, p. 99b
210442	York E	Hull	Hope well Hul thou maist be happy, hitherto God hath delt with thee lovingly. R. Dalton. Hul.	LM 2009, p. 162b
210449	York E	Hull	Hope well Hull, thou mayest be happie, hytherto God hath delt with thee lovyngly. p R. Dalton. Hull.	LM 2009, p. 176b
210527	York N	Scarborough	Rejoyce in God, and live in his feare, God send a good lot, to Skarborow peere. Christoph. Cooke. Skarborow.	LM 2009, p. 164a
210558	York N	Seamer	He hath put downe the mightie from their seate, and hath exalted the humble and meeke. Lewis Richard, Senior.	LM 2008, p. 108d
210672	Hants ?	??	The leaves be greene, God save the Queene. Per Yalley.	LM 2008, p. 109d
210673	Hants ?	??	The leaves be greene, God save the Queene. Per Yalley.	LM 2008, p. 112d
210815	Hants	Alton	The best to be wonne. p Alton.	LM 2008, p. 113a
210821	Hants	Alton	The best to be won. p Alton.	LM 2009, p. 165c
210838	Hants	Rotherwick	No lucke we like. P Rotherwike.	LM 2009, p. 165c
210924	York E	Ottringham	If fortune us favour, and we may have our will, we wil have the great lot in despite of the Devill. John Hitzard Otringham.	LM 2008, p. 102c
210944	York E ?	Sutton on the Hill / Sutton on Derwent	For my ten shillings which I have put in, God send me v.C. pound without doubting. Jo. Cowling. Sutton.	LM 2008, p. 107d
210972	York N	Scarborough	Fortune is great, where it pleaseth God to hit. Jo. Fishe. Skarborow.	LM 2008, p. 106c
211018	York E	Hull	God give me good fortune. Susan Wilson of Hul.	LM 2009, p. 170b
211051	York E	Hull	Hope well Hull thou mayst be happy, hytherto God hath dealt with thee lovingly. R. Dalton. Hull.	LM 2009, p. 169a
211090	York E	Hull	Hope well Hull, thou mayest be happy, hitherto God hath delt with thee lovingly. p R. Dalton of Hull.	LM 2008, p. 104a
211101	York E	Hull	Hope well Hull, thou mayest be happie, hitherto God hath delt with thee lovingly. R Dalton of Hull.	LM 2008, p. 105d
211115	York E	Hull	Hope well Hull, thou mayest be happy, hytherto God hath dealt with thee lovingly. R. Dalton. Hull.	LM 2008, p. 110d
211495	Midd.	London	God that raigneth over all, sende good fortune to the poore that belongeth to the Diers Hall. Per Tho. Hacket. Lond.	LM 2009, p. 177b
211542	Midd.	London	<i>In Domino confido.</i> Anne Powtrel. London.	LM 2008, p. 109d
211602	Midd.	London	We are poore butchers, and come very lag, and if we have none of your lotts we shall be fayne to take the bottell and the bagge. John Lawne of London.	LM 2008, p. 116b
211654	Midd.	London	Mijn hoofning tze den vader, door Jesum Christum mijnen Heylant. S.A. Venlo.	LM 2009, p. 166d
211785	Midd.	London	Good will and desire, makes two Flemmings to lay in heere. S.D.S. London.	LM 2009, p. 160a
211871	Midd.	London	What Fortune soever God shal me send, I wyll praise his name unto my lives ende. Thomas Jones. London.	LM 2008, p. 109d
211945	Midd.	London	I am a bruer & occupie malt, therfore I shoote at ye great salt, if God it me sende it wil helpe to buy me a score of malt. William Freeman. London.	LM 2008, p. 104c
211975	Midd.	London	Better late than never. Joane Philips. London.	LM 2009, p. 164b
212042	Midd.	London	As God will, so be it. William Skrogs London.	LM 2009, p. 175b
212196	Midd.	London	Like as C. doth serve for Cocke, so doth it also for Charnock, and if you do not crie cocke, yet shal I stil remaine Charnock. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 106a
212227	Midd.	London	My name ends with letter R, God sende one lot for George Dourbar. London.	LM 2009, p. 164c
212250	Midd.	London	<i>Spero meliora.</i> Rich. Smith. Lond.	LM 2009, p. 161d
212282	Midd.	London	As God will, so let it be. Launcelot Corbet. London.	LM 2008, p. 109c
212326	Lincs	Lincoln (and Lincoln's Inn)	If first and best, adieu the rest. Rob. Monson Esquire.	LM 2009, p. 168b
212348	Lincs	Lincoln (and Lincoln's Inn)	If first and best, adieu the rest. p Rob. Monson. Armigerum.	LM 2008, p. 107a
212360	Lincs	Lincoln (and Lincoln's Inn)	If first and best, adieu the rest. Robert Monson, Esquire.	LM 2009, p. 175a
212479	Lincs	Lincoln (and Lincoln's Inn)	If first and best, adieu the rest. p Robert Monson, Esquire.	LM 2008, p. 112c
212606	Heref	Abbey Dore	Doore dareth to doe. Per Ric. Greene of Doore in Harford.	LM 2009, p. 172b
212767	Heref	Hereford	<i>Comite fortuna.</i> p Edwarde Cooper of Harford.	LM 2009, p. 166d

213009	Lincs	Blankney	Launche out lustily. P Wil. Thorold. Blankney.	LM 2009, p. 160d
213142	Lincs	Boston	Good lucke to the bountifull. p Robert Bonner de Boston.	LM 2008, p. 110b
213329	Kent	Westcliffe	Thus till then. p Franciscum Wilforde of Westkif. Kent.	LM 2008, p. 109b
213416	Kent	Elham	If we gayne a hundred pound by this lottery, we will gyve forty therof to the poverty. p the parishe of Elam. Kent.	LM 2008, p. 159b
213458	Kent	Seasalter	When you do the lot plucke, God sende sea salter parishe good lucke. Kent.	LM 2008, p. 110d
213477	Kent	Acrise	As we like of this, it shalbe seene heereafter. p the parish of Arris. Kent.	LM 2008, p. 111c
213578	Northants	Croughton	Rise up Jacke and saddell bal, bring us a good lot, or els farewell all. William Kington. Crowton.	LM 2008, p. 101a
213580	Northants	Whitfield	Syt scot, holde the plough, Lord, Lord, so I doe. p Robert Leson. Whitfelde.	LM 2009, p. 160b
213623	Northants	Middleton Cheney	Who first beginneth, he laugheth that winneth. George Shelborne, Middleton. Cheynie.	LM 2009, p. 166c
213645	Northants	Wappenham	Fortune may me sone advaunce, and to the best lot send me chaunce. Nicholas Brograve. Wapnam.	LM 2009, p. 172d
213973	Dorset	Bere Regis	Once in a good Farme I did remaine, and now I am a pore widow to my paine, God send me a good lot to helpe me to a good Farme againe. per Christian Mitchel widow de Bere. Regis.	LM 2009, p. 174a
214065	Warks	Coventry	Beware wiles, p John Miles of Coventry. Draper.	LM 2008, p. 100c
214109	Warks	Coventry	Golde would I winne. p Gilbert Diglyn.	LM 2008, p. 102d
214115	Warks	Coventry	Golde woulde I winne. P Gilberte Diglyn.	LM 2009, p. 177d
214159	Warks	Coventry	In God is all our trust sayth Robert Pemerton of Coventrie.	LM 2008, p. 108d
214168	Warks	Coventry	God sende me good lucke for a lotte, that I drinke not of an emptie potte. p Roberte Proctor of Coventrie, whitetawyer.	LM 2008, p. 108a
214217	Warks	Coventry	Gold wold I win. p Gilb. Diglin.	LM 2008, p. 109d
214294	Warks	Coventry	Beware wiles. p John Miles of Coventrie. Draper.	LM 2008, p. 104b
214349	Devon	Bishopsteignton	Arise aright. p Thomas Huet of Byshoptenton.	LM 2009, p. 175a
214495	Devon	Teigngrace	Happie man, happie dole. p Jo. Marshall of Tenggrace.	LM 2008, p. 113a
214499	Devon	Teigngrace	Happy man, happy dole. John Marshall of Tengrace.	LM 2009, p. 176a
214588	Devon	Dartmouth	<i>Argent fait tout.</i> p Nicholas Ball of Dartmouth.	LM 2009, p. 169a
214705	Salop	Myddle	<i>Omne donum perfectum a Deo.</i> Thom. Wilton de Midd. Cler in Com. Salop.	LM 2009, p. 175a
214829	Somerset	Wells	<i>Spero meliora.</i> per Joh. Cottrel of Wels in Somerset.	LM 2008, p. 110a
214958	Hants	Southampton	God be praysed, for all his giftes. Per J. Crooke Southampton.	LM 2009, p. 172c
215075	Hants	Southampton	Do as you would be done unto. F.Capelin. South hampton.	LM 2009, p. 175c
215113	Hants	Southampton	Do as you would be done unto. F. Caplin. South Hampton.	LM 2008, p. 109d
215136	Hants	Southampton	Do as you wold be done unto. F. Capelin. Southhampton.	LM 2008, p. 114b
215171	Hants	Southampton	God sende me a good husband. p Caplyn. Southampton.	LM 2008, p. 101b
215282	Devon	Tiverton	If I speede wel, the pore shall speede the better. per John Waldron the elder. Tiverton.	LM 2008, p. 118a
215351	Devon	Tiverton	If I speede wel, the pore shall speede the better. p John Waldron the elder. Tiverton.	LM 2008, p. 110a
215424	Devon	Tiverton	If God think it best, send a lot to Prudence West. Tiverton.	LM 2009, p. 160d
215465	Devon	Topsham	Topsham is builded upon a rid ridge, I pray God send me a lot to maintaine the kay and bridge. p Joh. Michel. Topsham.	LM 2008, p. 114b
215476	Devon	Topsham	Topsham is buylded upon a Red Ridge, god sende me a lot to maintayne the Key and Bridge. per John Michell. Topsham.	LM 2008, p. 110c
215493	Devon	Topsham	Topshame is builded upon a rid ridge, I pray god send me a good lotte to maintaine the Key and bridge. p John Michel. Topsham.	LM 2008, p. 112b
215620	Devon	Cullompton	Fortune be thou our friende, whether we lose or win. p John Cockram. Colamton.	LM 2009, p. 175b
215627	Devon	Bradninch	I lay in my money to the lot by Rime, bycause I would have it come again be time. p Jo. Miller. Bradninch.	LM 2008, p. 100b
215682	Devon	Sidbury, Sidmouth	God helpe the poore of Sidbery, and Sidmouth. p Anthonie Harvy of Sidbery.	LM 2009, p. 164b
215812	Midd.	London	In God is al my trust, for my long tarying I trust he will not speede me worst. p Roger Smyth. London.	LM 2009, p. 176a
215909	Midd.	London	Christ exhorteth us to abstayne from sinne, and to spende no time in vice. p John Chapman. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 109b
216095	Midd.	London	Happy or unhappy I will stande to my chaunce, seeke it in England & not in Fraunce. Felix Laurence. London.	LM 2008, p. 116d
216155	Midd.	London	In all myne affaires I have many lettes, yet if a thousand pound come, I knowe it will pay my debtes. Anthony Rose. Lond.	LM 2009, p. 166c
216183	Midd.	London	Although we come late, we are not the last, have we the great lot, no good time is past. p A.M. & K.R. London.	LM 2008, p. 115a
216284	Midd.	London	Of that gold I made no store, if god send fortune it may be more. Per Y.W. Lond.	LM 2008, p. 102b

216523	Beds	Toddington	God and good fortune now graunt me favor, I shal neede heereafter to be lesse craver. p Hen. Cheiny Knight. Toddington.	LM 2008, p. 105c
216833	??	??	Three Ewes that were olde, to make gaine for thys lot I sold, to parte lucke of the same now of all, as it fall, and hap as it may, if I lose all, farewell the play. p Rich. Boote of Bishop Myneth.	LM 2009, p. 161d
217131	Gloucs	Gloucester	Sara bare a sonne unto Abraham hir brother in hir olde age. p Ri. Cugley. Senior of Glouc.	LM 2008, p. 104b
217141	Gloucs	Gloucester	Faith, hope, and charitie, are workes of the deitie. p John Hurtell. Glouc.	LM 2008, p. 101d
217250	Gloucs	Gloucester	<i>Iustorum expectatio letitia</i> . p Arthur Saule. Gloucestr.	LM 2008, p. 106b
217262	Gloucs	Gloucester	<i>Iustorum expectatio leticia</i> . p Arthur Saule. Gloucester.	LM 2008, p. 99c
217307	Gloucs	Gloucester	I will learne to be wise, as good thus, as at dyce. Gloucest.	LM 2009, p. 161a
217325	Gloucs	Gloucester	Forget thy well doings, remember thy ende. Gloucester.	LM 2008, p. 109b
217390	Gloucs	Gloucester	I wishe the best, and [...] I rest. p Thom. Porter armig. Glouc.	LM 2009, p. 167c
217455	Gloucs	Gloucester	God speede the Shuttle. p Petrum Romney. Glo.	LM 2009, p. 173b
217458	Gloucs	Gloucester	God s[pee]de well the shuttle. p Peter Romney. Glouc.	LM 2008, p. 108b
217501	Gloucs	Gloucester	<i>Deus super omnia [vincit]</i> Thom. Atkins. Glouc.	LM 2009, p. 169c
217561	Gloucs	Gloucester	<i>Pulchrum pro patria pati</i> . p R. Pates. Glouc.	LM 2008, p. 159d
217705	Devon	Woodland	That I have done, it is of good will, take it in good parte, and thinke on me still. p Anthony Soper of Woodland.	LM 2008, p. 101d
217749	Devon	Buckland Monachorum	Mounkes Buckland wisheth a good lot in hande. p Elizend Grimes of North Buckland.	LM 2008, p. 108b
217764	Devon	Bickleigh	Healthfull is hely. p Nichol. Slaning of Bickley.	LM 2008, p. 102c
217905	Leics	Knaptoft	<i>Mibi diffidens, in Domino solo confido</i> . Sir George Turpin of Knaptoft Com. Leic. Knight.	LM 2009, p. 163d
218307	Salop ?	The Heath ?	John Welles of the Heath. Saddle Cut and bridle Ball, if I have not a good lot, God be withall. p J.W.	LM 2008, p. 104a
218511	Suss.	??	God sende them space, a lot by his grace. p John Idenbread. Sussex.	LM 2009, p. 160b
218815	Essex	Colchester	If I chaunce well by this my lot, the poore shal not be all forgot. p George Sayer, Senior. [Baliuumville.] Colchest.	LM 2008, p. 103b
218846	Essex	Colchester	If I chaunce well by this my lotte, the poore shall not be al forgot. p Georgium Saire, senior Ballinum ville Colc.	LM 2009, p. 161b
219118	Essex	Stanway	Since God provides for birde and best, I hope my lot shall not be least. p Edmund Boeking. Ar. Stanwey.	LM 2008, p. 114c
219245	Midd.	London	<i>Aut raro aut nunquam, accidit sors</i> . John Smith. London.	LM 2009, p. 163b
219320	Dorset	Lyme Regis	I do crave such an other to have. Elizabeth Jones. Lime.	LM 2008, p. 105d
219337	Surrey	??	If my lucke be good, thanked be God. p Thomas Darnet. Surrey.	LM 2008, p. 112b
219527	Kent	Pembury	The parishe of Pembury putteth in foure lottes whiche is no od, & may hap to their good fortune by the grace of God. Kent.	LM 2008, p. 109b
219861	Kent	Denton	Thoughe we be but two in numbere, we hope to speede as well as they that came sooner. p parochians de De[n]ton. Kent.	LM 2008, p. 105c
220175	Suss.	Hastings	From Hastings we come God sende us good speede, never a poore fisher town in England of ye great lotte hath more neede. Richard Life. p Hasting.	LM 2009, p. 173b
220204	Midd.	London	The lots are cast into the lap, but their fall standeth in the Lord. p Reginald Wolfe. London.	LM 2009, p. 162b
220345	Devon	Great Torrington	I trust in God, all is well. p Roger Andrewe of Torington Magna.	LM 2008, p. 111a
220379	Devon	Clawton	God sende good lot. p John Webbe of Clauton.	LM 2009, p. 168b
220399	Devon	Bridgerule	God sende us a fayre day. p Tho. Corre of Brigge. Rewle	LM 2008, p. 112c
220474	Devon	Eveleigh (lost village)	God save the Queene. p John Crocker of Ivorley.	LM 2008, p. 100a
220747	Devon ?	Brushford ?	If gayne to me chaunce, then will I daunce. Per Rich. Bishop of Busheford.	LM 2008, p. 104d
220813	Devon	Eggesford	If I it lose and nothing winne, then that shall be against my mind. John Webber of Eggeford.	LM 2008, p. 105a
220886	Devon	Langtree	God speede us wel. p Jo. Priden of Langtree.	LM 2008, p. 115c
221389	York Y	York	<i>Veritas temporis filia</i> . Thom. Archbishop of Yorke.	LM 2008, p. 108a
221491	York Y	York	<i>In te dñe speravi</i> . Gre. Pecok of York	LM 2009, p. 170b
221630	Lincs	Goltho	<i>Dum spiro spero. Prudentiam Grantbam. Goltbo. Lincol.</i>	LM 2009, p. 172d
221710	Lincs	Blankney	<i>Bene fortunet spiritus almus Blankeney</i> . John Thorolde. Lincolne.	LM 2009, p. 166a
221786	Lincs	Barrow on Humber	Happy for a penny. p Swillie Barrowe. Lincoln.	LM 2009, p. 161a
221824	Gloucs	Westbury on Trym	Weried in wandring waxeth Worlocke. p Rich. Worlocke. Westburie upon Trem. Henburie.	LM 2008, p. 115a
221910	Gloucs	Tewkesbury	In God is my trust. p George Morrey Burges of Teukesbury.	LM 2008, p. 104b
221933	Gloucs	Tewkesbury	Fortune be frendly. p Edward Nutby, Burges of Teuxburie.	LM 2008, p. 103d

222010	Gloucs	Mangotsfield	Time trieth trueth. p Henry Tucker Mangotfiede. Barton.	LM 2009, p. 177a
222047	Gloucs	Gloucester	<i>De minimis non currat lex.</i> p John Nichols. Glouc.	LM 2008, p. 101c
222077	Gloucs	Snowhill	In Winter snowe lieth on our hill, God sende me good fortune if it be thy will. p Tho. Brevell. Snowhill.	LM 2009, p. 169c
222144	Gloucs	Turkdean	Jesu for thy mercy, send me good luck in the lotterie. Per John Walter. Turkdeane. Bradley.	LM 2008, p. 102b
222218	Gloucs	Slaughter	As God will, so be it. p John Slawter of Slawter Com. Slawter.	LM 2008, p. 102d
222418	Hants	Bramley	Increase and multiply. Per Bramley.	LM 2009, p. 174a
222444	Hants	Binsted	God speede. p Bensted.	LM 2009, p. 163b
222488	Hants	Alton	The best to be won. Alton	LM 2009, p. 163b
222786	Warks	Warwickshire	William White, God sende a good lot on me to light. p Warwickshire.	LM 2008, p. 159d
222795	Midd.	Twickenham	I am a poore husbände man, and till well lande, God sende me a good lot into my hande. Thom. Bayley. p Twicnam.	LM 2009, p. 161a
222813	Herts	Ware	I put this in, trusting therby to win, god send good lucke, my brothers part is therein. Thom. Colley. p Ware.	LM 2009, p. 161c
222922	Midd.	London	Come hether you blessed of my Father, when I was harborlesse you toke me to lodging. Arthur Raynscroft. p London.	LM 2009, p. 175b
223107	Midd.	London	God ghevet all. p S. P. London.	LM 2009, p. 164c
223531	Devon	Ashreigney	A hunter I am, and it doe use, to have the great lot I wil not refuse. Per Jo. Shot of Ashrany. Devon.	LM 2009, p. 177d
223682	Oxon	Oxford	The Lotte is layde into the lap, but God it is that gyveth the hap. Robert Smith of Oxforde.	LM 2008, p. 101d
223820	Oxon	Oxford	<i>Fortuna citius reperias, quam retineas.</i> Wil. Bridges. Oxforde.	LM 2009, p. 162d
223869	Oxon	Oxford	Thou shalt do me pleasure if fortune so fall, if fortune faile me, yet lose I not all. Rose Inkeforbie. Oxford.	LM 2008, p. 118b
223898	Oxon	Oxford	The Lord is my lot. Laurence Humf. Oxon.	LM 2009, p. 163a
224007	Midd.	London	For me, my wife and children three, I hope of the greatest lot if it may be. p Rich. Smith. Lond.	LM 2008, p. 112d
224297	Oxon	Oxford	Hope well & have well. Marie Cooper of Oxford.	LM 2009, p. 164c
224457	Oxon	Oxford	Speede Fausto. p Henr. Bust. Oxon.	LM 2009, p. 170a
224472	Oxon	Oxford	If fortune favour me, happie may my chaunce be. Judith Gerbrand. Oxon.	LM 2009, p. 165b
224567	Midd.	London	God giveth to whom he will, as God will so be it, in God is all my trust. P Thom. Walker, vintner.	LM 2009, p. 162b
224589	Midd.	London	God gyveth to whom he will, as God will so be it, In God is all my trust. p Thomas Walker. Vintener. London.	LM 2008, p. 102c
224677	Midd.	London	God giveth to whom he wil, as god wil, so be it, in God is all my trust. P Thomas Walker, Vintner. London.	LM 2009, p. 165d
224724	Midd.	London	God gyveth to whom he will, as God will so be it, in God is all my trust. p Tho. Walker Vintener. London.	LM 2008, p. 106d
224744	Midd.	London	God gyveth to whom he will, as God wil so be it, in God is al my trust. p Tho. Walker, Vintener. London.	LM 2009, p. 166d
224771	Midd.	London	Thinke and thanke God. M. Roger Martin, Lord Maior of the citie of London, for Mercers company.	LM 2008, p. 108d
224904	Berks	Windsor	<i>Sicut Domino placuit.</i> p Paulum French de Windsore.	LM 2008, p. 106d
224946	Berks	Windsor	<i>Sicut Domino placuit.</i> p Paulum French de Winsor.	LM 2008, p. 114c
224947	Berks	Windsor	<i>Sicut Domino placuit.</i> p Paul. Frenche de Winsor.	LM 2008, p. 101b
225000	Berks	Windsor	<i>Sicut Domino placuit.</i> p Paul. Frenche de Windesor.	LM 2009, p. 167b
225024	Berks	Windsor	<i>Sicut placuit Domino</i> p Paule French. Windsore.	LM 2008, p. 99c
225127	Midd.	Lincolns Inn; Lincoln & South Carlton	Lincolns Inne, lokes to win. Robert Monson.	LM 2008, p. 107a
225180	Essex	Great Bardfield (and Lincoln's Inn)	Blessed be God and his people, and I give three of my best lotts to the buildyng of Poules steeple. William Benloes. Essex.	LM 2008, p. 112a
225291	Midd.	London	<i>In Fortuna nunquam speravi.</i> John Heath. London.	LM 2008, p. 112d
225468	Derby ?	Morley ?	Remember the last end. p Jo. Foster de Morley.	LM 2009, p. 165d
225559	Derby	Codnor (Heanor)	<i>Benedictus Deus in donis suis.</i> p Rich. Whalley de Codner.	LM 2008, p. 100c
225651	Derby	Codnor (Heanor)	<i>Benedictus Deus in donis suis.</i> p Rich. Whalley de Codner.	LM 2008, p. 118a
225857	York N	South Cowton	With the possessed contented, what befaller welcome. p George Bowes de South Cowton. Knight.	LM 2008, p. 104a
225952	Midd.	London	<i>Semel et semper.</i> Thomas Neale of S. Johns strete in London.	LM 2008, p. 110b
225982	??	??	I like well. p Thomas Linny, alias Chester.	LM 2008, p. 114d
226231	Somerset	Wells	<i>Dilexit Andream Dominus.</i> p Thomas Bayly of Welles. Somers.	LM 2008, p. 101a
226444	Somerset	Wells	<i>Sortes a Domino pendent.</i> Gilbert Barhom of Wells in Somers.	LM 2009, p. 161d

226800	Somerset	Wells	<i>Si velit non recuso.</i> p John Rugge of Welles. Somers.	LM 2009, p. 161b
226840	Somerset	Wells	<i>Spero meliora.</i> p John Cottrell in Somerset.	LM 2008, p. 114a
226938	Worcs	Kempsey	My money gladly I doe put in, trustyng thereby somewhat to win. p John Bucke de Kemsey.	LM 2008, p. 104a
227028	Warks	Coventry	Gold I would win. p Gilb. Diglyn.	LM 2008, p. 100d
227180	Warks	Coventry	God be good unto us. Amen. p Thomas Pickering of Coventrie.	LM 2008, p. 103d
227188	Somerset	Wells	<i>Dilexit Andream Dominus.</i> p Thomam Baily of Welles. Somers.	LM 2009, p. 174a
227269	York Y	York	<i>In te Domine speravi.</i> Gregorie Peacock of York.	LM 2009, p. 174d
227490	York Y	York	God giveth. Wil. Watson. York.	LM 2009, p. 172a
227519	Dorset	Lyme Regis	All my gaines is by adventure. p Robert Midwinter. Lyme. Regis.	LM 2009, p. 178a
227707	Kent	Deanery of Bridge	<i>Dum spiro spero.</i> The Deanrie of Bridge.	LM 2009, p. 173b
227709	Kent	Deanery of Bridge	<i>Dum spiro, spero.</i> The Deanry of Bredge.	LM 2009, p. 166d
227785	Wales	Beaumaris	John Bukely men me call, God sende me the best lot of all. p J.B. Bewmarris.	LM 2009, p. 167a
227789	Wales	Beaumaris	Be it as pleaseth God, and pleased am I. p Owen Sparrow. Bewmarris.	LM 2008, p. 112a
227799	Wales	Porthamel	By God h[is] [m]eede, I hope to speede. Per Rouland Buckey. P[...][t]hamal.	LM 2009, p. 161c
227925	Suff.	Southwold	God be my speede. p Thobi. Gentilman de Southwodde.	LM 2009, p. 161b
228018	York Y	York	<i>Mea sorte contentus ero.</i> p Joh. Leadall of Yorke.	LM 2008, p. 110b
228697	York E	Harpham	Venture boldly. p Gabriell [Sanich wintiven] of Harpam	LM 2008, p. 159c
228800	Lincs	Butterwick	God sende good increase. p Henry Lowson of Butterwicke.	LM 2008, p. 105d
228954	Suff.	Frostenden	<i>Iesus est amor meus.</i> p Nich. Hornesey de Frossend.	LM 2008, p. 105a
228971	Suff.	Stradbroke	<i>Fuiis pretexti est charitas.</i> p John Broughton de Stratbloke.	LM 2009, p. 172a
228996	Norf	Denton	<i>Lazarus veni foras.</i> p Johannem Porter de Denton. in com. Norff.	LM 2009, p. 178a
229112	Suff.	Tattingstone	<i>Domine saluam fac Reginam.</i> p Georgium Kickman de Latingeston.	LM 2008, p. 101c
229156	Suff.	Barking with Darmsden	<i>Donum dei vita eterna.</i> p Thomas Shakleton de Becking.	LM 2008, p. 108c
229193	Suff.	Baylham	<i>Domine saluum me fac.</i> p Rob. Vincent de Bayllyam.	LM 2009, p. 174a
229216	Kent	Sandwich	Be as God will. p Henr. Butler of Sandwich.	LM 2008, p. 109a
229340	Kent	Fordwich, Sandwich	Whether my prise be great or small, I will thank God the giver of all. William Lawse of Fordwiche.	LM 2008, p. 110d
229357	Kent	Fordwich, Sandwich	If Fortune serve on a prise to hit, the poore shall have parte as is most fit. p Rich. Dier of Fordwiche. Sandwich.	LM 2008, p. 108a
229441	Kent	Sandwich	A lustie lot for Linche. p Thom. Linche of Sandwich.	LM 2008, p. 115b
229532	York E	Great Givendale	God send it good hap. p Robert Richardson of Givdall.	LM 2008, p. 159d
229542	York E	Emswell (Little Driffeld)	God it gyve luck. p Mathew Burriman of Hemswell.	LM 2009, p. 160c
229639	York Y	York	A Peacock is a faire birde. p Thomas Dawson of Yorke.	LM 2009, p. 160d
229774	Northants	Aynho	Ware the worst. Richard Winwod. Dinho.	LM 2008, p. 102c
229791	??	Sutton	By the Masse have at the best. Michael Chambers. Sutton.	LM 2009, p. 162a
230084	Kent	Canterbury	Canterbury in decay God helpe may. p Civitatem Canterbury.	LM 2008, p. 111d
230206	Kent	Canterbury	<i>Aurea mediocritas.</i> John Bungay. Canterbury.	LM 2009, p. 167d
230299	Kent	Deanery of Bridge	<i>Dum spiro, spero.</i> The Deanry of Bridge. Kent.	LM 2009, p. 167d
230364	Kent	Canterbury	In God I hope, and a fart for the Pope. p William Seintleger of Canterbury.	LM 2008, p. 108c
230406	Kent	Sittingbourne	<i>Tu presens cura, domino committe futura.</i> p Deanry. Sittingborne.	LM 2008, p. 118b
230571	??	??	Whatsoever god sendeth, I shal take in good part. Per Henricum Smyth de Morfielde.	LM 2008, p. 118a
230576	Staffs	Barton under Needwood	<i>Dieu don a qui luy plaist.</i> p Thom. Fletcher of Barton under Nedewood in Comit. Stafforde.	LM 2008, p. 113d
230691	Essex	Witham	I am yong and faine woulde learne, my trust is in God to obtayne the same. p Fortescue Clarke of Wittam in the Countie of Essex.	LM 2008, p. 113d
230720	Essex	Witham	I am yong and fayne woulde learne, my trust is in God to obteyne the same. p Fortiscu Clerke of Wittam in the countie of Essex.	LM 2009, p. 173a
230745	Essex	Witham	I am yong and fayne woulde learne, my trust is in God to obtayne the same. Per Fortescue Clarke of Witham in the Countie of Essex.	LM 2008, p. 159a
231098	Midd.	London	Helpe Lorde sayde Peter. p F.M.G. Rep. Lond.	LM 2008, p. 159b
231322	Norf	Hingham	Hap may hap well. p Robert Constable of Hyngham.	LM 2008, p. 100d
231452	Norf	Gateley	God and good luck. Ric. Sherington, the elder of Gateley.	LM 2009, p. 169b
231578	Cornw	Bodmin (Bodwen)	Christ the way, the truthe and the doore, considereth the riche, and forgetteth not the poore. p Rich. Michel de Bodwin. Burges.	LM 2008, p. 100b

231644	Cornw ?	Helland ?	If we had that we have not, we would do that we do not. p J. Tucker de Hollande.	LM 2009, p. 173d
231648	Cornw	St Teath	God sende me good luck. p Joh. Nicol de S. Tetho.	LM 2008, p. 106c
231815	Cornw	St Ive	So God be pleased, I am willing. p Rich. Langdon de Bickdon in paroch. de S. Ives. Ar.	LM 2008, p. 104c
231821	Cornw	St Cadock, Padstow, (and St Sepulchre, London)	Cause causeth p Cavell. p William Cavell de S. Codocks in parochia de S. Sep[r]. Esquier.	LM 2008, p. 111d
231830	Cornw	St Cadock, Padstow, (and St Sepulchre, London)	Cause causeth, p Cabell. p Wil. Cabel de S. Codacks in paroc. de S. Sepe. Ar.	LM 2008, p. 107a
231866	Cornw	Launcells	God sende me good lucke, for the great lot. p Carolum Channonum de Launcels infra Launcels.	LM 2008, p. 100d
232226	Cornw ?	St Clether ?	This beare is strong brued. p Jo. Trevelian de S. Eleds. Armiger.	LM 2009, p. 176b
232362	Cornw	Lanherne (St Mawgan Pyder) in	Feare God, obey the Queene, and serve thy country. Per John Arundell. Knight.	LM 2008, p. 104d
232482	Midd.	London	Helpe Lorde, sayd Peter. p F.M.G. keeper. Lond.	LM 2008, p. 105c
232490	Midd.	London	Helpe Lorde sayde Peter. p F.M.G. Keper. Lond.	LM 2008, p. 108c
232519	Midd.	London	By lot or chaunce doth nothing fal, in god I trust for he gyveth al. p A.L.M. London.	LM 2009, p. 174d
232808	Worcs	Dudley	Let God be guide. p John Atkeys. Dudley. Marches Wales.	LM 2008, p. 112a
232859	Worcs	Chaddesley Corbett	All is well, that endeth well. p Thom. Lawley de Chaddesley Marches Wales.	LM 2008, p. 101a
232901	Worcs	Sutton Sturmeay (Tenbury Wells)	If it please god. p Francisc. Pirton. Sutton. Sturmy. Marches Wales.	LM 2009, p. 164a
232928	Worcs	Stanford on Teme	Jesus for thy holy worde, save the towneshyp of Stanforde. p Thomam Salwaye. Stanforde. marches of Wales.	LM 2009, p. 166a
233022	Midd.	London	<i>In te Domine operauit.</i> Wil Swerder. London.	LM 2008, p. 100d
233108	Midd.	London	<i>Ditat servata fides.</i> William Barker. London.	LM 2009, p. 176b
233135	Midd.	London	<i>Ditat servata fides.</i> p William Barker. London.	LM 2008, p. 104c
233149	Midd.	London	<i>Ditat seruata fides.</i> William Barket. London.	LM 2008, p. 101d
233282	Midd.	London	As it pleaseth God. Nic. Pierson. London.	LM 2008, p. 103a
233405	Midd.	London	For a gentle triall, here I venture a ryall. Thomas Browne. London.	LM 2008, p. 109c
233467	Midd.	London	I am a pore prentice & have no stocke, god graunt I may have a good lot. Thomas Gage. London.	LM 2008, p. 107d
233502	Midd.	London	What chaunce soever doth fal, he that getteth the great lot shall speede the best of all. Rich. Wips. London.	LM 2008, p. 109b
233508	Midd.	London	A maiden and I am of advise, to marry if we get the best prise. Per Allard Bartring. London.	LM 2008, p. 106b
233530	Midd.	London	If it please God to send the great lot, as merie as a pie I shall be God wot, so shall I be whether I have it or not. Margaret Pye. London.	LM 2008, p. 159b
233550	Midd.	London	Barthelmew Bruer, he comes from the Rhine, & drinkes with all his heart good Rennish wine. A.B.C.D.E. London	LM 2009, p. 160a
233555	Midd.	London	He commeth from the Rine, and drinkes with all his heart good Renish wine. Bartilmew Bruer. A.B.C.D.E. London.	LM 2008, p. 115d
233564	Midd.	London	Peter Treder the little lout, woulde fayne have the great lot out. London.	LM 2008, p. 114d
233616	Midd.	London	<i>Vivit post funera virtus.</i> N.S. London.	LM 2009, p. 164b
233766	Midd.	London	<i>Deus dat cui vult.</i> Derik Antho. Lon.	LM 2009, p. 174b
233864	Midd.	London	<i>Vivit post funera virtus</i> N.S. Lon.	LM 2009, p. 176b
233973	Midd.	London	If it be my hap the best lot to obtayne, god graunt me his grace to glorify his name. per Samuell Couper. London.	LM 2009, p. 166d
234079	Midd.	London	As God will. William Jurdane. London.	LM 2008, p. 102d
234201	Midd.	London	Good wil and desire, makes two Flemmings to lay in heere. S.D.D. London.	LM 2009, p. 176b
234222	Midd.	London	God sende in some, good chaunce to come. R.H. London.	LM 2009, p. 165d
234304	Midd.	London	<i>Nec spe, nec metu.</i> R.L.	LM 2008, p. 102c
234342	Midd.	London	<i>Nec spe nec metu.</i> R.L.	LM 2009, p. 163b
234343	Midd.	London	<i>Nec spe, nec metu.</i> R.L.	LM 2009, p. 168c
234384	Midd.	London	<i>Nec spe, nec metu.</i> R.L.	LM 2009, p. 169c
234495	Midd.	London	<i>Nec spe, nec metu.</i> R.L.	LM 2008, p. 103a
234527	Midd.	London	<i>Nec spe, nec metu.</i> R.L.	LM 2008, p. 103a
234576	Midd.	London	<i>Nec spe, nec metu.</i> R.L.	LM 2008, p. 104b

234675	Midd.	London	I hope for the best, for the worst I care not. Rafe Lane.	LM 2008, p. 116a
234839	Midd.	London	Oure numbre is great and mony is smal, god send us a lot to please us all. Gregory Lovell.	LM 2008, p. 105a
235016	Midd.	London	<i>Nec dolore, nec gaudio.</i> Edwarde Dyer.	LM 2008, p. 117b
235314	Midd.	London	The Blacksmith's hammer resembles the sound, of musickes sweete tunes, which Tuball fyrste found. William Tanner. Lond.	LM 2008, p. 104b
235344	Midd.	London	The black Smithes hammer resembles the sound of musikes sweet tune, which Tubal first found. William Tanner. London.	LM 2008, p. 105c
235616	Devon	Halberton	Good morow Hick, good morow Robin, Hick mother geeth. p Ri. Bery of Alberton.	LM 2009, p. 168a
236164	Devon	East Budleigh	For my lotte, God save the Queene, and send us peace in Christ Amen. p Roger Triche of East Budleigh.	LM 2008, p. 105a
236222	Midd.	London	Helpe Lord sayd Peter. p F.M.G. keeper in Lond.	LM 2009, p. 163d
236229	Midd.	London	Helpe Lorde, sayd Peter. F.M.G. keeper in London.	LM 2008, p. 109c
236606	Suss.	Horsham borough	God sende me a good summe. P George Hall of Horsham Borrowe.	LM 2009, p. 169a
236673	Suss.	Warnham	If God send me the second lot, I will sing a mery note. Edw. Carrel de Warnham.	LM 2009, p. 166b
236855	Hants	Petersfield (Buriton)	Trueth trieth it self. p Fawkener de Petersfield.	LM 2009, p. 168c
236879	Suss.	West Wittering	Fortune is hard, and frendship is deere. per Westwhitering parish. Sussex.	LM 2008, p. 100a
236933	Suss.	Bosham	Best hop have the ring. p Bosham parish, Sussex.	LM 2008, p. 99d
236961	Suss.	Eastbourne	We dwell on dry ground. p Eastborne parishe. Sussex.	LM 2008, p. 114a
237073	Ireland	Dublin	If fortune favour me, I am lyke to winne. Alice Weston of Dublin.	LM 2008, p. 109b
237080	Ireland	Dublin	Fortune is favorable. William Ausham. Dublin.	LM 2009, p. 161c
237184	Herts	Bishops Stortford	God sende me the best lot. p Rowland Ellyot de Startford.	LM 2008, p. 116a
237334	Surrey	Chiddingfold	In God is our trust. p John Osborn, Chedingfold. Surrey.	LM 2009, p. 177d
237567	Midd.	London	God send us the light of heaven. T.C.O.D. London.	LM 2009, p. 168a
237607	Midd.	London	After darknesse light. O.D. Lon.	LM 2009, p. 172d
237751	Midd.	London	Set not thy candell under a bushell. O.D. Lond.	LM 2008, p. 111b
237758	Midd.	London	Set not thy candle under a bushell. O.D. London.	LM 2008, p. 99d
237808	Midd.	London	The light shining in darknesse. O.D. London.	LM 2009, p. 160c
237830	Midd.	London	The light shining in darknesse. O.D. London.	LM 2008, p. 115a
237884	Lancs ?	Preston	Primrose springs in tyme. p William Bainster. Preston.	LM 2008, p. 106d
237886	Midd.	London	Who so feareth the Lorde, it shall be well with him. O.D. London.	LM 2008, p. 114b
237991	Midd.	London	The begynnyng of wysedome is the feare of the Lorde. O.D. London.	LM 2008, p. 116b
238119	Midd.	London	He that is mightie hath done great things for me. O.D. London.	LM 2008, p. 99c
238325	Midd.	London	God graunt me his holy spirit. O.D. London.	LM 2009, p. 165b
238337	Midd.	London	God graunt me his holy spirite. O.D. London.	LM 2008, p. 99d
238409	Midd.	London	God from whom all things. O.D. London.	LM 2008, p. 114c
238698	Midd.	London	God send me good lucke to his pleasure. O.D. London.	LM 2008, p. 100a
238835	Midd.	London	<i>O clemens, ô pia. Acerbo Vellutelli de Luca.</i>	LM 2009, p. 167c
238862	Midd.	London	<i>O Clemens, Ô pia. Acerbo Velutelli de Luca.</i>	LM 2008, p. 99d
238911	Midd.	Westminster	William Haward of Westm. semes to dote venturing so much for a good lotte. Westm.	LM 2008, p. 106c
238944	Midd.	Westminster	William Haward seemes to dote, venturing so much for a good lot. William Haward. Westm.	LM 2008, p. 99d
238984	Midd.	London	<i>Sors cuique sua est.</i> Simon Ludford Doctor of medicine. London.	LM 2009, p. 163d
239083	Devon	Ermington	Thou saviour Jesu. p Joh. Forteskewe. Armington.	LM 2008, p. 101b
239182	Devon	Kingston (Ermington)	[----] [hyst]. p Robert Ashforde. Kingston.	LM 2008, p. 102a
239406	Midd.	London	De hulpe des Heeren, is mijn begheren. p R.S. L.C	LM 2008, p. 100b
239429	Midd.	London	Wat de Fortune veucht, ons wel gheneucht. Per Leeman end companie Crockwintlane, in Lon. Zwaen.	LM 2009, p. 177a
239692	Hants	Southampton	My trust is in the Lorde. p Richarde Waterton. Southampton.	LM 2009, p. 170c
239820	Hants	Southampton	Give thanks to God alwayes p L. Sendy. Southampton.	LM 2008, p. 101d
239887	Hants	Southampton	I hope for the best. p J.B. de South Hampton.	LM 2009, p. 168a
239965	Hants	Southampton	Do as you wold be done unto. P F.Caplin, South hampton	LM 2009, p. 160a
239990	Hants	Southampton	Do as you woulde be done. p F. Caplin. S. Hampton.	LM 2008, p. 107a
240026	York E	Hull	Even what pleaseth the Lord is welcome. Peter Carlil. p Hul.	LM 2008, p. 117a
240066	York E	Hull	Even what pleaseth the Lord is welcome. Peter Carlile. p Hull.	LM 2009, p. 167c
240131	York E	Hull	Even what pleaseth the Lord is welcome. Peter Carlile. p Hull.	LM 2008, p. 113d

240447	Midd.	London	<i>Fortune amy.</i> Sir Thomas Gresham, Knight. per London.	LM 2009, p. 164c
240497	Midd.	London	<i>Fortune amy.</i> Sir Thomas Gresham, Knight. Per London.	LM 2008, p. 111a
240538	Midd.	London	<i>Fortune amy.</i> Sir Thomas Gresham. Knight. Lon.	LM 2009, p. 173a
240544	Midd.	London	<i>Fortune amy.</i> Sir Thomas Gresham, Knight. London.	LM 2008, p. 104a
240687	Midd.	London	<i>Fortune amy.</i> Sir Thomas Gresham, Knight. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 108d
240744	Midd.	London	<i>Fortune amy.</i> Tho. Gresh. London.	LM 2008, p. 118b
240777	Midd.	London ?	God giveth and taketh as he beste liketh. p I.B.	LM 2008, p. 104c
240983	Lincs	Lincoln	O Lord thy will be done. p me Edmund Knight. [L/K...]ol.	LM 2008, p. 106c
241011	Lincs	Lincoln	O Lord thy wil be done. Per Edmundum Knight. Lincolne.	LM 2008, p. 101d
241046	Lincs	Lincoln	<i>Sperando timeo.</i> p Edwarde Burton. Lincoln.	LM 2009, p. 172b
241171	Gloucs	Purton (Berkeley)	I am a pore man dwelling in Parton, I put in my lot, God send me good fortune. p John Minet Glouc.	LM 2009, p. 169d
241186	Gloucs	Gloucester	God send me good luck to kepe my loomes Going. Glouc.	LM 2009, p. 169a
241278	Gloucs	Gloucester	<i>Deus super omnia vincit.</i> p Thomas Atkins. Glou.	LM 2008, p. 114c
241492	Surrey	Kingston upon Thames	Let us make good cheere, John Stephan hath bene heere, Kingston super Thames.	LM 2008, p. 110a
241511	Gloucs	Gloucester	<i>Iustorum expectatio letitia.</i> p Arthur Sawle preb. Gloucester.	LM 2008, p. 111b
241530	Gloucs	Gloucester	<i>Iustorum expectatio letitia.</i> p <i>Arthurum Saule Prebendar of Glouc.</i>	LM 2009, p. 167d
241539	Gloucs	Gloucester	<i>Iustorum expectatio letitia.</i> p <i>Arthurum Saule, pre.</i> Glouc.	LM 2009, p. 163a
241617	Gloucs	Gloucester	God be my speede. p Johannem Bery. Glocester.	LM 2009, p. 160b
241689	??	??	Take in good woorth what God sendeth. p Thom. Core.	LM 2008, p. 104a
241820	Midd.	London	<i>Bonus esto bonus.</i> p W.H. p London.	LM 2008, p. 104a
241987	Bucks	Hitcham	<i>Sat cito, si sat bene.</i> R.A. Buck.	LM 2008, p. 113c
242040	Midd.	London	One bird in the hand, is worth two in the wood, if we have the great lot, it will doe us good. William A[I]lbany. London.	LM 2008, p. 102b
242120	Midd.	London	One bird in hande, is worth two in the wood. per William Albany. Lond.	LM 2008, p. 104d
242203	Kent	Southfleet ?	Anne Sydley hath herein put lotts three, wherin I pray God send me good luck and well to thee. Kent.	LM 2009, p. 173d
242225	Midd.	London	One bird in hand, is worth two in the wood. William Albany. p London.	LM 2008, p. 115d
242379	Midd.	London	<i>Quid nobis, qui omnib⁹</i> [sic] <i>omnia prebet, copiose ad fruendum.</i> <i>Lois</i> <i>Terry. E.B.G.L.</i>	LM 2008, p. 114b
242417	Midd.	London	In God is all my trust, the greatest lot is best for my purse. James Alkyns. Per London.	LM 2009, p. 162c
242505	Midd.	London	In God is all my trust, the greatest lot is best for my purse. James Atkins. p Lon.	LM 2009, p. 178a
242721	Midd.	London	Howsoever it befall, God helpe Coupers Hall. p Henr. Gamble. Lond.	LM 2008, p. 103a
243048	Surrey	Surrey	<i>Deus in adiutorium meum intende.</i> Richard Clark. p Surrey. Drap.	LM 2008, p. 107b
243317	Surrey	Ewhurst	In God alone, is our trust. p Nicholaum Dendy. Ewhurst. Surrey.	LM 2009, p. 173d
243416	Surrey	Farnham	God sende good luck to Farnham. p G.D. Farnham. Sur.	LM 2009, p. 161b
243606	Somerset	Bath	God be my speede, and sende me the best lot, for I have moste neede. William Cavell dwellyng in Bathe.	LM 2009, p. 166a
243624	Heref	Hereford East	Whosoever in this lottery the least sum hath ventured, with the greatest it if happen, can be contented. Silvanus Scory. p Hereford East.	LM 2008, p. 113b
243629	Heref	Hereford East	Who so ever in thys lottery the least summe hath ventured, with the greatest if it happen can be contented. Silvanus Scory. p Hereford East.	LM 2008, p. 111d
243707	Heref	Hereford East	James Parrot of Harford East, the greatest lotte contents me best.	LM 2009, p. 175b
243715	Midd.	London	As God will so let it be, alwayes praysing God in Trinitie. p W.T.I.E.A. Lond.	LM 2008, p. 108b
243872	Bucks	Hanslope	For children yong this lot is sent, and to speed wel is their intent. Edmund Foster. Hanslap.	LM 2008, p. 159d
244032	Hants	Odiham	Obedience causeth order. Per Odiham.	LM 2008, p. 99b
244127	Hants	Mapledurwell	We love to get. p Mapuldarwell.	LM 2008, p. 109a
244172	Hants	Stratfield Saye	Good lucke I say. p Stratfieldsay.	LM 2009, p. 168c
244404	Hants	Sydmanton	If eche may hope aswell as I, why should I doubt my destiny. p Constance Kingsmill of Sidmanton.	LM 2008, p. 116b
244525	Hants	Monk Sherborne	The church standeth upon an hyll. p Westshearborne.	LM 2009, p. 160b
244642	Devon	Egg Buckland	Ignoraunce is the cause. p John Boden of Eyke. Buckland.	LM 2008, p. 109d
244804	Gloucs	Great Witcombe	True dealing is best. p John Darrell. great Wycombe.	LM 2008, p. 105a
244809	Gloucs	Great Witcombe	True dealing is best. p John Darrel Furnis. great Wicomb.	LM 2008, p. 107b

244976	Bucks	Soulbury	Chaunce as it will. p Laurence Lovet. Sulbery.	LM 2009, p. 161c
245018	Bucks	Aylesbury	God give grace with good fortune. p Rose Bate de Aylesburie.	LM 2008, p. 99d
245027	Bucks	Worminghall	God speede us well. p Worn[h]ull.	LM 2008, p. 113c
245061	Bucks	Worminghull	God send me good fortune. p John King de Wornal.	LM 2008, p. 109c
245068	Bucks	Worminghull	God send me of his giftes. p Anne King de Wornall.	LM 2008, p. 109b
245096	Bucks	Aston Clinton	Thus til then. Per Astom Clinton.	LM 2008, p. 114b
245189	Bucks	Aylesbury	Happy men win much. p Thom. Monday de Ailesbury.	LM 2008, p. 115d
245352	Devon	Plymouth	Advancement by diligence. p William Hawki[u]s of Plimmouth.	LM 2008, p. 115a
245581	Devon	Plympton St Mary	Hoopers harvest is in hand. p Richard Strowd of Plimpton Marie.	LM 2008, p. 106b
245613	Midd.	London	<i>Sive bona, sive mala, fortuna est.</i> p Tho. Aglianbie de London. Gent.	LM 2008, p. 113a
245931	Suss.	Hastings	From Hastings we come, God send us good speed, never a poore fisher Towne in England, of the great lot hath more neede. Rich. Lif. Hastings in Sussex.	LM 2008, p. 100d
245975	Norf	??	God send me for my thirtie poundes, sixtie prises more than halfe Crounes. Rich. Tolwin. Norff.	LM 2009, p. 166a
246069	Midd.	London	If I had as I have not, I wold lay in more for my part. John Bromel. London.	LM 2008, p. 102b
246191	Herts	Ware	I thanke God, I have lived all my life, I have had thirtene children and but one wife, John Chapman. Ware in Hertf.	LM 2008, p. 112d
246201	Norf	??	As God is pleased, so my heart shall be eased. per Thomas Digbie. Norff.	LM 2009, p. 174b
246213	Norf	??	As God is pleased, so my heart shall be eased. Per Tho. Digby. Norff.	LM 2008, p. 100b
246384	Midd.	London	God sende my lot to speede if that thy will it be, I knowe O Lorde of trueth all goods gifts commeth of thee. Robert Jacker. London.	LM 2008, p. 117a
246434	Midd.	London	At Charingcrosse amongst the rest, the firste and greatest lot doe we crave, but what God will, that shall we have. p S. Martins in the field.	LM 2009, p. 163c
246557	Midd. ?	London ?	If hap and hope in one agree, farewel blank, come lot to me. p R. J. S.	LM 2009, p. 162b
246558	Midd. ?	London ?	If hap and hope in one agree, farewell blank come lot to me. p R.I.S.	LM 2008, p. 109a
246656	??	??	God be our frend. p M.S. of England.	LM 2008, p. 112c
246683	??	??	God be our friend. p M.S. of England.	LM 2008, p. 108a
246717	??	??	God be our friend. Per M.S. of England	LM 2008, p. 159a
246901	Salop	Shrewsbury	I live in hope. Thom. Browne. Shrewsbury.	LM 2009, p. 162d
246990	Midd.	London	John Pil, a Baker men doe me cal, God send me a lot great or smal. London.	LM 2008, p. 112b
247015	Somerset	Bath	Willia[m] [...]. God be my speede, and sende me the best [lot f]or I have most neede. Bathe.	LM 2009, p. 173c
247126	Midd.	London	Christopher Hedenecke, putteth in for good lucke. London.	LM 2008, p. 108a
247194	Midd.	London	God sende me good speede, for I hope well in deede. John Peterson. London.	LM 2008, p. 107a
247365	Midd.	London	A chereful countenance, is a token of a good hart, I pray you maisters let me have one lot for my part. John Atkinson. London.	LM 2009, p. 172a
247480	Midd.	Middlesex	<i>Ut volet Dominus.</i> Thomas Wats. Archdeacon Midd.	LM 2008, p. 113a
247528	Dorset	Lyme Regis	Alice above all things doth most desire, the lotte that others before doe require. p Alice Spiller Lime Reg.	LM 2009, p. 173b
248260	Dorset	Beaminster	Mathew Hodgekins Tanner, prayeth to be a good gayner. Per Mathewe Hoskins, Bemister.	LM 2009, p. 164d
248267	Dorset	Beaminster	Mathewe Hoskins Tanner, prayeth to be a good gayner. p. Mathewe Hoskins. Bemyster.	LM 2009, p. 166c
248309	Dorset	Loders	Of this lot God send me welth. p Joh. Wrixham. Lodres.	LM 2008, p. 117d
248633	Devon	Staverton	Have at the best. p Edward Laphorne of Staberton.	LM 2008, p. 112d
248647	Devon	Plympton St Mary	Fayne would I have, though nought I crave, per Jerome Maie of Plimton Mary.	LM 2008, p. 115a
248781	Wales	Llanboidy	<i>Expecto sortem.</i> p Jo. Williams. Vicar. Lanbodie. Com. Carmarden.	LM 2008, p. 115b
249038	Oxon	Great Milton	Knowe thy selfe. Tho. Persones de great Milton. Oxon.	LM 2009, p. 166c
249055	Oxon	Oxford	<i>Alijs dat, alijs aufert fortuna.</i> p William Lovins.	LM 2008, p. 113d
249185	Hants	Wight	<i>Fac ut fieri vis</i> Fraunces Waterton of Wight.	LM 2008, p. 159a
249445	Essex	Ingatstone Hall	<i>Sans Dieu rien.</i> Jo. Peter of [I]ngarston.	LM 2008, p. 110a
249655	Midd.	London	One bird in the hand is worth two in the wood, if we have the great lot, it will doe us good. William Albany. p London.	LM 2008, p. 104b
249729	Midd.	London	One bird in hand, is worth two in the wood, if we have the great lot it wil do us good. p William Albany. London.	LM 2008, p. 108a
249900	Somerset	Wells	<i>Dilexit Andream Dominus.</i> p Thom. Bailie civitat. Wellen in Com. Somers. clericum.	LM 2008, p. 110a

250076	??	??		<i>Quid nobis, qui omnib' omnia præbet copiose, ad fruendum.</i> p E.B.G.L.	LM 2009, p. 162d
250526	Suff.	Bury	St	<i>Spes mea Deus.</i> p John Brome Commiss. de Bury. Su[ss].	LM 2008, p. 104b
250535	Suff.	Edmunds Bury Edmunds	St	<i>Spes mea Deus.</i> John Browne. Commiss. de Bury. Suff.	LM 2009, p. 170a
250565	Lincs	Lincoln		God be my speede. William Langeton. Lincoln.	LM 2008, p. 116d
250568	Lincs	Lincoln		<i>Memorari novissima.</i> Christopher Latrop. Lincoln.	LM 2009, p. 164d
250779	Dorset	Blandford Forum		As by thy sufferaunce Lorde we are all consumed with fire, so helpe us now God, and that is our desire. Richard Cheverell, alias Frauncis of Blandford Forum.	LM 2008, p. 102c
250849	Wales	Panthowel		Jewels joynes gentle. p James Williams knight of Panthull in the countie of Carmarthen.	LM 2008, p. 110b
250855	Wales	Panthowel		It is possible. Lewis Williams of Panthu. in the Countie of Carmar.	LM 2008, p. 111b
250877	Wales	Carmarthen		God send me good fortune. p Henry Owen de Villa Carmar.	LM 2008, p. 103b
250907	Leics	Leicester		As God will, so be it. John Herike of Leicester towne.	LM 2009, p. 164d
251189	Dorset	Bagber		Helpe now and ever well. p Elizabeth Keyle of Backberie.	LM 2008, p. 109a
251198	Dorset	Bagber		Helpe now, and ever well. Elizabeth Keale of Backburie.	LM 2008, p. 103a
251199	Dorset	Bagber		Help now, and ever well. Elizabeth Keale of Backberie.	LM 2009, p. 160d
251558	Somerset	Dowlsh Wake		Wel hope, wel have. P J. Withel de Dolishwack.	LM 2009, p. 170a
251675	Somerset	Whitlackington n		Poverty parteth company. P P. Humfrey de Whitlackington.	LM 2009, p. 162c
251700	Somerset	Chard		In God is all my trust. p John. Moore, Alebrewer de Charde.	LM 2008, p. 103a
251764	Somerset	Chard		In God is all my trust. p John Moore iunior Ale Brewer de Charde.	LM 2009, p. 168c
251923	Dorset	Melbury Abbas		At the best lot I shote. John Hiscock of Melborn-abbas.	LM 2009, p. 169c
252014	Dorset	Wimborne All Saints		God be our speed in our businesse, that we may our lot well possesse. William Scriven of Alhatton Wimborne.	LM 2008, p. 111c
252024	Dorset	More Critchell		God send good fortune. John Woodal of little Critchel.	LM 2008, p. 100a
252084	Hants	Southampton		Do justly and truly as ye may, as you will be judged an other day. Joseph Brodestocke. Southampton.	LM 2008, p. 111a
252190	Norf	King's Lynn		O Lorde of greate renoume, relieve this decayed town. The borough of Kingslyn.	LM 2009, p. 169a
252193	Norf	King's Lynn		O Lord of great renowne, relieve this decayed towne. The Borough of Kings Linne.	LM 2008, p. 114a
252250	Norf	King's Lynn		Deale truly with me. Rich. Spence of Linne.	LM 2008, p. 109d
252405	??	??		In the name of God, hap good, have good. George Bradshaw of Horton.	LM 2008, p. 111d
252455	Somerset	Chard		In God is all my trust. John Moore Junior, alias Brewer de Charde.	LM 2008, p. 100c
252558	Somerset	Whitlackington		Blacke wil beare no other hue. p John Porlue de Whitlackington.	LM 2009, p. 165a
252562	Somerset	Whitlackington		Blacke will beare none other hew. p John Poole de Whitlackington.	LM 2008, p. 112b
252566	Somerset	Whitlackington		Blacke wil beare no other hew. Per Joh. Poole de Whitlackington.	LM 2008, p. 106b
252661	Somerset	Ilminster		As Fortune will, so let it be. p Nicholas Osborn. Ilmistre	LM 2008, p. 116b
252662	Somerset	Ilminster		As fortune will, so let it be. P Nicholas Osborne. Ilmister.	LM 2009, p. 170c
252688	Somerset	Ilminster		As Fortune wil, so let it be. P Nicholas Osborne. Ilmester.	LM 2009, p. 168b
252771	Bucks ?	Tyringham ?		Howsoever my lot doth fall, win or lose I am content with all. p Edmund Tyringham. Armiger.	LM 2009, p. 172d
252788	Wilts	Easton Grey		Into this lottery I have put in mony some store, more than ever my father did me before. Per William Goodman of Essen.	LM 2008, p. 101a
252811	Wilts	Oaksey		God giveth all. p William Wodard of Ox[l]ey.	LM 2008, p. 107c
252815	Wilts	Grittleton		God graunt great gaine to Grittelton. p Gawen.	LM 2008, p. 103d
252819	Wilts	Nettleton		Nothing put in, nothing win. p John Net of Nettleton.	LM 2009, p. 169d
252828	Wilts	Westerby ?		God send us wel, for Westelbie. p William Bennet of Westelbie.	LM 2008, p. 106b
252908	Wilts	Loxwell		Chaunce well. p Thomas Snell of Loxwell.	LM 2008, p. 106a
252924	Wilts	Kington Michael	Saint	God speede us wel. The servants of maister Snel of Kymston, Isaac Tailer.	LM 2009, p. 170a
252965	Wilts	Kington Michael	Saint	As water by experience, doth quench the flames of fire, so God graunt unto this adventurer, that which he doth desire. p Joh. Tailer of Kington. S. Michael.	LM 2008, p. 107d
252980	Wilts	Bremhill		Good fortune good lucke. p William Norburne of Br[o]mbal.	LM 2008, p. 108a
253089	Dorset	Dorset (Archdeaconry)		<i>Benedictio Domino divites facit.</i> John Cotrell of Dorshetshire.	LM 2009, p. 165b
253196	Dorset	Dorset (Archdeaconry)		<i>Benedictio Domini divites facit.</i> John Cotrell of Dorsetshire.	LM 2009, p. 170a

253277	Dorset	Dorset (Archdeaconry)	<i>Benedictio Domini divites facit.</i> p John Cottrell Dorc.	LM 2008, p. 105b
253461	Somerset	Chard	In God is all my trust. p John Moore Alebrewer. de Charde.	LM 2008, p. 117d
253578	Somerset	Bishop's Lydeard	God sende good fortune. p J. Kinglake of Bishop-Lydyard.	LM 2009, p. 172b
253587	Somerset	Wellington	God gyveth all. p William Gifford of Wellington.	LM 2008, p. 99b
253653	Midd.	London	For the Grocers hal, a lot great or small. G.H.	LM 2008, p. 112b
253693	Midd.	London	<i>Vincit veritas.</i> F.P.	LM 2008, p. 112b
253754	Midd.	London	<i>Vincit veritas.</i> p F.P.	LM 2008, p. 110c
253766	Midd.	London	<i>Vincit veritas.</i> p F.P.	LM 2008, p. 100a
253850	Midd.	London	<i>Veritas vincit.</i> p F.P.	LM 2008, p. 99b
254164	Kent	Eynsford	Some one of three happy may be. p Dunmel Sibbing and Hind of Enesford. Kent.	LM 2008, p. 100a
254643	Notts	Syerston	Syryston towne standeth on a Moore, we lack money God send us store. p William Poole de Siriston.	LM 2008, p. 110a
254757	Staffs	Tettenhall Wightwick	God gyveth all. By Humfrey Wightwick of Wightwick.	LM 2009, p. 165a
254969	Hunts	Hemingford Grey	A libe[...] giver, shall have plentie. P John Rushe of Henningford Gray.	LM 2009, p. 170c
255058	Leics	Groby	If good hap, it is more than I loke for. p Dominum Graye.	LM 2008, p. 106c
255390	Leics ?	??	<i>Alienum est omne quicquid optando evenit.</i> William Water.	LM 2008, p. 113c
255459	Leics	Lowesby	The more one hath of aboundaunce, so much the lesse is their assurance. By Anne Ashby of Loseby.	LM 2009, p. 177c
255571	Herts	Hertford	God is he that giveth to man, who receyveth. By Christopher Allin of Hertf.	LM 2009, p. 162d
255608	Herts	Bushey	Riches to get when and howe, I could never tell, no more I can now. p Roger at Howe of Bushey.	LM 2009, p. 170c
255805	Kent	Ash next Sandwich	<i>Dieu donne moy bon chance.</i> By John Brooke. Ashe.	LM 2009, p. 168d
256741	??	??	I put in this lot with good intent, what ever God sendes I am content. Wil. Dios.	LM 2008, p. 100a
256763	??	??	I put in this lot with good intent, what ever God sends I am content. W. Depos.	LM 2008, p. 102a
256771	Midd.	London	One lot I put in here at my coste, if nought I win all is not lost. Thomas Denham. London.	LM 2008, p. 99a
256961	Hunts	Eynesbury	Amongst the lots that be, god send us one to Einsbury. p John Burton of Einsbury, in Comitatu Hunt.	LM 2008, p. 114a
257064	Hunts	Godmanchester	Fortune eyther favoureth or frowneth. p James Fynmore of Godmanchester in Count. Hunt.	LM 2008, p. 108d
257117	Hunts	Godmanchester	Faythfull friends are fewe to finde. p Thomas Fryer of Godmanchester in Com. Hunt.	LM 2008, p. 112d
257143	Hunts	Godmanchester	<i>Si Fortuna volet, fies de rethore consul.</i> p William Brabin of Godmanchester in Com. Hunt.	LM 2008, p. 102c
257214	Worcs	Evesham	Paule planteth, Apollo watereth, God giveth the increase. p William Biddle de Evesham.	LM 2009, p. 169d
257247	Worcs	Evesham	Paule planteth, Apollo watreth, God gyveth the increase. W. Biddle de Evesham.	LM 2009, p. 164a
257294	Worcs	Evesham	Paule planteth, Apollo watereth, God giveth the increase. p Wil. Bidle de Evesham.	LM 2009, p. 176a
257463	Worcs	Worcester	Occupations do lacke money to occupie, therfore God defende them from povertie. p William Porter de civit. Wigorn.	LM 2009, p. 170a
257561	Northants	Northampton	As God will, so be it. Jo. Balgay of the towne of Northampton.	LM 2009, p. 170c
257629	Northants	Northampton	Hope casteth out feare. p John Brian of the town of Northampton.	LM 2009, p. 172a
257720	Northants	Northampton	According to trust. p Henry Wanley of the towne of Northampton.	LM 2009, p. 160a
257755	Northants	Paulerspury	As God shal give. Per John Hixe of Pawlesbury, in Northamptonshire.	LM 2008, p. 159b
257758	Northants	Grendon	I have my will. p J. Petit of Gryndon in Northamptonshire.	LM 2009, p. 160b
257874	Northants	Preston Deanery	If I may have that I crave, I shall have the best for my share. p Jasper Hartwell of Preston in Northamptonshire.	LM 2008, p. 105a
257982	Leics	Queeniborough	The Lord gyveth, and the Lord taketh. By Tho. Bennet, Constable of Queenynborough.	LM 2009, p. 170d
257996	Leics	Lowesby	Unworthy are they so to gayne, that lots will not adventure twayne. By Marie Asheby of Loseby.	LM 2009, p. 174d
258035	Cambs	Rampton	In neede, good Fortune speede. Thomas Alcocke. Ramton.	LM 2009, p. 161d
258064	Cambs	Over (Winsford)	Love fulfilleth the Lawe. William Smith. Over.	LM 2009, p. 161b
258108	Midd.	Westminster	<i>Fortuna an sorte, nec curo fors an forte.</i> The Offices of the Kitchin, & the members of the same. Westm.	LM 2009, p. 161a
258155	Midd.	Westminster	<i>Fortuna an sorte, nec curo fors an forte.</i> The Offices of the Kitchen, and members of the same. Westm.	LM 2008, p. 101c

258221	Midd.	London	<i>Fortune peult, ou elle veult.</i> p S.P.P. Companie. London.	LM 2008, p. 112d
258261	Midd.	London	<i>Fortune peult, ou elle veult.</i> p S.P.P. Compa. Lond.	LM 2008, p. 114c
258266	Midd.	London	<i>Fortune peult ou elle veult. p S.P.P. comp. Lond.</i>	LM 2008, p. 115c
258432	Midd.	London	Thinke and thanke God. Master Roger Martyn, lord Maior of the Citie of London, for the Mercers companie.	LM 2009, p. 166a
258579	Midd.	London	Thinke and thank God. P M. Roger Martin. lord Maior of the citie of Lond. For Mercers comp.	LM 2009, p. 165c
258797	Norf	Great Yarmouth	If Yarmouth great in fortunes favor be, the greatest lotte may chaunce to fall to me. Thomas Bettes of Muche Yarmouth.	LM 2009, p. 170d
258812	Norf	Great Yarmouth	If Yarmouth greate in Fortunes favour be, the greatest lot may fortune fall to me. Tho. Bets of much Yarmouth.	LM 2008, p. 112a
258877	Norf	Great Yarmouth	The first ne second lot I crave, the third it is that I would have. per John Gostling of Much Yarmouth.	LM 2009, p. 167c
259002	Lancs	Stonyhurst	Wel begin, wel end. p Ric. Sherborn. Stonihurst	LM 2009, p. 169d
259012	Lancs	Preston	I woulde win. p William Hodgekinson. Preston.	LM 2009, p. 165a
259027	Lancs	Preston	I trust their faith stedfastly. p Christopher Crosse. Preston.	LM 2008, p. 111d
259102	Lancs	Grimstargh with Brockholes	God sende me some money. Th. Houghton. Grymsarghe.	LM 2009, p. 168b
259137	Beds	Flitwick	The trueth to you for to disclose, he that put in this lot, hath a riche nose. p Wil Gurney. Flitwick.	LM 2009, p. 172d
259137	Lancs	Pendleton Hall (Whalley)	Fortune be our guide. p Alexandrum Houghton. Pendulton.	LM 2009, p. 168a
259438	Cheshire	Audlem	Time trieth Trueth. Raufe Brassy of Aldlam.	LM 2008, p. 117a
259444	Cheshire	Doddington	In trust is treason. Per Henri Delves.	LM 2008, p. 117b
259485	Staffs	Newcastle under Lyme	Great or small, God giveth al. John Keling under Line in com. Staff.	LM 2009, p. 170a
259600	Staffs	Lichfield (Sawley)	God geveth chaunce. James Weston. Lichefelde.	LM 2008, p. 107d
259622	Essex	Braintree	This lot doth chaunce whatsoever it be, unto the inhabitants of Braynetree, be it much or little that doth befall, we gyve God thanks who sendeth all.	LM 2009, p. 169a
259648	Essex	Braintree	This lotte doth chaunce what so ever it be, to the inhabitauntes of Brayntree, be it much or little that doth befall, we give God thanks who sendeth all.	LM 2008, p. 107a
259854	Berks	Wokingham	Light lucky lot. For Jerome Whitlock. Okingham. Barksh.	LM 2008, p. 116a
259856	Berks	Wokingham	Light lucky lot, for Jerome Whitlocke. Okingham. Berksh.	LM 2008, p. 111d
259862	Berks	Wokingham	Light luckely lot. For Jerome Whitlock. Okingham. Berk.	LM 2008, p. 112d
259914	Norf	Shipdham	I am content to be cleane. p John Shene of Shipham.	LM 2009, p. 164a
260076	Norf	Baconsthorpe	Hope made me venture. p Henry Armiger. Bakonschorpe.	LM 2008, p. 103d
260091	Norf	Baconsthorpe	I give adventure, with good will. John Davy. Bakensthorpe.	LM 2009, p. 174d
260237	Somerset	Wells	<i>Dominus dabit.</i> p Walter Benre Civita. Wellen. Somers.	LM 2009, p. 160d
260284	Somerset	Wells	<i>Spero meliora.</i> p Joh. Cottrel Archdeacon Wellen. in Com. Somers.	LM 2009, p. 163c
260393	Warks	Rowington	Better it is at neede a little thing to have, than utterly nothing that may thy life save. p Joh. Gibbotts de Rowington.	LM 2008, p. 105c
260460	Herts	North Mymms	Chaunce fortune, hazard and hit, there may us good hap where there lackes wit. p John James de Northmims.	LM 2008, p. 102d
260505	Essex	Braintree	This lot doth chaunce whatsoever it be, to the inhabitants of Braintree, be it much or little that doth befall, we give God thanks who sendeth all.	LM 2008, p. 116a
260542	Essex	Braintree	This lot doth chaunce whatsoever it be, to the inhabitants of Braintree, be it much or little that doth befall, we give God thanks who sendeth all.	LM 2009, p. 173d
260629	Essex	Saffron Walden	This little I adventure with a good will, trusting in God my purse for to fill. By Bridget Strachie of Walden. Essex.	LM 2009, p. 166c
260692	Essex	Saffron Walden	God save the Queene. John Harvy of Walden, in the Countie of Essex.	LM 2008, p. 99d
260802	Norf	Holtmarket	His lot will like. p Rich. Partrike Holt. Market.	LM 2008, p. 107c
260908	Norf	Ketteringham	God save the Queene. Richard Hales of Ketteringham.	LM 2008, p. 110c
260930	Norf	Hardingham	Money maketh men merie. P Frauncis Twaykes. Hardingham.	LM 2009, p. 172c
261053	Norf	Kimberley	The more the welcomer. p Roger Woodhouse of Kimberley. Esquier.	LM 2009, p. 167d
261072	Norf	Bowthorpe	By Gods goodnesse all things passe. p John Tomson of Bowthorpe.	LM 2008, p. 106b
261131	York Y	York	God the giver of all, sende me the great lot before the small. Richarde Morton de Yorke.	LM 2008, p. 111a
261210	York Y	York	God the giver of all, send me the great lot before the small. Ric. Morton de York.	LM 2008, p. 103d
261249	York Y	York	What hath God sent us ? p Elizabeth Eyms of Yorke.	LM 2008, p. 109d
261283	York Y	York	As I have neede, God be my speede. James Beckwith of York.	LM 2008, p. 111a

261576	Midd.	London	<i>Tempus tacendi, tempusquē loquendi.</i> P Anne Hogan. London.	LM 2009, p. 160b
261667	Midd.	London	We be foure in unitie, blesse our lottes O mightie trinitie. James Alday. London.	LM 2009, p. 170d
261716	Midd.	London	God feedeth the raven. John Raven. London.	LM 2009, p. 177d
261735	Midd.	London	God feedeth the Raven. p John Raven. London.	LM 2008, p. 112a
261750	Midd.	London	Children seven called Thombe by name, God sende them good Fortune and blesse them from shame. London.	LM 2008, p. 112d
261919	Midd.	London	Contrarie to expectation. Robert Farmer. Lond.	LM 2008, p. 104d
262017	Midd.	London	If God permit, my lot may hit. Tho. Jennet. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 114d
262140	Norf	??	As God is pleased, so my heart shal be eased. Tho. Digby. Norff.	LM 2009, p. 166a
262191	Gloucs	Bristol	As fortune serveth, so let me have. Miles Evans. Bristoll.	LM 2008, p. 108c
262217	Midd.	Stoke Newington	The towneship of Stokenewenton in Midd. Good will with the best, though powre with the lest.	LM 2009, p. 165a
262327	Midd.	London	In God is al my trust the great lot is best for my pursse. James Alkin. London.	LM 2009, p. 169d
262341	Midd.	London	O Lord in thee is all my trust, Giles Farnabie as is cause just, wil never loke for other lot, but as thy grace hath knit ye knot. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 105d
262347	Midd. ?	London ?	If [...] n be against us? Thom. W[...]	LM 2009, p. 169c
262474	Midd.	London	From the Lord commeth all. Harry Smith. Lond.	LM 2008, p. 99d
262498	Midd.	London	From the Lorde cometh all. Henry Smith. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 106c
262562	Notts	Kelham	My sisters and I are under age, God sende us good chaunce to our mariage. By John Robinson of Kellam. gent.	LM 2008, p. 112a
262728	Wilts	Wiltshire	I defy the worst. p John Hardkin. Wilshire.	LM 2008, p. 100b
262837	Midd.	Westminster	God is a good man, S. Peter is the better, if we have not a good lotte, God shall be our debter. Westm.	LM 2009, p. 173c
263014	Midd.	London	Temporal benifites to all men God doth send, but to the godly, wel to use them is the end. Rich. Proctor. London.	LM 2009, p. 170b
263067	Midd.	London	The humble sprite Lord respect, and such as be in neede, & when they make their sute to thee, Lord graunt them well to speede. William Sutton. London.	LM 2008, p. 115d
263173	Midd.	London	I thanke my God evermore, for his benefits that he hath in store. Jo. Wheler. Lon.	LM 2009, p. 178a
263195	Midd.	London	Of this wiche is part of my store, if it be lost God will sende more. Per John Smith. London.	LM 2009, p. 167b
263217	Midd.	London	Thomas Tiler. Father I am your yongest sonne, God send me some money or else I am undone. London.	LM 2008, p. 105b
263289	Midd.	London	<i>Scipione Velutelli. Londra.</i>	LM 2008, p. 110c
263397	Wilts	North Bradley	East or Weast, God sende us the best. p Richarde Weast of North Bradley.	LM 2008, p. 116d
263642	Wilts	Horningsham	Gentle jestyng is not geason. p John Adlam of Harningsham.	LM 2008, p. 159d
263677	Wilts	Corton	Sonne William, with thy money God give thee good lot, next Christmas therby to renue thy old coate, if nothing fall out for thy porpay, for thee the like money no more will I lay. p Th. Mompesson of Corton. Gent.	LM 2009, p. 162b
263717	Wilts	Ashton Gifford	Welcome be the grace of God. p Rich. Crouch of Ashton. Gifford.	LM 2008, p. 103d
263825	Northants	Horton	Not choise but chaunce, must me advaunce. Rob. Lane. Knight. Horton.	LM 2009, p. 168b
264376	Oxon	Cropredy	The great lot I will not crave, but the seconde I would have. Radulph Newbery de Cropredy.	LM 2008, p. 104c
264383	Salop	Shrewsbury	A good lotte, [well I (?)] wot, would money yealde in Towne or Fiel[de] p Thomas Prid[i]e of Salop.	LM 2009, p. 164c
264384	Salop	Faller	A good lot wel I wot, would mony yeld, in town or field. p Tho. Pridie de Faller.	LM 2009, p. 167d
264590	Oxon	Calthorpe (Banbury)	In hope of gaine by chaunce unknown, my twentie Shillings all is gone. p Edmund Danuares de Cothruppe.	LM 2008, p. 101b
264649	Oxon	Broughton Castle	Not covet[ou]s. p Ri[chard] Fennis de Broughton.	LM 2009, p. 166c
264687	Oxon	Thame	Not my hope, but my happe. Hugh Hollinshed of Thame.	LM 2009, p. 169d
264877	Midd.	London	From hygh to lowe, is harde to endure, without Gods grace as thought ful sure. Rouland Hayward. London.	LM 2008, p. 112a
264938	York N	Seamer	I am not carefull riches to get, for God hath provided that for me is mete. Lucy Gate. Semar.	LM 2008, p. 102a
264944	York N	Seamer	I do not desire, aboundance to have, but only with Salomon, wisdom I crave. Edward Gate, senior.	LM 2009, p. 178a
265019	York E	Ryehill (Thorngumbald)	I put in my money at my friendes desire, I pray God sende me the thing I require. Christofer Temyson. Riehill.	LM 2009, p. 177d
265035	York E	Hull	Save me saviour from sinne, and send some price to winne. Jo. Smith. Hull.	LM 2009, p. 176a
265364	Midd.	London	<i>Acerbo Velutelli de Luca. Per trois bons compaignons.</i>	LM 2009, p. 173c

265586	Midd. ?	London ?	If I have the best lot, then wil I be glad, if I have nothing, I wil not be sad. George Barwicke.	LM 2009, p. 176a
265645	Midd.	London	For Davy, Marie, and Jone, we pray God send us a good lot, or else none. London.	LM 2008, p. 101a
265772	Midd.	London	I am a pore maid, and dwel in Bow lane, god send me a good lot, or else you are al to blame. Agnes Tiler. London.	LM 2009, p. 164b
265785	Midd.	London	Abstaine from slouth and evil wayes, so shalt thou come to eternall joyes. p Elizabeth Hil. London.	LM 2009, p. 160a
265936	Wales	Carmarthen	As God hath apointed, so am I contented. Humfrey Toy. Carmarthen.	LM 2009, p. 173b
266231	Midd.	London	I put in my lot to good speede, I praye God that it may helpe me at my neede. Rich. Parker. Lond.	LM 2009, p. 174c
266433	Midd.	London	God sende them good fortune. Frauncis Griffen. London.	LM 2009, p. 162c
266502	Midd.	London	As God hath appointed, so am I contented. Roulande Martin. London.	LM 2009, p. 172b
266615	Midd.	London	What hap doth hatch, I will not crave, hap or no hap, no care I have. Thomas Harrison. London.	LM 2008, p. 101c
266985	Midd.	London	I am my fathers first begotten, in a good houre be it spoken. Sara Kettilwood. Lon.	LM 2009, p. 165d
267053	Midd.	London	I woulde be loth to buie repentance to deere. Tho. Hedgies. London.	LM 2009, p. 164b
267405	Norf	Kimberley	The more, the welcomer. p Roger Woodhouse of Kymberley esquier.	LM 2009, p. 160b
267510	Midd. ?	London ?	Hope wel, & have wel. Wil. Tanner.	LM 2008, p. 100a
267512	??	??	A lucky lot God send me, and from harde hap defende me. Edith Sparowe.	LM 2008, p. 100b
267543	Suff.	??	God may speede me wel. Roger Revel. Suff.	LM 2008, p. 116a
267559	Hants	Isle of Wight	My cock is best. Edward Blower. Isle of Wight.	LM 2008, p. 114a
267569	Midd.	London	Melchior of Aldenicke wisheth to the poore, the greatest lot, or any other, if it please God. London.	LM 2008, p. 106b
267597	Midd. ?	London ?	No better lotte I wishe to win, than they coulde wishe for whom I put this in. Jo. Richardson.	LM 2008, p. 106d
267702	Midd. ?	London ?	[Hap] well and have well. William Ta[nn]er.	LM 2008, p. 116c
267818	Kent	Southfleet ?	John Sedley is my name, of the best lot I woulde be glad or else I were to blame. Kent.	LM 2009, p. 167b
268046	Midd.	London	Though hope be farre above my hap, good lucke may me advaunce. Henry Spelman. London.	LM 2009, p. 177b
268094	Midd.	London	We Cookes of London which woork early and late, if any thing be left, God sende us parte. p Rich. Tomson. London.	LM 2008, p. 111a
268233	Midd.	London	If Fortune be froward, my Angell is gone, but if Fortune be frendly, with encrease it cometh home. Alice Crewe. London.	LM 2008, p. 99a
268279	Midd.	London	Even as God wil, so let it be. Margaret Walles. London.	LM 2008, p. 109d
268334	Midd.	London	<i>O clemens, ò pia.</i> Elizabeth Brisket. London.	LM 2009, p. 161b
268347	Midd.	London	God may give unto Knot, the best and greatest lot. Roger Knot. London.	LM 2008, p. 159b
268382	Midd.	London	<i>Fiat voluntas tua.</i> F.W. London.	LM 2009, p. 163d
268397	Heref	Hereford East	My trust is to have indifferencie, and here is ten shillings and my posie. Roger Bougham. Hereforde East.	LM 2008, p. 100c
268583	Midd.	London	Mary Osmunde is my name, dwelling in London, not free, God sende me a good lotte, and then I may be. London.	LM 2008, p. 116b
268696	Midd.	London	None are riche that have not for them selves, and for their friends. Margery Burden. London.	LM 2009, p. 164b
268711	Midd.	London	Cast downe your selves before the Lorde, and he shal lift you up. Gregory Prinsell. London.	LM 2008, p. 106a
268780	Midd. ?	London ?	I venture not for neede, nor of mine owne desire, contented life with meane estate, is that which I require. E.B. Uxor.	LM 2008, p. 116c
268826	Midd.	London	Though I have not all, yet God send me some. Manasses Stocton. London.	LM 2009, p. 163b
269004	Midd.	London	<i>Si Domino placebit.</i> Andreas de Looe. de Gaunte, London.	LM 2008, p. 115a
269081	Bucks	??	Lottes sixe have I put in, God graunt a good one I may win. Per John Clarke. Buckinghamshire.	LM 2008, p. 113c
269199	Midd.	London	The Lord God of Israell, graunt me one of those twelve lots to prove wel. John Kempe London.	LM 2008, p. 118a
269245	Midd.	London	We put in for to win, if we do win, we wil drink good french wine. Tristram and Jeronimo. London.	LM 2009, p. 166a
269316	York E	Hull	William Carlill the yonger, in Hul I doe dwell, I trust in the Lorde, in this Lotterie to speede well. Hull.	LM 2008, p. 159b
269365	Midd.	??	My Shepherd is the living Lord, nothing therfore I neede. Thomas Shepparde. Middelsex.	LM 2008, p. 107b
269448	Midd.	London	As the dove is without gall, so is love the beste of all. p Edmund Pigeon. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 106c
269519	Midd.	London	Dieu a Degon. Hugh Owen. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 111b

269950	Midd. ?	London ?	Welcome be my fortune, what so ever it be, and ever I say, God save the Queenes majestie. p Arthur Anthony.	LM 2009, p. 172a
270132	Midd. ?	London ?	Welcome be my fortune whatsoever it be, and ever I say, God save the Q. Majestie. Arthur Anthony.	LM 2008, p. 115a
270249	Suff.	??	Gods blessing maketh rich. William Vaisie. Suff.	LM 2009, p. 160a
270346	Midd.	London	He that coveteth all to have, doth oftentimes his stocke not save. George. Harker. London.	LM 2009, p. 168d
270413	Midd.	London	As Foulers mindes are fedde with every right redresse, so Foulers I, least fortune faile, do seeke for some successe. T. Foulers. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 99d
270520	Norf	Skeyton	Stand Simon to the truth. P Sterne Simond. Sterne Skeiton.	LM 2009, p. 162a
270676	Norf ?	Kempstone ?	The leaves be greene, whether my lots be good or bad, God save the Queene. P Thomas Eston. Cumston.	LM 2009, p. 175b
270849	Wales	Montgomery county	Fortune graunt me good lucke to have, Venus to wife then shalt thou. Thom. Loid of Blamechuwrowell in the countie of Mongomerie.	LM 2008, p. 115b
270998	Heref	Bolstone	Dread folly. p John Cexdrie of Bolston in Hartf.	LM 2009, p. 166c
271047	Heref ?	Bolstone ?	God speede me well. p James Carier of Basam in Hartf.	LM 2008, p. 117d
271272	Kent	Saint Radegund's Abbey	Contented. Simon Edolf. S. Radegunds.	LM 2008, p. 113a
271363	Devon	Plymouth	This lotterie liberall, will be beneficiall. p Thom. Edmunds of Plimmouth.	LM 2008, p. 159b
271686	??	??	Little to spende, more God sende. Anne Strangways.	LM 2008, p. 104d
271774	Midd.	London	The grace of God some men to lucke doe ascribe, but Gods grace by fortune, is never wel tride. p Jervice Thurland. London.	LM 2009, p. 178b
271917	Devon	Woodleigh (Beaford)	Welcome fortune. p Jo. Malliet of Wolley. Devon.	LM 2009, p. 177b
272080	Gloucs	Bisley	In God is all my trust. p Tho. Horeup of Bisley.	LM 2008, p. 104d
272092	Gloucs	Tewkesbury	Many a small, maketh a great. p William Wakman of Teukesbury. Glouc.	LM 2009, p. 165d
272147	York W	Kingsley Park	Help Gargrave as needes, Wake. Pont. & Leedes. Per Thomas Gargrave. Kingsley.	LM 2008, p. 109b
272348	York W	Kingsley Park	Help Gargrave as needes. Wake, Pont. & Leedes. p Tho. Gargrave. Kingsley.	LM 2009, p. 167c
272422	York W	Kingsley Park	Help Gargrave as needes, Wake. Pont. & Leedes.	LM 2009, p. 164a
272491	York W	Walton and Sandal	Heart and minde content, is riches sufficient. per Tho. Waterton. Walton.	LM 2009, p. 177b
272801	York W	Doncaster	Do well for Doncaster. p Ric. Fenton. Doncast.	LM 2008, p. 159a
272856	York W	Doncaster	Do well for Doncaster. Rich. Fenton of Doncaster	LM 2008, p. 159d
272875	York W	Doncaster	Do well for Doncaster. P Ric. Fenton. Doncast.	LM 2009, p. 160c
272891	York W	Doncaster	<i>Trigesies fortuna, millesies esto. p Ioannem Hudson, Clericum de Doncaster.</i>	LM 2009, p. 165b
273135	Lincs	Blankney	<i>Huic sorti faveat qui omnia potest. p Tho. Thorold de Blankney.</i>	LM 2008, p. 106a
273330	Lincs	Blankney	Launche out lustily. p William Thorold of Blanckney.	LM 2008, p. 110c
273342	Lincs	Humby	<i>Sors, spes atque salus, celsi sunt munera patris, si pater hæc dederit, certa Sauilus habet. p Joh. Savill of Humby.</i>	LM 2008, p. 102d
273394	Lincs	Humby	<i>Sors, spes, atque salus, celsi sunt munera patris, si pater hæc dederit, certa Sauilus habet. p Iohannem Sauill de Humby.</i>	LM 2008, p. 104a
273428	Lincs	Sleaford	<i>Laforðia nova e3 vetus.</i> William Carre de Sleaford.	LM 2008, p. 159d
273430	Lincs	Sleaford	<i>Laforðia nova e3 vetus.</i> p Will. Carre de Sleaford	LM 2009, p. 163c
273458	Lincs	Sleaford	<i>Laforðia nova e3 vetus.</i> p Will. Carre de Slyford.	LM 2009, p. 167d
273481	Lincs	Sleaford	<i>Laforðia nova e3 vetus.</i> p Wil. Carre de Sleaforde.	LM 2008, p. 105d
273601	Midd.	London	Wat God veucht, ons gheneught. p Comp. Peter Trion. London.	LM 2008, p. 110d
273615	Midd.	London	What God ve[u]cht, ons well geneucht. p Com. Peter Trien. p London.	LM 2008, p. 108c
273743	Midd.	London	Wat godt veucht, ons gheneucht. p Comp. Pieter Trion. London.	LM 2009, p. 169d
273753	Midd.	London	Wat godt veucht, ons geneucht. p compan. Peter Trion. London.	LM 2009, p. 161c
273835	Midd.	London	Wat God veucht, ons gheneucht. p comp. Peter Tryon. p London.	LM 2009, p. 161d
273946	Oxon	Henley	Hap happily Henley. p William Mercer of Henley.	LM 2008, p. 102a
273949	Oxon	Henley	Hap happily Henley. p William Mercer. Henley.	LM 2009, p. 174c
274067	Oxon	Pyrton	A good mariage, is the best lucke. p Frauncis Simeon de Pirton.	LM 2008, p. 104d
274257	Oxon	Stokenchurch	Our parish of money and water is skant, if we hit on the best price we shall have more plentie. Per John a Deane de Stoken church.	LM 2008, p. 108c
274350	Oxon	Baldwin Brightwell	Bright is the well where we do abyde, God send the great lot to light on our side. p Anth. Carleton de Brightwell. Ar.	LM 2009, p. 167b
274464	Essex	Little Braxted	God send good luck, to them that trust. p Clement Roberts de Parva Braxsted. Gentelman.	LM 2008, p. 113a
274657	Essex	Little Baddow	We hope to win though others do want. p Edwarde Nele de Parva Badowe.	LM 2008, p. 103b

274681	Essex	Foulness	As other mens good will is, so is myne. p Thomas Harrison. Fulnes.	LM 2008, p. 112d
274741	Essex	Great Fambridge	God increase our faith. p Robert Spender. Sambridge magna.	LM 2008, p. 102d
274841	Essex	Creeksea	Though my hope be lest, I may have the best. Per Arthurum Harrys Cripsey. Ar.	LM 2008, p. 111a
274849	Essex	Althorne	To God I do call, that one lot to me may fall. per Tho. Cole de Althorne.	LM 2008, p. 101a
274880	Essex	Purleigh	Though I hope for none, yet fortune maye bring one. William Hamstede de Purleugh. Gent.	LM 2009, p. 162c
274903	Essex	Little Baddow	William Myllar being an olde man, will have the best lot if he can. William Miller. parva. Boddowe.	LM 2008, p. 106a
274974	Essex	Chelmsford	Agnes Wright, would have the great lot in sight. p Agnetam. Chelmsis[f]ord.	LM 2008, p. 106c
274982	Essex	Chelmsford	I am content to take greate paine, to put in my lot to have some gain. p John Bridges de Chelmesford.	LM 2008, p. 110b
275146	Northants	Great Addington	Nought venture, nought have. John Colsey. Addington magna.	LM 2009, p. 165c
275166	Northants	Clipston	God worke his will. p Humfrey Wade. Clipston.	LM 2008, p. 114d
275173	Northants	Clipston	God sende a good lot. T. Sturges. Clipston.	LM 2009, p. 160d
275191	Northants	Earls Barton	Good fortune. p T. Blewet. Barton. Comits.	LM 2008, p. 112c
275601	Notts	Clifton	In time cometh grace. By George Clifton. Esquire of Clifton.	LM 2008, p. 112b
275703	Hants ?	Bradley ?	God send us good lucke, Amen. p John Cotten. Ar. Bradley.	LM 2008, p. 113d
276013	Surrey	Loseley	I loked for no more. William More, Lowsley.	LM 2008, p. 116c
276176	Surrey	Horsley, East or West	Good luck be with us. p Jo. Thayer. Horseley.	LM 2009, p. 174a
276315	Surrey	Chiddingfold	In God is our trust. p Jo. Osborne. Chedingfielde. Surrey.	LM 2009, p. 170d
276373	Surrey	Godalming	God helpe Godalming. Per Ric. Bridger. Go[v]alming, Surr.	LM 2008, p. 118b
276574	Surrey	East Horsley	A Rose is my pose. p. Rose Goddard, East Horsley, Surrey.	LM 2008, p. 159c
276785	Hants	Ampport	God sende us one lot. for the parishe of Amporte.	LM 2009, p. 169d
276807	Hants	Kingsclere	I trust to speede. For the parishe of Kings Clere.	LM 2008, p. 115c
276901	Hants	Eling	Venturers winne goodes. for the parishe of Eling.	LM 2008, p. 103c
276947	Hants	Boldre	In hope, hope we. p the parishe of Bolder.	LM 2009, p. 169a
277056	Hants	Milford	Hap at a word. p Milford parish.	LM 2009, p. 168a
277161	Hants	Kings Somborne	Fortune is mutable. For the Parishe of Kings Swinborne.	LM 2008, p. 109d
277253	Hants	Faccombe	If fortune favour. for the parish of Faccam.	LM 2009, p. 175d
277265	Hants	Tangley	God send us good luck. For the Tithing of Taugly.	LM 2009, p. 173a
277298	Hants	Ringwood	I live in hope. per Christopher Newman of Kingwood parish.	LM 2009, p. 164b
277338	Hants	Romsey	Fortune be frendly. For the towne of Rums[e]y.	LM 2008, p. 108b
277377	Northants	Horton	Not choise but chauce, muste me advaunce. Robert Lane. knight. Horton.	LM 2008, p. 115c
277446	Northants	Catesby	I have thought good these lotts to adventure, the one for the sonne, the other for the father. Thomas Onley. Catesbie.	LM 2009, p. 177d
277477	Northants	Catesby	Call well for Catesbie good prise for to winne, for the yeomen thereof have put two lottes in. George Waterhouse Catesbie.	LM 2009, p. 170c
277489	Northants	Kilsby	God speede the black Smith. Henry Pinson. Kilsby.	LM 2008, p. 104b
277535	Lincs	Horncastle	God speede well, I gyve a shoute at Hornecastel. Per John Sacheverell. Hornecastell.	LM 2008, p. 104d
277640	Lincs	Horncastle	God speede well, I give a shoot at Hornecastle. Jo. Sicheverel.	LM 2009, p. 165a
277827	Hunts	Little Stukeley	Rejoyce but rage not. p John Rowse of Stukely parva.	LM 2009, p. 177b
277832	Hunts	Little Stukeley	Rattes by reason are ruled. p Edmund Rouse of S[m]elley parva.	LM 2008, p. 103c
277866	Hunts	King's Ripton	God speede the poore. p Rob. Greene of Riptoune Reg.	LM 2008, p. 108c
277936	Hunts	Slepe (St Ives)	I [sleepe] in sleepe at S. Ives. p Wil. Laurence of S. Ives.	LM 2008, p. 109a
278035	Lincs	Lincoln	<i>Spes mea in Deo. p Nicholaum Episcopum Lincoln.</i>	LM 2009, p. 167c
278253	Hants	Steep	Nought venture, nought winne. Per Steppe.	LM 2008, p. 113a
278305	Hants	Chalton	<i>Deus dedit, Deus abstulit.</i> p Chalton.	LM 2009, p. 166b
278327	Northants	Chipping Warden	Hap me wel, or hap me il, I put it to God, and hys holy will. William Makepeace. Warden.	LM 2008, p. 113c
278466	Wilts	Donhead Andrew	If God be with me, who can be against me? Per Tho. Bower of Donhed Andrew. Wiltesh.	LM 2009, p. 178a
278519	Wilts	Chilmark	God send us grace, for money is but trash. p Christopher Helme of Chilmarke. Wiltshire.	LM 2008, p. 115d
278524	Wilts	Chilmark	God save the Queene, if I speede well, hir part shall be therin. p Ric. Clare of Chilmark. Wiltish.	LM 2008, p. 116b
278661	Wilts	??	Vertue availeth, p Vincent. Sir Nicholas Vincent of Stoppe. Wiltsh.	LM 2008, p. 101c

278700	Wilts	Horningsham	Gentle gesting is no geason. P John Adland of Hormigham. Gent. Wiltsh.	LM 2009, p. 164b
279141	Warks	Coventry	O Lord on thee I call, the second lot on me to fall. P Thomas Arnal, Shoemaker of Coventry.	LM 2009, p. 164c
279221	Warks	Coventry	Beware wiles, P John Miles of Coventry, Draper.	LM 2009, p. 175d
279251	Warks	Coventry	Beware wiles, P John Miles of Coventry. Drap.	LM 2009, p. 164c
279254	Warks	Coventry	Beware Wiles P John Miles of Coventry, Draper.	LM 2009, p. 162a
279353	Gloucs	Whitstone hundred	God save the Queene and realme. p Henry Beard. Whitston.	LM 2009, p. 174a
279366	Gloucs	Whitstone hundred	<i>Timor Domini initium sapientie.</i> p George Ballard. Whitston.	LM 2009, p. 168a
279397	Gloucs	Rockhampton	Yea and nay, cocke and pie. per William Harris. Rockhampton. Grombalds ashe.	LM 2009, p. 164a
279412	Gloucs	Boddington	Fortune, fortune, fortune, I crave. p Thom. Skeley. Rodington. Teukesbury.	LM 2009, p. 161d
279491	Gloucs	Hardwicke	Here is my lot, God give the lucke. p Joh. Watts Hardwick. Whitstone.	LM 2008, p. 159d
279620	Gloucs	Tirley	Spare to speake, spare to speede. p Tho. Greeneway. Tirle Dearehurst.	LM 2009, p. 170d
279829	Gloucs	Westbury upon Trym	Weried in wandring waxeth Worlock. Wesberie upon Trent. Henbery.	LM 2009, p. 163c
279983	Gloucs	Tewkesbury	<i>Sat cito, si sat bene.</i> p Edward Pearte Burges Tewxburie.	LM 2009, p. 160d
280022	Gloucs	Tewkesbury	To the prince good will I beare, and put in money to this Affaire. p Rich. Grigge. Burges Teuxburie.	LM 2009, p. 172c
280057	Gloucs	Tewkesbury	In God I put my whole trust, hoping to win the last or first. p Henricum Poollar. Burges Teuxburie.	LM 2009, p. 170d
280116	Gloucs	Longney	When things be at the worste, they commonly amende. p William Pace. Longney. Whitstone.	LM 2009, p. 162a
280122	Gloucs	Ampney St Peter	To feare that which we know we may not let, is extreme folly. p William Fyfolly. Peters Amney.	LM 2008, p. 103c
280205	Gloucs ?	??	Love God and trueth. Per Henry King.	LM 2008, p. 116d
280367	Gloucs ?	??	God speede us well. Per Floricam Rushells.	LM 2009, p. 166a
280761	Gloucs	Gloucester	The red rose of England. p John Spilman. Glouc.	LM 2009, p. 172c
280781	Gloucs	Gloucester	Good hap may come without hope to some. p Ric. Porter de Glocestershire.	LM 2009, p. 172b
280840	Gloucs	Gloucester	God speede wel the Shuttel. P Peter Romney of Glouc.	LM 2009, p. 160a
281021	Gloucs	Gloucester	<i>Deus super omnia vincit.</i> p Thoma[s] Atkins Glouc.	LM 2008, p. 111c
281148	Gloucs	Gloucester	<i>Pulchrum pro patria pati.</i> Ric. Pates. Glouc.	LM 2009, p. 177b
281284	Lincs	Lincoln	O Lorde thy will be done. p Edmund Knight. Lincolne.	LM 2008, p. 108c
281336	Lincs	Lincoln	God speede the plough. p John Wilson. Lincolne.	LM 2009, p. 168a
281356	Lincs	Lincoln	All good giftes come from God. p Tho. Knight. Linc.	LM 2008, p. 102a
281413	Kent	Hollingbourne	William Caisier of Hollingbourne in the Countie of Kent, desireth a good lot for a good intent. p William Caisier. Kent.	LM 2009, p. 174b
281474	Kent	Ryarshe and Addington	Ryarshe and Addington both together, pray God the great lot may come thither. By the paroch. of Riarshe & Addington in Kent.	LM 2009, p. 173a
282028	Kent	Mersham	Our money is sent with good intente in hope to gaine therby, wherefore we must put all our trust in God that is on hye. p parochiam de Mersam in Kanc.	LM 2009, p. 168c
282085	Kent	Higham	God send us gaines for our great paines. Paroch. of Higham in Kent.	LM 2008, p. 110a
282192	Leics	Knaptoft	<i>Mibi diffidens in Domino solo confido.</i> Sir George Turpin of Kaptoft. comit. Leicester, knight.	LM 2008, p. 113d
282304	Worcs	Wichenford	Do well, and doubte not. p John Pulhouse alias Fielde. Marches of Wales.	LM 2009, p. 168a
282690	Devon	Abbotsham	Nowe and ever. p Mathew Cave of Abbotsham.	LM 2008, p. 110a
282735	Devon	Littleham	God send the mill water. p George Dennis of Lo[t]elham.	LM 2008, p. 109c
282778	Devon	Little Torrington	God sende good luck. Lewis Mourin of little Torrington.	LM 2008, p. 109a
282846	Devon	Woodleigh (Beaford)	Welcome fortune. p John Mallet. Walley.	LM 2008, p. 117c
282865	Devon	Little Torrington	God helpe the poore. p Ric. Bowden of little Torrington.	LM 2008, p. 111a
282879	Devon	Umberleigh	If all be gone, I looke for none. Arthur Basset of Wimberleigh.	LM 2009, p. 176a
282880	Devon	Umberleigh	If all begon, I looke for none. Arthur Basset of Wimbleigh.	LM 2008, p. 108d
282887	Devon	Umberleigh	If all be gone, I loke for none. p Arthur Basset of Wimberleigh.	LM 2008, p. 111c
282893	Oxon	Oxford	From suretie to uncertaintie. Charles Chichester of Oxforde.	LM 2008, p. 159d
282896	Devon	Bovey Tracey	If ought or nought come, welcome. Tho. Southcote. Bo[ul]ytrasy.	LM 2008, p. 105d
282952	Salop	Buildwas	A good name passeth golde. Per Grizogan Grey de Bulwas in Com. Salop.	LM 2009, p. 163a

283078	Cornw	Mylor	I am yong and fayne would learne, and somewhat to get I would full fayne. p Alice [B]onnethon of Miller, in Cornewal.	LM 2009, p. 164c
283171	Cornw	St Gluvias	Into this lotterie my money I put, in hope to get the golden cuppe. p Thom. Luky of Gluvias in Cornewall.	LM 2009, p. 163a
283197	Cornw	Gwinnear ?	I am but yong, God sende me to be olde. James Wyter of Gwynby in Cornew.	LM 2008, p. 108c
283295	Salop	Milson	Whether my lot be great or smal, praised be God that sendeth all. p Edward Brasser de Milson.	LM 2008, p. 103c
283579	Northants ?	Chelveston cum Caldecott ?	Have at all. p William Lambe, Chelson and Chal[d]ock.	LM 2008, p. 111a
283613	Northants ?	Walgrave ?	God speed the right. p Ri. Hensam. Wendlingrave.	LM 2009, p. 168d
283689	Northants	Weston Welland by	We hope for the best. p John Payne Weston uppon Wolland	LM 2009, p. 176a
283746	Northants	Glaphthorn	The Crowfoot is black. p John Cook. Claphthorn.	LM 2009, p. 175c
284010	Midd.	London	As God will, it must be still. Henry Binneman.	LM 2009, p. 165a
284055	Midd.	London	God me speede to have a lot now at my neede. N. Christian. S. Martins.	LM 2008, p. 115d
284150	Midd.	London	For good or bad, thanked be God. p Henry Felixe. London.	LM 2009, p. 167d
284319	Midd. ?	London ?	If hap and hope in one agree, farwel blanke, come lot to me. p R.J.S.	LM 2009, p. 167c
284554	Midd.	London	The God who sends both lesse and more, good luck by lottes graunt me some store. Thom. Castlin. London.	LM 2008, p. 100a
284558	Midd.	London	The God who sendeth both lesse and more, good lucke by lots graunt me some store. p Thomas Castelin. London.	LM 2009, p. 165d
284611	Cornw	Mount Edgecombe	The heavens forshew, er we begin, that we shall either lose or win. John Tailour. M. Edcomb.	LM 2009, p. 165d
284621	Cornw	Mount Edgecombe	We venture both our little store, in hope that god wil send us more. per Christopher Paine. Edny Blondvile. M. Edgecombe.	LM 2009, p. 172a
284721	Midd.	London	As God made handes before knives, so God send a good lot to the Cutlers wives.	LM 2008, p. 105d
284764	Midd.	London	As God made hands before knyves, so God send a good lot for the cutlers wives.	LM 2009, p. 172c
284783	Midd.	London	As God made hands before knives, so God send a good lot for the Cutlers wives.	LM 2008, p. 118b
284847	Midd.	Middlesex archdeaconry	<i>Benedictio Domini ditat.</i> Thomas Wats. Midd.	LM 2008, p. 107c
284999	Essex	Ingatestone Hall	<i>Sans Dieu rien.</i> I. Peter. Ingarston.	LM 2008, p. 116b
285033	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 103b
285387	Midd. ?	London ?	<i>Vincit veritas.</i> F.P.	LM 2009, p. 172a
285417	Midd. ?	London ?	<i>Vincit veritas.</i> P F.P.	LM 2009, p. 173b
285602	Midd.	??	Although God suffered me to tary long, my hope is with the beste to be among. John Pemberton. Midd.	LM 2008, p. 159c
285603	Midd.	London	If it please God I lay in for the greatest lot. William Mase. London.	LM 2008, p. 101c
285857	Midd.	London	As God made handes before knives, so God sende a good lot for the Cutlers wives.	LM 2008, p. 100b
285872	Midd.	London	As God made handes before knives, so God send a good lot to the Cutlers wives.	LM 2009, p. 166b
285953	Surrey	Beddington	Although I come late, one of the last that puts in, yet if my hap be good, I may win. per Frauncis Carew of Benington.	LM 2009, p. 174a
285974	Surrey	Beddington	Although I come late, one of the last that put in, yet if my hap be good I may winne. p Fraunces Corewe of Benington.	LM 2009, p. 164d
285979	Surrey	Beddington	Although I come late, one of the last that putteth in, yet if my hap be good, I may win. p Francis Garen of Benington.	LM 2008, p. 118a
286049	England	England	God be our friend. p M. and S. of England.	LM 2008, p. 116a
286186	Midd. ?	London ?	If hap and hope in one agree, farewel Blancke, come lot to me. p R.I.S.	LM 2008, p. 106d
286187	Midd. ?	London ?	If hap and hope in one agree, farewel blank, come lot to me. p R.L.	LM 2009, p. 170a
286393	Midd.	Westminster	<i>Regina nutrix nostra.</i> Westm.	LM 2008, p. 105b
286495	Midd. ?	London ?	Good lucke in these devises, may ab[--] Grocers spices. Charles Morgan.	LM 2008, p. 105c
286500	Midd.	London	Riches and povertie is the gifte of God, for of a poore man he makes a Lorde. Jo. Croucheman. London.	LM 2009, p. 164d
286570	Suff.	??	Gods blessing maketh rich. William Vaisey. Suff.	LM 2008, p. 114b
286582	Suff.	??	Gods blessing maketh rich. William Vaisie. Suff.	LM 2009, p. 170b
286780	Suff.	??	Gods blessing maketh rich. William Vaisie. Suff.	LM 2008, p. 118b
286912	Warks	Warwick	The towne of Warwick minds to hope, when they shall win the greatest lot. p Richarde Fisher of Warwick.	LM 2008, p. 114d
286984	Midd.	London	Wy twee hadden gherne een goet lot, believet Godt. p Anthon van Houe and Robert Harison London.	LM 2008, p. 103d

286991	Midd.	London	<i>Fiat voluntas tua Domine, qui das omnia suo tempore.</i> p Tho. Copingia. p I.M.L.F.I.D.K. London.	LM 2008, p. 118b
287099	Kent	Greenwich	By service in this lotterie I may by Gods gift, win some good fortune by lot at the first lift. L.H. Greenewich.	LM 2008, p. 115a
287106	??	??	God give me grace, to use my self in all goodnesse and vertuous exercise. Agnes Hussey of E.W.	LM 2009, p. 175a
287143	Berks	Reading	God give us good fortune. By the Maior and Burgesses of Reading.	LM 2008, p. 116a
287171	Berks	Reading	God give us good fortune. p the Maior and Burgeses of Reading. Bark.	LM 2008, p. 113d
287336	Berks	Reading	God sende good winning to the poore parishioners of S. Laurence in Reading.	LM 2008, p. 117d
287397	Berks	Reading	God sende good winning to the poore parishioners of S. Maries in Reading. p Rich. Rolt. gent. Reding.	LM 2008, p. 103c
287550	Worcs	Dudley	Peace and grace. p William Atkeys. Dudley.	LM 2009, p. 176a
287596	Worcs	Shelsley Walsh	I trust in God, and take the best. P Joyce Walsh of Shellesley.	LM 2009, p. 175a
287995	Wilts	Alderton	My minde is good. Foulke Conway. Alderton.	LM 2008, p. 113d
288025	Wilts	Wootton Bassett	Howe ever our lot hent, praised be the Lorde omnipotent. p the town of Wotton.	LM 2008, p. 115d
288124	Wilts	Marleborough	<i>Regnum Romæ ruit.</i> p Humfridum Martin. Marlebrough.	LM 2008, p. 106d
288576	Cornw	St Germans	Where nothing is due, small reckenyngs ensue. Per George Reckwich, S. Germainys.	LM 2008, p. 99b
288609	Cornw	St Germans	Where nothing is due, [small] reckonings ensue. Georgium Kerckwiche S. [Ger]mans.	LM 2008, p. 101c
288891	Cornw	Launceston (Dunheved)	Give th[e] [...] the good fortune, to the Quee[n]es [...] wne of Longstone. Per Thom[...] Dunhand, alias Longstone.	LM 2009, p. 173c
288988	Devon	Exeter	Cast the grapple over the Bote, if God wil, for the great lot. By Nicolas Martin. Free of the companie of marchants of Exon.	LM 2008, p. 110b
289044	Devon	Exeter	The Castle standing on the waves of the sea, I trust shall cary some Lots away. By John Levermore. Free of the company of Marchants of Exceter.	LM 2008, p. 112a
289085	Devon	Exeter	If God do send any good fortune at last, the Lions paw wil hold it fast. Ric. Sweet free of the company of the merchants of Exon.	LM 2009, p. 172b
289229	Lancs	Barton (Irlam)	With the help of God, have at the best. p George Latham de Yerleham in Com. Lanc.	LM 2009, p. 175a
289311	Lancs	Turton (Bolton le Moors)	Have at the best prise. p Jo. Worthinton de Turton in Com. Lanc.	LM 2008, p. 101d
289391	Lancs	Manchester	I would be glad to have a good lot. p Tho. Willet de Mancr. in com Lanc.	LM 2008, p. 115d
289412	Lancs	Darcy Lever	God gyveth his gifts where it pleaseth hym. p Jo. Bradshawe de Darcie Lever in Com. Lanc.	LM 2008, p. 117b
289436	Notts	Clifton	Faith is a precious pearle. By Mistresse Anne Parpoint of Clifton.	LM 2008, p. 107a
289470	Notts	Teversal	I give God thanks. By William Clarke of Teversel.	LM 2009, p. 174b
289472	Notts	Beckingham	Be happie. p Robert Harrison of Lekingham. Gent.	LM 2008, p. 112b
289534	Cornw	Gulval	If I hap I win. p Saundre Laurence of the parishe of Golvall in the countie of Cornwall.	LM 2009, p. 173d
289760	Cornw	Bethack	In God is al my trust. Anne Daniel of the parish of Bethack in the Countie of Cornwall.	LM 2008, p. 102a
289769	Cornw	Perranuthnoe	In Jesus is all my trust. p John Leit of the parish of Peran Yeuthnan in the Countie of Cornehil.	LM 2009, p. 162b
289810	Cornw	Grade	I am yong I tell you plaine, yet god may encrease my stocke agayne. By me Greysey of the Parishe of Grade.	LM 2008, p. 112c
289826	Oxon	Henley	Hap happily Henley. p William Mercer of Henley.	LM 2008, p. 103a
289887	Oxon	Great Hasely	The happiest man shall have best luck. p Abraham Horseman de magna Hasley.	LM 2009, p. 161b
289893	Oxon	Great Hasely	The happiest man shall have the bet lot. p Abraham Horseman de Haseley mag.	LM 2008, p. 103a
290063	Dorset	Shaftesbury	I serve in hope. p Joh. Gapputh of Shaftesbury in ye parish of S. Peters, there.	LM 2008, p. 99a
290215	Gloucs	Stow on the Wold	We hope for gaine. P Roger Pricke of Stowe Slawter in Glouc.	LM 2009, p. 169a
290220	Gloucs	Grumbalds Ash hundred	I trust in God. p John Staunton of Grombaldes Ashe, in Gloucester.	LM 2009, p. 164b
290452	Cheshire	Chester	I love as I like. Robert Leche. Caunsell. Cestr.	LM 2008, p. 107b
290593	Cheshire	Chester	<i>Est datum cuius retributio duplex.</i> John Nutter, prebendarie of Chester.	LM 2009, p. 168c
290595	Cheshire	Chester	<i>Est datum cuius retributio duplex.</i> John Nutter prebendar. Cestr.	LM 2008, p. 99d
290609	Cheshire	Chester	<i>Diligentibus [...] Deum omnia cooperantur in Bonum.</i> p Tho. Lor[...] Prebendar. Cestr.	LM 2009, p. 177c
290653	Cheshire	Chester	<i>Quid babes quod non accipisti?</i> Edward Hawford, Prebend. Cest.	LM 2009, p. 177b
290656	Cheshire	Chester	<i>Quid babes, quod non accipisti?</i> Edward Hawford. preb. Cestr.	LM 2009, p. 172d

290707	Midd.	London	The God who sends both lesse and more, good luck by lottes graunt me some store. Tho. Castelin. London.	LM 2008, p. 113d
290708	Midd.	London	The God who sends both lesse and more, good luck by lots graunt me some store. Tho. Castlin. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 115a
290747	Midd.	London	I neither make mone for the worst nor the best, God send me but one take you al the rest. Tho. Sandes. London.	LM 2008, p. 102d
290754	??	??	I desire not the least, so do I not the best, the third wil content me, or the fourth at the least. Per George Clough.	LM 2008, p. 103c
290786	Cornw	Mount Edgecombe	My youth doth require some riches to win, even God be my choiser, for this I put in. Margaret Edgecombe junior. M. Edgecom.	LM 2008, p. 113a
290818	Cornw	Mount Edgecombe	If this lot bring us [no g]ayne, then we barre it by a mayne. Richar[d] Hawke. M. Edgecombe.	LM 2009, p. 164c
291254	Suff.	Suffolk	Well gotten, wel spent. Robert Rolfe. Suff.	LM 2008, p. 109b
291352	Midd.	London	He that coveteth al to have, doth oftentimes hys stocke not save. George Harker. London.	LM 2009, p. 168d
291374	Midd.	London	As Foulers mindes are fedde with every right redresse, so Fouler I, least fortune fayle, do seeke for some successe. Thomas Fouler. London.	LM 2008, p. 110d
291419	Midd.	London	As Foulers mindes are fed with every right redresse, so Fouler I, least fortune fail, do seke for some successe. Per Thomas Fouler. London.	LM 2008, p. 108b
291500	Midd.	London	As Foul[er]s mindes are fed with every right redresse, so Fouler I, least fortune fayle, doe seeke for some successe. Thomas Fouler. Lond.	LM 2008, p. 109b
291514	Midd.	London	As Foulers mindes are fed with every right redresse, so Fouler I lest fortune fayle, do seeke for some successe. Thomas Fouler. London.	LM 2009, p. 177a
291516	Midd.	London	As Foulers mindes are fed with every right redresse, so Fouler I, least fortune faile, doe seeke for some successe. Thomas Fouler. London.	LM 2008, p. 111d
291726	Midd.	London	As God will so shall it be, to him will I give thankes truely. Thomas Fouler. London.	LM 2008, p. 114d
291763	Midd.	London	As God wil, so shal it be, to him will I give thanks truely. Tho. Fouler. Lond.	LM 2009, p. 164c
291792	Midd.	London	As God will so shall it be, to him wil I gyve thanks truly. Tho. Fouler. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 100d
291805	Midd.	London	As God wil, so shal it be, to him wil I give thanks truely. Thom. Fouler. London.	LM 2008, p. 116a
291825	Midd.	London	As God will, so shall it be, to him wil I give thankes truly. Thomas Fouler. London.	LM 2009, p. 164d
291901	Midd.	London	As God will, so shall it be, to him will I gyve thankes truely. Thomas Fouler. London.	LM 2009, p. 167a
292044	Midd.	London	The God who sendes bothe lesse and more, good luck by lots send me some store. Thomas Castlin. London.	LM 2009, p. 168b
292170	Midd.	London	The God who sends both lesse and more, good luck by lots graunt me some store. Thom. Castelin. London.	LM 2008, p. 118a
292410	Cornw	Mount Edgecombe	Howe to hap on a good lot I stand in doubt, except God doe helpe to finde the same oute. Honor Edgecombe. M. Edgecombe.	LM 2009, p. 166c
292470	Cornw	Mount Edgecombe	If it hap so that this lot be lost, I mynde no more to be at the cost. William Samuell. M. Edgec.	LM 2008, p. 113a
292604	Cornw	Mount Edgecombe	Companie makes cuckoldes men say, your wives have companie though you be away. John Holdith. M. Egecombe.	LM 2008, p. 101b
292636	Cornw	Mount Edgecombe	Be good to me reader, as to thy brother, one knave should ever helpe an other. Thom. Efforde. M. Edgecombe.	LM 2008, p. 104a
292680	Cornw	Mount Edgecombe	We venture both our little store, in hope that god will sende us more. Christopher Payne. Edny Blondeville. M. Edgecombe.	LM 2009, p. 177a
292952	Beds	Flitton	Think and thank god for al. P William Goodwin. Flitton.	LM 2009, p. 174d
292979	Beds	Harlington	Happie hap may hit to Harlington. P Th. Strawkrige. Harlington.	LM 2009, p. 167b
293182	Suss. ?	Crawley	Be as be may is no Banning. p Thomas Dixson. Crawley.	LM 2009, p. 168d
293623	Suss.	Thakeham	<i>Deus omnia bene fecit.</i> By John Apsley Esquire of Thakeham.	LM 2009, p. 173a
293873	Suss.	Nuthurst	Whatsoever God hath sent, we are content. Per William Zeale of Nuthurst.	LM 2008, p. 114a
293954	Suss.	Henfield	<i>In medio consistit virtus.</i> By Roger Michel of Henfield.	LM 2008, p. 99c
294137	Essex	Dedham	The Lord is God, and governeth al, and as he wil, the prise shall fall. Per William Littlebery of Dedham.	LM 2008, p. 100a
294211	Essex	Dedham	This lot with good lucke I have put in, to the use of Marie hir stock to beginne. p Marie Garret. Dedham.	LM 2008, p. 110c
294354	Essex	Colchester	If I chaunce wel by this my lot, the poore shal not be all forgot. p George Sayer Baylyfe of Colchester.	LM 2009, p. 175c
294374	Essex	Colchester	If I chaunce well by this my lotte, the poor shall not be all forgot. p George Sayer Sen. Bayly of Colchester.	LM 2008, p. 117a
294393	Essex	Colchester	If I chaunce well by this my lot, the poore shall not be all forgot. p George Sayer senior, Baylyf of Colchester.	LM 2009, p. 163c

294662	Essex	Stanway	The lots for lucke in lap are cast, but God dothe guide, both first and last. Edmund Bocking. armig. Stanwey.	LM 2009, p. 164b
294704	Essex	Stanway	The lots for lucke in lap are cast, but God doth guyde both first and last. p Edmund Bocking. Ar. Stanwey.	LM 2008, p. 108d
294720	Essex	Stanway	The lotts for lucke in lap are cast, but God dothe guide both first and last. p Edmund Bocking Esquier of Stanwey.	LM 2008, p. 108a
294884	Essex	Stanway	Hap what hap will, for I wil assay, if Fortune be friendly, speede well I may. p Edmund Bocking, armig. Stanwey.	LM 2009, p. 160b
295116	York W	Kingsley Park	Helpe Gargrave as needes, Wake. Pont. and Leedes. p Tho. Gargrave of Kingsley.	LM 2008, p. 102a
295159	York W	Kingsley Park	Helpe Gargrave as needes, Wake. Pont. and Leedes. p Thomas Gargrave of Kingsley.	LM 2008, p. 109b
295394	York W	Kingsley Park	Help Gargrave as needes, Wake. Pont. & Leedes. Per Thomas Gargrave. Kingsley.	LM 2008, p. 112d
295395	York W	Kingsley Park	Helpe Gargrave as needes, Wakefelde, Pont. & Leedes. Th. Gargrave. Kingsley.	LM 2009, p. 165d
295707	York W	Kingsley Park	Helpe Gargrave as needes, Wake. Pomfrie and Leedes. Thomas Gargrave. Kingsley.	LM 2008, p. 108d
295939	York W	Sowerby (Halifax)	Be happy to the helme. p Joh. Smith. Sowerby.	LM 2009, p. 175c
296158	York W	Doncaster	Do well for Doncaster. p Ric. Fenton of Doncaster	LM 2008, p. 115b
296231	York W	Doncaster	Do well for Doncaster. p Ric. Fenton of Doncaster.	LM 2009, p. 173b
296234	York W	Doncaster	Do well for Doncaster. p Ric. Fenton of Doncaster.	LM 2008, p. 115b
296306	York W	Doncaster	<i>Trigevies fortuna, millesies esto. p. Io. Hudson, Clericus de Doncaster.</i>	LM 2008, p. 100a
296831	Cornw	Saltash	God sende the lotts well to passe, for the Queenes towne of Saltashe. By John Welles of Saltashe.	LM 2009, p. 172b
296844	Cornw	Saltash	God sende the lots well to passe, for the Queenes Towne of Saltashe. By John Wels of Saltas.	LM 2009, p. 173a
296942	Cornw	St Germans	Where nothing is due, small reconings ensue. p Georgium Keckwich. Saint Germaines.	LM 2009, p. 163b
297485	Cornw	Stoke Climsland	God save the Queene. By William Brent. Stokeclymsland parishe.	LM 2008, p. 105d
297594	Cornw	Launceston (Dunheved)	Give the best prise I pray thee good fortune, unto the Queenes majesties towne of Launceston. p Thomas Hicks. Dunhend burgh.	LM 2009, p. 165c
297685	Cornw	Newlyn East	<i>Dieu guerras.</i> John Arundle of New Linne.	LM 2009, p. 170d
297822	Cornw ?	St Endellion ?	If the best lotte come to our doores, the chiefe is ours. p Emdr.	LM 2009, p. 169b
298223	Cornw	St Michael Caerhays	Trevanion desireth a good lotte, therewith to be a good companion. p Hugh Trevanion of S. Michael Cardhayse.	LM 2009, p. 163c
298349	Cornw	Falmouth (Truro)	Falmouth doth decay, God send us good luck this day. p Ric. Singleton of Treure.	LM 2008, p. 105c
298457	Cornw	Lostwithiel	God helpe al widowes. p Elizabeth Waye of Lostwithell.	LM 2009, p. 177a
298458	Cornw	Lostwithiel	God help all widowes. p Elizabeth Way of Lostwithel.	LM 2008, p. 159c
298500	Cornw	Cuby	God speede the ploughe. p Ric. Carveaghe of Kibe.	LM 2009, p. 163a
298577	Cornw	Truro	<i>Veritas vincit.</i> Jo. Tusser de Truro.	LM 2008, p. 107d
298578	Cornw	Truro	<i>Veritas vincit.</i> p John Tusser de Truro.	LM 2008, p. 106d
298865	Lincs	Boston	Good hap to the bountifull. Rob. Bonner of Boston.	LM 2009, p. 160d
298963	Lincs	Boston	A bountifull blessing for Boston. P John Beil of Boston.	LM 2009, p. 164d
299157	Lincs	Blankney	<i>Huic sorti faveat, qui omnia potest.</i> p Tho. Thorold de Blankney.	LM 2008, p. 116a
299266	Lincs	Blankney	Launch out lustely. p Wil. Thorold de Blankney.	LM 2008, p. 115b
299468	Essex	Essex	Though paying be no sport at all, yet sport thereby may hap to fall. p Tho. Cole, Archdeacon of Essex.	LM 2008, p. 115c
299540	Warks	Newton Regis	God send good lucke. p William Dawes of Newnam Regis.	LM 2009, p. 165d
299652	Norf	Framingham Earl	For Framingham Earle. Ro. Wethrell.	LM 2009, p. 161d
299712	Midd.	Staines	Within the countie of Midd. there is the Towne of Stanes, which desireth the great lotte for his best gaines. p Tho. Cob de Sta.	LM 2008, p. 103a
299744	Midd.	Harrow	We be two sisters and dwell at Harrowhill, and we desire no other gaynes, but what shall be Gods wil. p Anne & Frauncis Wightman. Harrowhill.	LM 2009, p. 168d
299824	Midd.	Harrow	Of all the lottes howsoever they fal, God send me the great lot to be merry withall. p Tho. Page. Harrow hil.	LM 2008, p. 115d
299878	Midd.	Enfield	Wisedome liketh not chaunce. p Thomas Wroth militem Enfield.	LM 2008, p. 113c
299963	Hunts	Brampton	My money is in where so ever I dwell, I put my trust in God who ever doth well. Per Reignold Knolles de Brampton.	LM 2008, p. 115a
300392	Devon	Exeter	We Tuckers and Weavers that make many a knot, doe hope with the rest to have the greates lot. I. Tailer. S. Jo. Bow. Exon.	LM 2009, p. 162b
300392	Gloucs	Dursley (Berkeley)	God save the Queene, and sende us peace. p John Smalwood. Dursley, Barkley.	LM 2008, p. 115d
300426	Gloucs	Berkeley	Long looked for lottery. Per William Laur[enc?]e Barkel.	LM 2009, p. 168b

300452	Gloucs	Littleton Severn	on	<i>Deus donet nobis gratiam.</i> Per Thomas Archarde, Littleton, super Sabrinam. Grombalds Ashe.	LM 2008, p. 113a
300489	Gloucs	Hatherop		<i>Si fortuna favet oia nobis prosperè succedat.</i> p William Blowmer Hetherope. Brightwelles Barrowe.	LM 2009, p. 177a
300725	Gloucs	Grumbalds Ash		I was begotten in Calice and borne in Kent, God sende me a good lot to pay my rente. p Edward Tibbot, [Osson]. Grombalds Ashe.	LM 2008, p. 101a
300781	Gloucs ?	Welford Avon ?	on	Fortune in al things as God wil. p James Dolle. Welforde.	LM 2009, p. 173d
300987	Devon	Exeter		In God is all [my trust?] p Roger Robinson of S. Martins E[xcester?]	LM 2009, p. 168c
301087	Devon	Exeter		Humilitie rewarded. John Peream Junior S. Olives. Exon.	LM 2009, p. 166c
301092	Devon	Exeter		Humilitie rewarded. John Periam Junior, Saint Tooles. Exeter.	LM 2008, p. 101b
301163	Leics	Knaptoft		<i>Mibi diffidens, in Domino solo confido.</i> Sir George Turpin of Knaptoft in the countie of Leic. Knight.	LM 2009, p. 167b
301213	Gloucs	Gloucester		S. Laurence was a Martir. p Laurence Singleton. Glouc.	LM 2009, p. 166d
301297	Gloucs	Gloucester		If any thing come, welcome it, if nothyng, farewel it. p John Draycote. Glouc.	LM 2008, p. 115c
301418	Gloucs ?	??		With a good lot, God make me mery. p John Wilcockes.	LM 2008, p. 111b
301421	Gloucs	Gloucester		Obedience is better than sacrifice. p Walterum Compton. Glouc.	LM 2009, p. 166d
301469	Dorset	Thornford		Happie is he that other mens fautes giveth warning unto. p John Maister of Thorneford.	LM 2009, p. 170c
301533	Gloucs	Gloucester		God speede well the Shuttle. p Peter Romney of Gloucester.	LM 2009, p. 164b
301537	Gloucs	Gloucester		God speede well the shuttle. Peter Romney. Glouc.	LM 2008, p. 111a
301578	Gloucs	Gloucester		<i>Deus super, omnia vincit.</i> p Thom. Atkins. Glouc.	LM 2009, p. 170b
301608	Gloucs	Gloucester		<i>Deus super omnia vincit.</i> p Thom. Atkins Glouc.	LM 2008, p. 101d
301681	Gloucs	Gloucester		It may make me, but not marre me. per William Grove. Glouc.	LM 2009, p. 164a
301955	York Y	York		God graunt [s] Jayth Frauncis Jacke of Yorke.	LM 2008, p. 109d
301984	York Y	York		<i>Cecidit soris.</i> p Mathew Hutton Dean of Yorke.	LM 2008, p. 102d
302102	York E	Burton Agnes		<i>Pala non ad palmam.</i> p Robert Pala of Burton. Angnes.	LM 2009, p. 162d
302505	Camb	Ely		I would if I might. p Thom. Darnell. Elie.	LM 2008, p. 107a
302613	Camb	Ely		Whether I misse or hit, as God will so be it. Per Anthony Cole. Elie.	LM 2009, p. 177b
302919	Lancs	Wolstenholme		Beleve wel, and be saved. Per Joh. Wosenam de Wosenam in Com. Lanc.	LM 2008, p. 103d
303076	Midd.	London		Humfrey Cooke. Who so wist what would be deare, would be a chapman but a yeaere. p Lon.	LM 2008, p. 115b
303194	Midd.	London		William, Ellin and Richard Short, and Thom. Norton, for the great lot. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 106d
303267	Midd.	London		Edward Spursto. My trust is in the lord, p Spursto. p London.	LM 2008, p. 103c
303275	Midd.	London		Beniamine Beard. He that coveteth nothing, shal have all things. p London.	LM 2008, p. 101c
303466	Hants	Woodmancott		Here is a lot, for Woodmancot. p Ric. Coke de Woodmancot.	LM 2009, p. 160c
303807	Dorset	Poole		Thirtie lotts onely have I put in, for the maintenance of our haven, hoping to win. p William Newman, Maior of Poole.	LM 2009, p. 173d
303880	Bucks	Worminghull		God sende me of his gifts. Per Anne [K]ugo. of Wornall.	LM 2008, p. 106c
303907	Dorset	Blandford Forum		As by thy sufferance Lord, we were all consumed with fire, so helpe us nowe God, and that is our desire. Richarde Cheverell, alias Frauncis of Blandford forum.	LM 2009, p. 177d
303927	Dorset	Blandford Forum		As by thy sufferance Lord we were all consumed with fire, so helpe us nowe God for that is our desire. Ric. Cheverell, alias Frauncis of Blandford forum.	LM 2009, p. 162c
303978	Salop	Ludlow		Wisdome is better, than riches. p Ellis Evans of Ludlowe.	LM 2009, p. 174c
304192	Midd.	London		Lord it is in thy mighty power, to make beggers rich in an houre. p William Lane. gent. Lond.	LM 2009, p. 173d
304254	Midd.	London		The wealthy seekes by subtile meanes, their substance to increase, but Lord thou givest to thine electe, prosperitie and peace. Richarde Warde. London.	LM 2008, p. 112a
304439	Midd.	London		Henry Stilt, if I have not a good lot all is spilt. p London.	LM 2009, p. 177a
304530	Midd.	London		According to expectation. Per Peter Haughton. London.	LM 2009, p. 175d
304534	Midd.	London		According to expectacion. Peter Hawton. London.	LM 2009, p. 167a
304672	Wales	Carmarthen		As God hath apointed, so am I contented. p Humfrey Toy. Carmarthen.	LM 2009, p. 170d
304784	Midd.	London		<i>Tempus tacendi, tempusquē loquendi.</i> P Anne Hoggan. Lond.	LM 2009, p. 170b
304828	Midd.	London		Man labou[re]s and God giveth the encrease. Rich Drewry. [L]ondon.	LM 2009, p. 177c
304863	Midd.	London		Lord God speede me well. Thomas Pounts. Lon.	LM 2009, p. 165b

305019	Midd.	London	Gybers, Cole, and Florida, have brought me into greate decay, I pray to God of his mercie and grace, that this may take better place. p Thomas Parkins. London.	LM 2009, p. 169d
305080	Midd.	London	Gibers, Cole, and Florida, have brought me into great decay, I praye to God of his mercy and grace, that this may take better place. Thom. Parkins. London.	LM 2009, p. 170c
305091	Midd.	London	Gi[b]ers, Cole and Florida, have brought me into great decay, I praye to God of his mercie and grace, that this may take better place. Thom. Parkins. London.	LM 2008, p. 107b
305109	Midd.	London	Gibers, Cole, and Florida, have brought me into great decay, I pray to God of his mercie and grace, that this may take better place. Thomas Parkins. London.	LM 2009, p. 168d
305334	Midd.	London	There is no drinck like unto wine in comparison, if it be dronk with discrete moderation. James Marston. London.	LM 2009, p. 167b
305663	Midd.	London	As fortune doth appoint me, so goeth my good wil, whether I have good lot, or whether I have ill. John Dale. London.	LM 2009, p. 176b
305699	Midd.	London	God that raygues over all, sende good fortune to the poore that belong to the Diers hall. Tho. Hacket. London.	LM 2009, p. 172d
305917	Midd.	[Venlo]	Mijn hoofning tze den vader door Jesum Christum mijnen Heylant. S. A. Venloe.	LM 2009, p. 163c
306016	Midd.	London	Good will & desire, makes two Flemmings to lay in here. S.D.S. London.	LM 2008, p. 107d
306038	Midd.	London	Good will and desire, makes two Flemmings to lay in here. S.D.S. London.	LM 2008, p. 104d
306348	Midd.	London	<i>Nec spe, nec metu. R.L.</i>	LM 2008, p. 116c
306390	Midd.	London	<i>Nec spe, nec metn. R.L.</i>	LM 2009, p. 174a
306473	Midd.	London	<i>Nec spe, nec metu. R.L.</i>	LM 2009, p. 174b
306522	Midd.	London	<i>Nec spe, nec metu. R.L.</i>	LM 2009, p. 178a
306571	Midd.	London	I hope for the best, for the worst I care not. Ralfe Lane.	LM 2009, p. 160a
306658	Midd.	London	Our numbre is great, and mony small, God sende us a lot to helpe us all. Gregorie Lovell.	LM 2008, p. 112d
306691	Midd.	London	Oure number is great and mony small, God send a lot to please us all. Per Gregory Lovell.	LM 2009, p. 162c
306904	Midd.	London	<i>Nec dolore, nec gaudio.</i> Edward Dyer.	LM 2009, p. 163a
307007	Midd. ?	London ?	<i>Vana salus hominis.</i> Ric. York.	LM 2008, p. 105b
307020	Midd.	London	<i>Nec spe, nec metu. R.L.</i>	LM 2008, p. 104b
307088	Kent	??	Farewell good gentle Ryal, except thou come agayne, to plucke me out of the myre. William Reder. Kent.	LM 2009, p. 164c
307139	Midd.	London	If God be with us, who can be against us? John Ingram. London.	LM 2009, p. 172a
307197	Midd.	London	The Black smiths hammer resembles the sound, of Musickes sweete tunes, whiche Tuball firste founde. Wil. Tanner. London.	LM 2009, p. 173d
307210	Midd.	London	The Blacksmiths Hammer resembles the sound of Musicke sweete tunes which Tubal first found. William Tanner. London.	LM 2009, p. 173b
307254	Midd.	London	From God it commeth, thou mayest be sure, the gift of God to heale and cure. Alexander Mason of London.	LM 2008, p. 106a
307261	Midd.	London	From God it cometh, thou mayest be sure, the gift of God to heale and cure. Alexander Mason London.	LM 2008, p. 116d
307339	Midd.	London	From God it commeth thou mayst be sure, the gift of god to heale and cure. Alexander Mason. London.	LM 2008, p. 103b
307382	Midd.	London	The Carpenters wishe both great and small, to have one good lot amongst them all. Laurence Bradshawe. London.	LM 2009, p. 174d
307416	Midd.	London	The Carpenters wishe both great and small, to have one good lot amongst them all. Laurence Bradshaw. London.	LM 2009, p. 173b
307442	Midd.	London	What hath God sent me? Roger Martin. London.	LM 2009, p. 175d
307491	Midd.	London	Whatsoever in this lotterie to us shall befall, we Weavers of London will prayse God for all. Christopher Smith. London.	LM 2009, p. 173b
307660	Midd.	London	I shall speede, if Gods will be, at my neede. Thom. Lewis. London.	LM 2009, p. 174d
307841	Midd.	London	Nicholas Farrar. Erasmus. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 102b
307867	Wilts	??	<i>Sorte spiro ut Deus.</i> Tho. Balgrave. Wilshire.	LM 2009, p. 169c
308005	Midd.	London	Only I depend on God, who ruleth all thing, contented I am with his appointing. John Gurlug, alias Clarke. London.	LM 2009, p. 161c
308143	Midd.	London	As I intend, so God me send, for his name will I prayse unto the worlds ende. Thom. Roberts. London.	LM 2008, p. 117b
308166	Midd.	London	We pray you maisters and friendes all, to helpe us with a great lot or a smal. Christopher Fulkes. London.	LM 2008, p. 102a
308360	Midd.	London	<i>In Domino confido.</i> p A.S. London.	LM 2008, p. 105c
308407	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Videò e' taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 167a
308454	Cornw	St Martin by Looe	Of money I have little store, I praye to God to send me more. By John Longston of S. Martins, iuxta Lowe.	LM 2009, p. 170c
308469	Cornw	Warleggan	In wealth and wo, <i>laudes Deo.</i> p George Tubbe. Warlegan parish.	LM 2009, p. 165c

308592	Cornw	Saltash	God send the lottes well to passe, for the Queenes towne of Saltashe. By John Well of Saltash.	LM 2009, p. 161a
308641	Cornw	Saltash	God sende the lots well to passe, for the Queenes town of Saltashe. By John Welles of Saltashe.	LM 2008, p. 108d
308674	Cornw	St Germans	Where nothing is due, smal recknings ensue. per George Kirkwich of S.Germ.	LM 2008, p. 101a
308905	Cornw	Pillaton	I never did amis, and so it will prove by this. By John Bowle. Pilaton parish.	LM 2008, p. 101a
308928	Cornw	Calstock	I am a Tanner by my craft. p Sampson Grilles Salstoke parishe.	LM 2008, p. 100c
309019	York E	Hull	William Carlile the yonger, in Hull do I dwell, I truste in the Lorde by this lotterie to speede well. p Hull.	LM 2008, p. 110a
309027	York E	Hull	William Carlile the yonger, in Hull I do dwell, I trust in the Lord by this lottery to speed wel. p Hull.	LM 2009, p. 174d
309059	Midd.	London	Richard Caldwell Doctor of Phisick. With God all things. p London.	LM 2009, p. 175a
309098	Midd.	London	Edmunde Pigeon. As the Dove is without gall, so is the best of all.	LM 2008, p. 101d
309218	Kent	Southfleet	William Sedley of Southfleete, wisheth the best lot with me to meete. p Southfleete in Kent.	LM 2009, p. 173b
309335	Devon	Totnes	Have at all. P Walter Boggan of Totnes.	LM 2009, p. 176a
309419	Devon	South Huish (Thurlestone)	Thurleston by Hackmoore. p Wil. Steele. Southhuishe.	LM 2009, p. 177a
309464	Devon ?	Poughill ?	God sende me the worst. p Richard Foster Polle.	LM 2008, p. 110c
309465	Devon ?	South Brent ?	God sende good fortune. p Walterum Stephens. Brent.	LM 2008, p. 117a
309628	Devon	Modbury	The Olive tree on hil that growes, to have a share his name here shewes. p Oliver Hil. Madbury.	LM 2009, p. 175c
309720	Devon	Modbury	Pollicie preventeth povertie. p Thomas Prideux. Madbury.	LM 2009, p. 178a
309730	Devon	Modbury	Policie preventeth povertie. p Thomas Pridieux. Madbury.	LM 2009, p. 176b
309751	Devon	Tavistock	First learne, then discerne. p Jo. Fitz. Tavestock.	LM 2008, p. 99a
309809	Devon	Tavistock	First learne, then discerne. Jo. Filz of Tavestock.	LM 2009, p. 161b
309928	Gloucs	Bristol	The lots be cast in lap, but the lord giveth the hap. Thom. Chester. Bristol.	LM 2008, p. 99c
309939	Gloucs	Bristol	The lottes be cast in lap, but the Lorde gives the hap. p Tho. Chester. Bristol.	LM 2008, p. 118b
309983	Gloucs	Bristol	In my beginning God be my speede, in grace and vertue to proceede. P John Prewat. Bristoll.	LM 2009, p. 170b
309996	Gloucs	Bristol	If it be my chaunce to have the best, I care not who have the rest. p Hughe James. Bristoll.	LM 2008, p. 107b
310043	Oxon	Oxford	<i>Oxonia petit aequalia</i> . p Thom. Williams. Oxforde.	LM 2008, p. 110d
310057	Oxon	Oxford	<i>Oxonia petit aequalia</i> . Per Thomas Williams.	LM 2008, p. 102b
310077	Oxon	Oxford	<i>Alijs dat, alijs aufert Fortuna</i> . p William Levins. Oxford.	LM 2008, p. 117b
310187	Suss.	Rumboldswyke	Have at all. p Rumbaldswike parish. Sussex.	LM 2009, p. 165c
310214	Suss.	Pagham	Pageham hath neede, God sende us good speed. Per Pageham parishe. Sussex.	LM 2009, p. 168c
310241	Suss.	Funtington	I desire not the best, nor the worst, but the first. p Funtington parish. Sussex.	LM 2009, p. 174b
310267	Suss.	Selsey	<i>Crescite c³ multiplicamini</i> . p Thom. Lewkenar de Selsey Gent. Sussex.	LM 2008, p. 101a
310286	Suss.	Midhurst	Hap hazade, arise and daunce, God send Midhurst some good chaunce. p Midhurst borough. Sussex.	LM 2008, p. 101d
310319	Midd.	London	John Hewet. If God hath blessed thy goodes and chest, give him thanks for it, and remember the pore. p London.	LM 2008, p. 104a
310357	Cambs	Isle of Ely ?	Let trueth trye all. p Arkenstall. p Cambridgeshire.	LM 2008, p. 113b
310376	Midd.	London	Rich. Thomson. We Cookes of London whiche worke early and late, if any thing be left, God sende us part. p Lond.	LM 2009, p. 163d
310451	Midd.	London	Susan Giles certainly is my name, if I have not the best lot, you are to blame. p London.	LM 2008, p. 111b
310669	Midd.	London	William Wood, a poore Wood I have bene long and yet am like to be, but if God of his grace sende me the great lot, a riche Wood shall I be. p London.	LM 2008, p. 105b
310795	Midd.	London	All wordly riches runnes upon wheeles. H.S. London.	LM 2009, p. 178a
310845	Midd.	London	John Ponkes venters ten shillings. p S. Martin in the New rents.	LM 2009, p. 167b
310848	Midd.	London	I hope to begin, my Rial for a triall a good lot for to winne. Per London. Annes Handford.	LM 2009, p. 173a
310918	Midd.	London	I have put in, in hope for to win, but I trow therby nothing I shal gaine. p London. Tho. Heath.	LM 2008, p. 116b
311013	Beds	??	O Lorde thou knowest, and seest what is for me best. p Clement Baylye. Per Bedfordshire.	LM 2009, p. 172c
311184	??	??	We are two lovers that put in this lot, if god send us, we will be close. p T.C.A.C.	LM 2008, p. 109c
311246	Suss.	Rye	Even as God will, so be it. J. Dunnyng. Rye.	LM 2009, p. 174b

311299	Midd.	London	<i>Sive bone, sive mala, fortuna est.</i> p Tho. Aglianby of London. gent.	LM 2009, p. 175c
311338	Midd.	London	<i>Sive bona, sive mala, fortuna est.</i> p Tho. Aglianby of London. Gent.	LM 2008, p. 101b
311756	Hants	Winchester	For the best we trust. p William Wright. Sokawinton.	LM 2008, p. 116a
311905	Devon	Exeter	If I hap wel, who shall sorow it ? p Jo. Castell. Exceter.	LM 2009, p. 160c
311954	Dorset	Bridport	God giveth fortune. Richard Co[s]t. Birport.	LM 2008, p. 113d
312122	Dorset ?	Mosterton ?	I pray to God above, the fourth lot I may remove. p Jo. Paerrey. Mostren.	LM 2008, p. 99b
312206	Dorset	Lyme Regis	Al my gaines is by adventure. p Robert Midwinter. Lime. Regis.	LM 2008, p. 109c
312218	Dorset	Lyme Regis	If it doe speede, it will helpe at neede. p Ric. Promer. Lime. Reg.	LM 2009, p. 178a
312346	Midd.	London	Nowe or never. p A.J.T.H.R.S. London.	LM 2009, p. 172c
312348	Midd.	London	Nowe or never. p A.I.T.H.R.S. London.	LM 2008, p. 116d
312398	Midd.	London	Now or never. p A.I.T.H.R.S. London.	LM 2008, p. 107c
312481	Cornw	Egloschayle	John Kestell the yonger of Egleshall, God sende him well to prevayle. p predict. Jo. Kestel de Egleshale, Junior.	LM 2008, p. 106c
312594	Cornw	Launcells	Porter pitieth poverty. p Walter Porter de Launsels infra Paroch. de Launsels.	LM 2008, p. 108a
312617	Cornw	Morwenstow	God be with you. John Kemphorne de More Winsco. Gent.	LM 2008, p. 111c
312780	Cornw	St Juliot	God send us a faire day. p William Rawley. par. de S. Julate.	LM 2009, p. 178b
313204	Suff.	Cransford	<i>Non est homo qui non peccat.</i> p Th. Collingworth de Cranesford. Suff.	LM 2008, p. 114c
313243	Suff.	Milden ?	<i>In te Domine operavi.</i> p William Goodfellow de Milton. Suff.	LM 2008, p. 107b
313648	Suff.	Several Suffolk parishes	<i>Ausui depone etiam vitam pro principe.</i> p Jo. Darley. Suff.	LM 2009, p. 175a
313652	Suff.	Oulton	<i>Deus est charitas.</i> p Edward Garrarde de Olton. Suff.	LM 2009, p. 160c
313788	Norf	Hardingham	Time tryeth trueth. p Edward Thwaites de Hardingham. Norff.	LM 2008, p. 110d
313792	Norf	Hardingham	Time trieth trueth. p Edward Twaith de Hardingham. Norff.	LM 2008, p. 116d
313793	Norf	Hardingham	Time tryeth trueth. p Edward Thwaits de Hardingham. Norff.	LM 2009, p. 169b
313885	Norf	Great Melton ?	<i>Deus p[...].</i> Robert Wincop de [...]	LM 2009, p. 170c
314081	Norf	Kirstead	<i>Veritas non querit angulos.</i> p Joh. Baron de Kirkstede.	LM 2009, p. 170b
314147	Norf	Cantley	<i>Spes mea in Deo est.</i> p William Johnson Parson of Cant. Norff.	LM 2009, p. 160a
314168	Norf	Wiggenhall	<i>Veritas omnia vincit.</i> per Edward Williamson de Wigenhal, Clerke. Norff.	LM 2008, p. 109d
314344	Suff.	Bury Edmunds St	<i>Spes mea Deus.</i> p Joh. Brome. Comissar de Burie. Suff.	LM 2008, p. 99c
314370	Suff.	Bury Edmunds St	<i>Spes mea Deus.</i> p Johā. Browne Comissarium de Bury. Suff.	LM 2009, p. 167b
314462	Suff.	Bury Edmunds St	<i>Spes mea Deus.</i> p Jo. Brome, Com. de Bury. Suff.	LM 2008, p. 114c
314706	Midd.	London	Nowe or never. p A.I.T.H.R.S. London.	LM 2008, p. 113d
314797	Midd.	London	Nowe or never. A.[...] T.H.R.S. London.	LM 2009, p. 172c
314807	Worcs	Worcester	As God wil, so be it. p Thom. Heiwood, Mercer de Civit. Wigorn.	LM 2009, p. 172b
314922	Worcs	Grimley	God giveth good fortune. p Grimley. p Jo. Greene alias Fisher de Grimley.	LM 2008, p. 108b
314952	Worcs	Oddingley	Praised be God for good fortune. p Thom. Sale de Dingley.	LM 2009, p. 165d
315037	Worcs	Offenham	In the time of neede, God sende us good speede. p Ric. Spragge de Uffenham.	LM 2008, p. 101b
315049	Worcs	Middle Littleton	First and last, God send rest. p Joh. Aldington de midle Littleton.	LM 2008, p. 99d
315094	Worcs	Inkberrow	My trust is in the Lorde. per Francis Freeman de Inkbarowe.	LM 2008, p. 117c
315126	Worcs	Wyre Piddle (Fladbury)	God speede the l[...] P [...] e. p William Driver de Wier Pedlie.	LM 2009, p. 163c
315301	Worcs	Evesham	Paule planteth, Apollo watereth, God giveth the increase. Wil. Bidle de Evesham.	LM 2008, p. 105b
315533	Worcs	Worcester	<i>Soli Deo honor, et gloria.</i> p Wilielmum James de Civitate Wigorne.	LM 2009, p. 161d
315596	Worcs	Worcester	<i>Soli Deo honor et gloria.</i> p William James de civitat. Wigorn.	LM 2009, p. 177d
315603	Worcs	Worcester	<i>Soli Deo honor et gloria.</i> William James de Civitate Wigorn.	LM 2009, p. 177d
315695	Worcs	Worcester	<i>Soli Deo honor & gloria.</i> p William James. civit. Wigorne.	LM 2009, p. 175a
315699	Worcs	Worcester	<i>Soli Deo honor & gloria.</i> p William James de civitat. Wig.	LM 2008, p. 117b
315737	Worcs	Worcester	Occupations doe lacke mony to occupie, therefore God defend them from povertie. Per William Porter de civitate Wigorn.	LM 2008, p. 113d
315754	Worcs	Worcester	Occupacions do lack money to occupie, therefore God defende them from povertie. per William Porter de civit. Wigorne.	LM 2009, p. 168d
315810	Worcs	Worcester	Occupacions do lack money to occupie, therefore God defende them from povertie. p William Porter de civit. Wigorn.	LM 2009, p. 172b
315853	Worcs	Worcester	Occupacions do lacke money to occupy, therfore God defend them from povertie. p Wil. Porter de Civit. Wigorne.	LM 2008, p. 113b

315882	Salop	Claverley	Our Lord send me good lucke. p Humfrey Clemsey de Clareley in com. Salop.	LM 2008, p. 114a
316129	Rutland	Exton	An innocent I am, and hope in God till then. Per Theod. Harrington in Rutland.	LM 2008, p. 111b
316593	Kent	Lynsted	God be my speede, for of the best lotte I have most neede. Tho. Bakon. Linsted. Kent.	LM 2009, p. 161c
316631	Kent	Lynsted	God be my speede, for of the best lot I have moste neede. Per Thom. Bacon of Lynsted in Kent.	LM 2009, p. 176b
316890	Dorset	Abbotsbury	To save or spil, as Fortune will. p John Yong of Abbots Bury in Dorset.	LM 2008, p. 159c
316890	Dorset	Abbotsbury	To save or spil, as Fortune will. p John Yong of Abbots Bury in Dorset.	LM 2008, p. 159c
316890	Dorset	Abbotsbury	To save or spil, as Fortune will. p John Yong of Abbots Bury in Dorset.	LM 2008, p. 159c
316904	Berks	Newbury	<i>Credo videri bona Domini.</i> p Richarde Shepleyn. Newbery.	LM 2008, p. 104d
317156	Salop	Shrewsbury	God send us good fortune, chaunce, grace, & speede, and in all godly vertues to procede. per George Piers de villa Salop.	LM 2008, p. 107d
317228	Salop	Cruckton ? (Pontesbury)	God sende us good chaunce in this lotterie, that in Hauking we maye be merie. p John Harries de Wikton in com. Salop. gent.	LM 2008, p. 115c
317475	Salop	Shrewsbury	Blessed are they that consider the poore and needie. p Thomam Browne de villa Salop. Draper.	LM 2009, p. 173a
317521	Salop	Newport	<i>Christus est veritas.</i> p Elizabeth Newport de Newport.	LM 2009, p. 166d
317564	Salop	Shrewsbury	<i>Dexter Hercule vadē.</i> per Nicholas Lovel de villa Salop.	LM 2008, p. 108a
317617	Salop	Shrewsbury	My hope is only in God. p Mary Leigh de villa Salop.	LM 2008, p. 117a
317800	Salop	Shrewsbury	I rest onl [...] Gods providence. George Leigh de vill' [...].	LM 2009, p. 177c
318005	Salop	Shrewsbury	Let us joy in the Lorde joyfully. p Rich. Higgins de villa Salop. Tanner.	LM 2009, p. 170d
318069	Salop	Shrewsbury	Lorde sende felicitie to faithful friends. p George Irelande de villa Salop. gent.	LM 2008, p. 111c
318106	Salop	Shrewsbury	Lorde sende felicitie to faithful friends. p George Irelande de villa Salop. gent.	LM 2009, p. 178b
318109	Salop	Shrewsbury	Lord sende felicitie to faithfull friends. p George Ireland de villa Salop. gent.	LM 2009, p. 174a
318134	Salop	Shrewsbury	Lorde sende felicitie, to faythfull friendes. Per George Ireland, Ville Salop. Gentleman.	LM 2009, p. 161b
318397	Salop	Moreton Corbet	In my beginning God be my speede, in grace and good fortune to procede. p Ambrose Corbet de Moreton Corbet in Comitato Salop.	LM 2008, p. 104c
318613	Salop	Shrewsbury	God sende us good fortune, chaunce, grace & speede, and in all godly vertues to procede. p George Piers de villa Salop.	LM 2009, p. 165c
319056	Salop	Shrewsbury	<i>A,B,C. non habet P.</i> A dunne Cowe hath no petitow. p Rogerum Dunne de villa Salop.	LM 2008, p. 118a
319145	Salop	Shrewsbury	Blessed are they that consider the poore and needy, for the Lord shal deliver them in tyme of trouble. p Tho. Browne de villa Salop. Draper.	LM 2008, p. 110a
319308	Midd.	London	Thinke and thank God. p M. Roger Martin lorde Maior of the Citie of London. for the Mercers company.	LM 2008, p. 112a
319334	Midd.	London	Thinke and thank God. P M. Roger Martin, lord Maior of the citie of Lond. For Mercers comp.	LM 2009, p. 161a
319340	Midd.	London	Thinke and thanke God. M. Roger Martin, Lorde Maior of the Citie of London. for Mercers companie.	LM 2008, p. 99a
319443	Midd.	London	Thinke and thanke God, maister Roger Martine Lord Maior of the City of London. for Mercers company.	LM 2008, p. 112b
319554	Midd.	London	Thinke and thanke God. Master Roger Martin, L. Maior the Citie of London. for Mercers company.	LM 2009, p. 170b
319560	Midd.	London	God prosper the skimmers, & send them good speed, for of the biggest lot they have most neede. Per William Towerson of Lon.	LM 2009, p. 170b
319620	Midd.	London	God prosper the Skinners, & send them good speed, for of the biggest lot they have great need. Per William Towerson. London.	LM 2009, p. 176b
319720	Midd.	London	God prosper the Skinners, and sende them good speede, for of the biggest lot they have most need. William Towerson of Lon.	LM 2009, p. 164b
319746	Midd.	London	God prosper the Skinners, and sende them good speede, for of the best lot they have great neede. William Toureson. London.	LM 2009, p. 163c
319797	Midd.	London	God prosper the Skinners and sende them good speede, for of the biggest lotte they have great neede. Wi. Towerson of Lond.	LM 2008, p. 111b
319847	Midd.	London	God prosper the Skinners, & send them good speed, for of the biggest lot they have most neede. Per William Towerson of Lond.	LM 2009, p. 167c
320039	Midd.	London	God prosper the Skynners, and sende them good speede, for of the best lot they have great neede. William Towerson of Lond.	LM 2009, p. 165c
320092	Midd.	London	Both lot and living, is of Gods giving. p Nicholas Culverwel.	LM 2009, p. 172b
320234	Ireland	Waterford	Feare God. Andrewe Wise of Waterforde.	LM 2008, p. 108c
320259	Ireland	Waterford	Feare God, P Andrew Wise of Waterforde.	LM 2009, p. 168a
320332	Ireland	Waterford	All good giftes come of God. Edward Gough of Waterford.	LM 2008, p. 109c

320361	Ireland	Waterford	All good gifts cometh of God. p Edward Gough of Waterford.	LM 2009, p. 167c
320432	Ireland	Waterford	All good gifts come of God. Edwarde Gowghe of Waterford.	LM 2009, p. 173b
321184	Ireland	Waterford	Deale justly. Nicholas Dobbin of Waterforde.	LM 2008, p. 101b
321323	Ireland	Waterford	Deale justly. P Nicholas Dobin of Waterford.	LM 2009, p. 174b
321415	Ireland	Waterford	God dothe beat downe the proude, and exalteth the humble. Rich. Loker, Sheriff of the countie of Waterford.	LM 2009, p. 175c
321424	Ireland	Waterford	God beateth down the proud, and exalteth the humble. p Richard Loker sheriffe of the Countye of Waterford.	LM 2009, p. 168a
321697	Ireland	Waterford	In the name of God I do adventure into this Lottery. Pers Sherlocke of Waterford. Marchant.	LM 2008, p. 117b
321715	Ireland	Kilkenny	Good fortune God sende me to Kilkenny. John Archer.	LM 2008, p. 107a
321741	Ireland	Kilkenny	Good fortune God send me, to Kilkenny. Joh. Archer.	LM 2008, p. 99c
321746	Ireland	Kilkenny	Good fortune God sende to me. Kilkenny. John Archer.	LM 2008, p. 114a
321947	Ireland	Lowth	Money I lacke and then I neede, praying to God in this lotterrie well to speede. Lord of Louth.	LM 2008, p. 116c
322316	Ireland	Maryborough	As God hath preserved me, so I trust he will reward me. Frauncis Cosby.	LM 2009, p. 160a
322326	Ireland	Maryborough	As God hath preserved me, so I trust he will rewarde me. Francis Cosby.	LM 2008, p. 101d
322334	Ireland	Maryborough	As God hath preserved me, so I trust he will reward me. Frauncis Cosby.	LM 2008, p. 114a
322443	Ireland	Maryborough	As pleaseth God, so be it. Elizabeth Cosbie.	LM 2008, p. 107c
322459	Ireland	Maryborough	As pleaseth God, so be it. p Elizabeth Cosby.	LM 2008, p. 159b
322465	Ireland	Maryborough	As pleaseth God, so let it be. Elizabeth Cosby.	LM 2008, p. 108d
322804	Ireland	Clonagh	God save the Queene. Ric Ketting of the Clough.	LM 2009, p. 167c
323008	Ireland	Coleraine	God send me and mine good fortune. Edward Ketting.	LM 2009, p. 169d
323114	Ireland	Coleraine	God sende me and myne good fortune. Edmund Ketting.	LM 2009, p. 175b
323188	Ireland	Coleraine	God sende me and myne good fortune. Edmund Ketting.	LM 2009, p. 170d
323390	Ireland ?	??	God save the Queenes Majestie. Raufe Smyth.	LM 2009, p. 173b
323413	Ireland ?	??	God save the Queenes Majestie. Rafe Smith.	LM 2008, p. 102d
323578	Ireland ?	??	God save my lorde of Bedforde. John Stokes.	LM 2009, p. 173d
323582	Ireland ?	??	God save my Lord of Bedford. Jo. Stokes.	LM 2009, p. 165a
323655	Ireland	Maryborough	I hope well. Hugh ap Richarde of Maryburgh.	LM 2008, p. 109b
323691	Ireland	Maryborough	As God will so be it. David Ap Rice of Mariborough.	LM 2009, p. 169b
323704	Ireland	Maryborough	As God will, so be it. Davy Ap Rice of Maryburgh.	LM 2008, p. 113a
323889	Ireland	Maryborough	I beleeve in God. John [Ux]knevet of Mariborough.	LM 2009, p. 160c
323983	Ireland ?	??	Gods helping hande to helpe me. Piers Duinden of Tankerd.	LM 2009, p. 175d
324050	Ireland ?	??	<i>Plus en sera. Mary Stucley.</i>	LM 2009, p. 176b
324070	Ireland ?	??	<i>Plus en sera. Mary Stucley.</i>	LM 2009, p. 167a
324176	Ireland ?	??	<i>Plus en sera. Mary Stucley.</i>	LM 2008, p. 111c
324260	Ireland ?	??	<i>Plus en sera. Mary Stucley.</i>	LM 2009, p. 172c
324281	Ireland ?	??	<i>Plus en sera. Mary Stucley.</i>	LM 2008, p. 111c
324296	Ireland ?	??	<i>Plus en sera. Marie Stucley.</i>	LM 2008, p. 106c
324357	Ireland ?	??	<i>Plus en sera Marie Stucley.</i>	LM 2008, p. 112c
324581	Ireland	Dublin	<i>Domine usquequo ?</i> Adam Loftus Archebishop of Dubling.	LM 2008, p. 106b
325007	Ireland	Dunshaughlin	God save my soveraigne and all hir well willers. John Plonket. Ireland.	LM 2009, p. 161b
325244	Ireland	Dunshaughlin	God save my soveraigne, and all hir wel willers. John Blonket.	LM 2008, p. 112b
325308	Ireland	Delvin	<i>Hostibus homo tergo sed forti pectore notus.</i> Le Baron of Delvin.	LM 2008, p. 110a
325621	Ireland	Lismullen	Sir Thom. Cusack knight of Lees Mollin towne, hopes to win the five thousande pounde.	LM 2008, p. 110d
325659	Ireland	Isle of Lambay	John Chaloner of Lambay to have ten lottes.	LM 2009, p. 168b
325678	Ireland	Isle of Lambay	John Chaloner of Lambaigh to have. x. lottes.	LM 2009, p. 167c
325753	Northants	Milton Castor	Fortune is but chauce from which I flie, & onely in gods gift wholly trust I. Sir Wil. Fitz Williams.	LM 2008, p. 101a
325777	Northants	Milton Castor	Fortune is but chauce from which I flie, and only in Gods gift wholly trust I. Sir Wil. Fitz Williams.	LM 2009, p. 177a
325788	Northants	Milton Castor	Fortune is but chauce from whiche I flye, and only in Gods gifte wholly trust I. Sir William Filz Williams.	LM 2009, p. 162c
325800	Northants	Milton Castor	Fortune is but chauce from which I flie, and only in Gods gifte wholly trust I. Sir William Fitz Williams.	LM 2008, p. 101a
325894	Northants	Milton Castor	My portion smal with willing minde, I offer here as subject kinde. Mary Fitzwilliams, daughter of &c. Milton.	LM 2009, p. 168a
326146	Ireland	Newcastle	Bothe me and all mine, shall pray to God for the Queenes majestie long to reigne over us. Francis Agarde.	LM 2009, p. 170a

326349	Ireland ?	??	My Prince I honour, and ever shall, with hearte and minde. John Wakeley.	LM 2009, p. 169d
326424	Ireland	Dublin	Fie upon filthy gayne, Ric. Philips of Dublin.	LM 2009, p. 167b
326440	Ireland	Dublin	Fie upon filthy gayne. Richard Phillip of Dublin.	LM 2008, p. 109b
326444	Ireland ?	Lucan Castle ?	If fortune favour me, I will thank God of it, and receyve it thankefully. William Sersfielde.	LM 2009, p. 170c
326849	Ireland ?	??	He is neither rich, happie, nor wise, that is a bondman to his owne avarice. Mary Draycote.	LM 2009, p. 175c
326915	Ireland ?	??	Though my portion be but small, I hope to have the best of al. Christoph. Darcie.	LM 2009, p. 163c
327146	Midd.	London	One shal have that which I require, that one to be is my desire. p J.A. of London.	LM 2009, p. 172a
327651	Ireland ?	??	I Roulande yong of age, & yet a page, put all my trust in God. p Rouland Page.	LM 2008, p. 100b
328298	Ireland	Blackford	Captayne Portes, at a word, wold have the great lot to help to build up the castle of Blackforde. W. Portes in Ire. in ye C. Lees.	LM 2008, p. 113b
328329	Ireland	Blackford	John Stock, captain Portes man would have the great lot if he can. J.S. of the Blackforde.	LM 2008, p. 117c
328347	Ireland	Blackford	Christian Ports, who loveth well money, would have the seconde lot to be brought to hym into his country.	LM 2008, p. 110d
328424	Ireland	The Rose (a vessel?)	As God hath ever provided me to this day, so by Gods gifte I will helpe the pore ever and aye. T. Greg. of ye Rose in Ireland.	LM 2009, p. 172a
328477	Kent	Greenwich	By service in this lottery I may by gods gift win some good fortune by lotte at the first. L.H. of Greenewich. Kent.	LM 2009, p. 162b
328711	Midd. ?	London	<i>En espoir conforte face. Per compan. per F.F.M.O. Per Anvers.</i>	LM 2009, p. 164b
328804	Midd. ?	London	<i>En espoir conforte face. p Comp. p F.F.M.O. [P]er Anvers.</i>	LM 2009, p. 172d
328812	Midd. ?	London	<i>En espoir conforte face per company. Per F.F.M.O. per Anvers.</i>	LM 2009, p. 167c
329047	Midd. ?	London	<i>En espoir conf [...] face. per company. Per F.F.M.O. per Anvers.</i>	LM 2009, p. 177c
329209	Midd. ?	London	<i>En espoir conforte face. per company. Per F.F.M.O. p Anvers.</i>	LM 2008, p. 104c
329300	Midd. ?	London	<i>En espoir conforte face, p Comp p F.F.M.O. Per Anvers.</i>	LM 2008, p. 159b
329306	Midd.	London	Good fortune to all those, that be workers of Clothes. p the companie of Clothworkers. London.	LM 2008, p. 114d
329320	Midd.	London	Good fortune to all those, that be workers of Clothes. p the companie of Clothworkers of Lond.	LM 2008, p. 117a
329365	Midd.	London	Good fortune to all those, that are workers of clothes. p the company of Clothworkers. London.	LM 2008, p. 114c
329376	Midd.	London	Good fortune to all those, that be workers of Clothes. p the company of Clothworkers London.	LM 2008, p. 108b
329478	Midd.	London	Good fortune to all those, that be workers of Clothes, for the companie of clothworkers of London.	LM 2009, p. 160b
329533	Midd.	London	Good fortune to all those, that be workers of Clothes. p the company of Clothworkers. London.	LM 2008, p. 104b
329539	Midd.	London	Good fortune to all those, that be workers of Clothes. p the company of Clothworkers. London.	LM 2008, p. 110b
329574	Midd.	London	Augustin Hinde seconde sonne unto M. Augustin Hinde, late of London Alderman. p Lon. Gent.	LM 2008, p. 112c
329747	Midd.	London	As I depende upon Gods providence and will, let come what may I am content stil. p Rich. Martin of Cheapeside, Goldsmith.	LM 2009, p. 167c
329801	Midd.	London	If Cure have lucke, the best gilt cup, he wil lifte up. p Tho. Cure of Lon. Sadler.	LM 2009, p. 163d
329876	Midd.	London	If Adams speede, he wil in deede, relieve the neede. p Ric. Adams de Lond. Sadler.	LM 2009, p. 163c
329930	Midd.	London	Salt savoureth all things. Wil. Gi[-]bons. Salter.	LM 2009, p. 175b
329956	Midd.	London	Salte savoreth all things. William Gibbons. Salter.	LM 2008, p. 112b
329986	Midd.	London	As salt by kinde gives things their savour, so hap doth hit, where fate dothe favoure. p John Hardyng of London, Salter.	LM 2009, p. 176a
330208	Midd.	London	With iron and steele is made speare and shield, to subdue our enimies with gods helpe in ye field. p John Stile of London. Iron.	LM 2009, p. 169a
330239	Midd.	London	Welbeloved friendes I pray you all, sende the great lot to the Ironmongers hall. p Robert Beamond of London. Iron.	LM 2009, p. 161a
330342	Midd.	London	If Ha[uke do sor]e when Partridge springs, then shall we [see] what lucke he brings, but if he sore and Partridge flyt, then Hawke shall lose and Partridge hit. p Aphabell Partridge of Lond. Goldsmith.	LM 2009, p. 174c
330488	Midd.	London	While Golde and Silver are in use, the name of Goldsmithes shall endure. John Wetherhyll. Goldsmith.	LM 2009, p. 174a
330514	Midd.	London	Even or od, my trust is in God. p William Dunham, Goldsmith.	LM 2008, p. 103b
330540	Midd.	London	Even or od, my trust is in God. p William Dunham, Goldsmith.	LM 2008, p. 103b
330626	Midd.	London	Even or od, my trust is in God. Will. Dunham, Goldsmith.	LM 2009, p. 170d
330661	Midd.	London	Even or od, my trust is in God. p William Dunham, Goldsmith.	LM 2008, p. 109a

330679	Midd.	London	Hab or nab, P the yonger Mab. p John Mab the yonger, Goldsmith.	LM 2009, p. 169b
330764	Midd.	London	Hab or nab, p the yonger Mab. John Mab the yonger, Goldsmith.	LM 2008, p. 104d
330879	Midd.	London	What fortune brings to hande, with that content I stande. p Henry Cule Goldsmyth, straunger.	LM 2009, p. 163d
330907	Midd.	London	What fortune brings to hande, with that content I stand. p Henr. Cule, Goldsmith, straunger.	LM 2009, p. 177b
330975	Midd.	London	Though our abilitie be but small, yet that we put in, is in hope for us all, as those that are knitte like shoe and soale, if God be with us, good luck shal befall. Mathew Harrison of London. Cordwainer.	LM 2009, p. 174b
331161	Midd.	London	We Brewers God sende us, a good lot to mende us. Jo. Stevins of the parishe of Saint Annes.	LM 2009, p. 160d
331344	Midd.	London	<i>Et mihi, c3 multis.</i> Robert Shute reader of Grayes Inne.	LM 2008, p. 105d
331396	Gloucs	Dyrham	<i>Par l'ayde de Dieu.</i> Richard Denis of Dirham in the countie of Glouc. Esquire.	LM 2009, p. 174d
331475	Surrey	Lambeth	As God will so be it. Thom. Colbie of Lambeth.	LM 2009, p. 170d
331597	Essex	Maldon	If a very riche prise arise should to our lot, al that would be employed on our decayed port. Tho. Spikernell of Maulden in Essex.	LM 2008, p. 102a
331627	Essex	Maldon	If a very [...] our lot, al that would [...] cayed porte. Thomas [...] in Essex.	LM 2009, p. 172c
331714	Midd.	London	Howsoever the lotte doth fall, give God thanks which sendeth al. Margaret Harding in the parishe of S. Peters in Cheap.	LM 2009, p. 174c
331754	Somerset	Whitlackington	If fortune me disdaine, hir spite she spits in vaine, the lady Speke of Whitlackington in Somersetshire.	LM 2008, p. 108b
331841	Midd.	London	As God doth please I am content, with great or small my will is bent. Anne Humfrey of Saint Peters parish in Cheapside.	LM 2008, p. 104c
332079	Devon	Totnes	Have at all. Walter Boggan of Totnes.	LM 2009, p. 164a
332081	Devon	Totnes	Have at all. p Walterum Bogan. Totnes.	LM 2009, p. 173a
332219	Devon	Ermington	When I come, let me have some. p Tho. Cliffe. Ermington.	LM 2009, p. 177c
332330	Devon	Modbury	With honoure goe, with vertue live, and fortune shal thee largely give. Henr. Champernowne. Madburie.	LM 2008, p. 112b
332541	Devon	Tavistock	First lerne then discerne. p John Filz Tavestock.	LM 2009, p. 162a
332584	Devon	Collacombe (Lamerton)	In God and good fortune. p Roger Tremayne of Callacome.	LM 2009, p. 175b
332649	Norf	Kings Lynn	I hope well. John Bovel of Lin.	LM 2009, p. 175c
332718	Norf	King's Lynn	Come what com shal, I wil be content, what lots doe befall I will not repent. Michael Revet of Lim.	LM 2008, p. 105d
332742	Midd.	London	<i>Vincit veritas. F.P.</i>	LM 2009, p. 177a
332742	Norf	Kings Lynn	Come what come shall, I will be content, what lottes do befall, I will not repent. Michell Revet of Linne	LM 2009, p. 177a
332777	Norf	King's Lynn	The Lord is my lot, forget thou me not. Thomas Overend of Linne.	LM 2009, p. 175a
333085	Kent	Woolwich	To Wolwich a good plucke. p William Clarke. Kent.	LM 2009, p. 162b
333116	Kent	Bromley	The ri [...] the borrower is servaun[t] [...] parishe of Bromley.	LM 2009, p. 177c
333174	Kent	Edenbridge	Justly pronounce you, what God doth sende us. p the parishe of Eyton bridge.	LM 2008, p. 100b
333175	Kent	Edenbridge	Justly pronounce you what God doth send us. per the parishe of Eaton Bridge. Kent.	LM 2008, p. 116d
333220	Kent	Kemsing	God give his blessing. p the parish of Kemsing. Kent.	LM 2008, p. 117c
333345	Kent	Dartford	Whether we loose or win, the towne of Dartford wil pray for the Queene. p the parish of Dartford. Kent.	LM 2008, p. 110a
333347	Kent	Hayes	Edward Kechell of Hays as I understand, hath a crooked finger upon his right hand. By Edward Kechel of Hayes.	LM 2009, p. 173d
333351	Kent	Farningham	Free Fortune favour Farmingham. p the parishe of Farmingham. Kent.	LM 2008, p. 110b
333353	Kent	Southfleet	Be meeke in spirite, per the parish of Southfleete.	LM 2008, p. 99c
333359	Kent	Southfleet	Be meeke in spirite. p the parish of Southfleete in Kent.	LM 2008, p. 103a
333390	Kent	East Greenwich	In good hope, p East Greenewiche, God sende us to remaine, and of some good lotte to have the gaine. p parish of Estgreenewich.	LM 2008, p. 102a
333395	Kent	East Greenwich	In good hope p Estgreenewich, God send us to remain, & of some good lot to have the gain. p the parish of Estgreenewich.	LM 2008, p. 115c
333455	Berks	Abingdon	Such is fortune. Per Oliver Harris. Abenden.	LM 2008, p. 112b
333479	Berks	Brightwell	All goodnesse from God. John Uppenton. Brightwell.	LM 2009, p. 173d
333496	Berks	Basildon	Fortune shew frendship. p T. Parman Basselden.	LM 2009, p. 165d
333661	Berks	Abingdon	What ever m[ay] be lost or woonne, God gyve good hap to Abingdon. P William Braunche de Abbingdon.	LM 2009, p. 160c
333835	Suss. ?	Rotherfield ?	Time trieth trueth. p Jo. Burgis. Wolsome.	LM 2009, p. 163b
333947	Suss.	Alfriston	The wil of God be fulfilled. p Jo. Russell. Alfriston. Sussex	LM 2008, p. 159a

334060	Suss.	Brighton	Draw Brighamston a good lot, or else returne them a Turbot. p John Tuppin. Brighamston. Suss.	LM 2008, p. 115c
334145	Suss.	Lewes	W[h]ether I [...] no, my money to the lottery th[...] Rots, Gent. Lewis. Suff.	LM 2009, p. 166c
334209	Suss.	Frant	The parish of Frant, a good lot we wold have, money is skant. p Nicholas Foule. Frant. Sussex.	LM 2009, p. 160a
334469	Suff.	Ipswich	Saint Marie at the towre, prayeth for one every howre. p Thomas Siclemore. Ypswich.	LM 2008, p. 117a
334512	Suff.	Ipswich	S. Laurence spake not in boast, eate the one side, while the other doth roast. p John More. Ipswich.	LM 2009, p. 164b
334714	York N	Calton	Leade thy lyfe in loyaltie. P John Lambert. Calton.	LM 2009, p. 169a
334716	York N	Calton	Lead thy life in loyalty. p John Lambert. Calton.	LM 2009, p. 167d
334801	York W	Thornton in Craven	Good lucke creepe into Craven. p William Lister. Thornteton.	LM 2009, p. 173b
334842	York W	Kettlewell	Sir Henry Hilles Vicar of Kettilwel, trusteth in God to speede right well. Henry Hilles. Kettilwell.	LM 2009, p. 164a
334918	Westm.	Grayrigg (Kendal)	My trust is in God. p Anthony Ducket Grayrig.	LM 2008, p. 102c
334926	Westm.	Grayrigg (Kendal)	Increase and multiply. p Aliciam Ducket of Grairig in Kendal.	LM 2008, p. 100a
335060	Oxon	Horton cum Studley	In the name of God, hap good have good. George Bradshawe of Horton.	LM 2009, p. 172b
335105	Oxon	Sibford	Priestes love pretie wench. p Rich. Moke. Sibforde.	LM 2008, p. 102d
335127	Oxon	Adderbury	Nowe I begin God send me good speede, & graunt me the great lot before I have need. p Anth. Busterd. Adderbury.	LM 2009, p. 177a
335393	Oxon	Wood-Eaton	<i>Expecto</i> . p Richardum Taverner. Wood Eaton.	LM 2009, p. 168a
335408	Oxon	Ascott d'Oyley	Fooles are all wittolds, though many wise men be cuckolds. p Thomas Winchester. Askot. Doily.	LM 2008, p. 111c
335444	Oxon	Williamscot	Walter Calcot wisheth but one lot. p Walter Calcot. Williamscot.	LM 2008, p. 102a
335552	Oxon	Clatercot	Whether I win the great or small, I rest content as chaunce doth fall. p Thomam Lee. Clatercote.	LM 2009, p. 175d
335673	Essex	Little Braxted	God send good lucke to those that trust. p Clement Roberts de parva Braxstede.	LM 2008, p. 111d
335678	Essex	Little Braxsted	God send good lucke to them that trust. p Clement Rob. de Parva Braxstede. gener.	LM 2009, p. 176b
335802	Essex	Hockley	God doth blesse us all. p John Hedge of Hockley. Yoman.	LM 2008, p. 105b
335946	Cambs	Ely	Musicke ministrerth mirth, P Marche. p R.M. Ely.	LM 2009, p. 175b
336142	Cambs	Ely	God rule our lotte. p John Silvertop. Ely.	LM 2008, p. 105a
336162	Cambs	Ely	Stering stones stover not. p Robert Stiward. Elie.	LM 2008, p. 103a
336247	Herts	Ashwell	I dwell in Ashewell an uplandishe Towne, God sende me a good lot to bye a newe gowne. Per Wigan. Ashewell.	LM 2008, p. 110d
336667	York W	Hatfield Gate	God sende good hap to Hatfield. p Henric. Savill. Arningham.	LM 2008, p. 117a
336780	York W	Rotherham	Reward Rotheram richly. p William Swift.	LM 2009, p. 176a
336790	York W	Rotherham	Reward Rotheram richly. William Swift. Rotheram.	LM 2009, p. 163c
336903	Bucks	Middle Claydon	In God is al my trust. p Roger Web. Midecledon.	LM 2008, p. 117b
336912	Bucks	Princes Risborough	Love God above all things. p Princies Risborout.	LM 2008, p. 109a
336965	Bucks	Twyford	God send us peace. p William Cottesford. Twiford.	LM 2009, p. 163d
337247	Bucks	Denham	<i>Non fortuna Deus</i> . p George Peckham. Denham.	LM 2008, p. 104a
337350	Bucks	Dorney	Good lucke to Dorney. Richard Tirry. Dorney.	LM 2009, p. 169a
337490	Bucks	Great Chesham	Truth trieth all. p Rob. Ashefield of Chelsham magna.	LM 2008, p. 103a
337793	Midd.	Ruislip	<i>Ipsa dies quandoque parens, quandoque non certa</i> . Tho. Smith. Rislip	LM 2008, p. 159b
337975	Midd.	??	If the great price happen to me, I wil give thanks to the Trinitie. p Roger Smith. Midd.	LM 2009, p. 177d
338009	Devon	Exeter	We Tuckers and Weavers that make many a knot, do hope with the rest to have the great lot. p Jo. Tailer S. John Bow. Exon.	LM 2009, p. 169c
338038	Devon	Exeter	Imitate Christ and expell vice, God sende me the greatest prise. p Rich. Sprouze S. Pancras. Exon.	LM 2008, p. 113b
338072	Devon	Exeter	Imitate Christ and expell vice, God send me the greatest price. Ric. Sprouze. S. Pancras. Exon.	LM 2009, p. 168a
338128	Devon	Exeter	In God is all my trust. p Roger Robinson. Saint Martine. Excester.	LM 2009, p. 166b
338426	Berks	Chaddleworth	God helpe at neede. p John yong Chadelworth.	LM 2008, p. 104d
338475	??	??	God chaunce me right. p William Knight. Longtree.	LM 2009, p. 169b
338546	Gloucs	Bishops Cleeve	Prosper, proceede. Per Thomas Turner, Bishops Cleve.	LM 2008, p. 102b
338589	Gloucs	Oxenton	All power is in God. Per John Darke. Oxenton. Teuxbury.	LM 2009, p. 173c
338697	Wilts	Wotton under Edge	<i>Malum signum perdere totum</i> . p Rob. Bedel. Wotton underhedge.	LM 2009, p. 167d

338781	Gloucs	Winchcomb	When every man hath tolde his tale, God sende him silver that loves good Ale. p Tho. Bollarde. Winchcombe.	LM 2008, p. 113b
338877	Gloucs	Stow on the Wold	Where neede is, God doth know. p. Edwarde Mariman Stowe.	LM 2008, p. 104c
338918	Gloucs	Chipping Campden	Laughe Lady Fortune and frowne not. per John Prat, Campden. Ki[f]tsgate.	LM 2009, p. 162b
339093	Lincs	Blankney	<i>Bene fortunet spiritus almu.</i> p John Thorolde of Blankeney.	LM 2009, p. 162a
339145	??	??	God save the Queene, and sende me money. Per Thomas Simonds Pinuin.	LM 2009, p. 170d
339437	Kent	Sandwich	I putte in to prevaile. p Thomas Parker. Sandwiche.	LM 2009, p. 160b
339537	Wilts	Salisbury	God hath appointed, and I am pleased. p Antho. Weekes. Sarum.	LM 2009, p. 162b
339733	Cornw	Bodwen (Bodmin)	Christ the way, the truthe, and the doore, considereth the riche, and forgetteth not the poore. Per Rich. Michel de Bodwin. Burges.	LM 2008, p. 103d
339783	Cornw	Boscarne (Bodmin)	Even as though I would, 'I coulede not', even so, though I could, I would not. Per Gilbrt Flamanke de Bostorne Ar.	LM 2009, p. 163a
339852	Cornw	St Mabyn	The greatest lot I hope to win, to make mery at S. Mavin. per Humfridum Hill. Paroch de S. Mavin.	LM 2009, p. 164a
339948	Cornw	Kilkhampston	Feare and love God. p John Grienfield. Clericum. Rectorem ecclesie parochialis de Kylkhampton.	LM 2009, p. 174b
339970	Cornw	Week St Mary	Where good order fayleth, obedience decayeth. per Georgie Rolles, paroc. de S. Mary Weak[e]. Ar.	LM 2009, p. 160c
339997	Cornw	Jacobstow	Hope well and have well. p Philippum Perin, parochie de Jacobstow.	LM 2008, p. 104d
340067	Cornw	St Gennys	The steeple of S. Genes is rente in twaine, God sende us money to buylde him againe. p Benedict Mill, parish of S. Genes.	LM 2009, p. 166a
340199	Somerset	Hinton St George	I meane well. p Martin de Hynton. S. George.	LM 2008, p. 104c
340253	Somerset	Hinton St George	I meane well. P Martin de Henton. S. George.	LM 2009, p. 162c
340336	Devon	Lydford	Be good to the poore. p John Crede of Lydforde.	LM 2008, p. 103a
340394	Somerset	Yeovil	Fie on the penny, that loseth a pounde. p Thomas Phelps. Evell.	LM 2008, p. 109b
340629	Somerset	Skilgate	He that will not regard a little, it will be long before he have muche. Robert Langham of Wilgat.	LM 2009, p. 168b
340648	Somerset	Huish Champflower	Welcome fortune. p John Marsh of Hush Ghamflower.	LM 2009, p. 166b
340878	Oxon	Oxford	<i>Alijs dat, alijs aufert fortuna.</i> p William Levyns.	LM 2009, p. 172b
340891	Oxon	Oxford	<i>Alijs dat, alijs aufert fortuna.</i> p William Lavyns.	LM 2008, p. 108b
340914	Oxon	Witney	Good lucke upwarde. p the Towne of Witney. Oxon.	LM 2008, p. 159b
341100	Lincs	Louth	Lowth linked in love, lucky be thy lot. p. Richard Holdernes. Lowth.	LM 2008, p. 102b
341139	Lincs	Louth	Lowth linked in love, lucky be thy lot. p. Richard Holdernes. Lowth.	LM 2008, p. 100a
341167	Lincs	Louth	It is better to swim than to sinke. Per William Simcote. Louth.	LM 2008, p. 109c
341474	Cornw	Fowey	Whyle God will. p John Treyfrie of Fowey.	LM 2008, p. 104d
341478	Cornw	Fowey	While God wil. p John Trefrey de Fowey.	LM 2009, p. 178a
341505	Cornw	Saint Mawgan	God be my speede. p John Gline of S. Mowgan.	LM 2008, p. 107c
341694	Cornw	Truro	<i>Veritas vincit.</i> p Jo. Tusser of Treure, for the clergie of Cornwall.	LM 2008, p. 101c
341870	York Y	York	<i>Mea sorte contentus ero.</i> p Joh. Leadall of Yorke.	LM 2008, p. 117a
341926	York Y	York	Ware thine eie Woodcock.	LM 2009, p. 167b
342081	York E	Harpham	Adventure boldly. p Gabriel Sintquinten of Harpam.	LM 2009, p. 169b
342185	??	??	<i>Nec nimium, nec nihil.</i>	LM 2008, p. 102c
342278	York E	Kirby Underdale	<i>Deus est summum bonum.</i> p Oswald Hemmerson of Kerckelant. Underdall.	LM 2009, p. 175a
342736	Salop	Shrewsbury	I rest only upon Gods providence. Per George Leigh de villa Salop.	LM 2008, p. 117a
342752	Salop	Shrewsbury	I rest only upon gods providence. p George Leigh de villa Salop.	LM 2009, p. 160a
343085	Salop	Moreton Corbet	<i>In vtrumque paratus.</i> p Andrew Corbet de Mooreton Corbet in Com. Salop. Knight.	LM 2008, p. 99b
343405	Essex	Saint Osyth	Man purposeth, and God disposeth according to his owne wil. per William Simson, clericum S. Osithe.	LM 2008, p. 107d
343574	Essex	Colchester	Alice Godfrey Widowe, voyde of substaunce, chooseth only for hir poste sperance. p Aliciam Godfrey. Colchester.	LM 2008, p. 114c
343775	Suff.	Bures	Seeing shillings ten, shall thousandes win, why should I feare to put them in ? p Annam Waldgrave. Buris.	LM 2008, p. 109c
343827	Derby	Swarkestone	Ought or nought, ariseth my lotte. p Rich. Hooper the yonger Swarcaston.	LM 2008, p. 108d
343928	Derby	Barton Blount	Lotts happen as it pleaseth God. p John Mery of Barton.	LM 2008, p. 99d
344343	Devon	Netherton (Farway)	God let luckiest lot light on Lowman. p Jo. Lowman. Netherton.	LM 2008, p. 99c

344474	Devon	Halberton	Morow hick, morow Robin, Hick mother geth. p Richard Bery of Alberton.	LM 2009, p. 165b
344480	Devon	Halberton	Morow Hick, morow Robin, [H]ick mother Geth. p Ric. Berry of Halberton.	LM 2009, p. 169b
344833	Devon	Shute	God speede me well. p Wil. Poole of Showte.	LM 2009, p. 161a
345111	Lincs	Blankney	Launche out lustily. William Thorold de Blankney.	LM 2008, p. 104b
345229	Lincs	Sleaford	<i>La forðia nova & vetus</i> . William Carre de Cleford.	LM 2008, p. 101c
345281	Lincs	Sleaford	<i>La forðia nova et vetus</i> . W. Carre. Slef.	LM 2008, p. 112a
345356	York E	Hull	Even what pleaseth the Lorde, is welcome. Peter Carlill. p Hul.	LM 2009, p. 175b
345471	Midd.	London	<i>Fortune amy</i> . Sir Thomas Gresham, Knight.	LM 2008, p. 100c
345605	Midd.	London	Fortune amy . Sir Tho. Gresham knight. p Lond	LM 2008, p. 112a
345636	Midd.	London	Fortune amy . Sir Thomas Gresham, Knight. per London.	LM 2008, p. 106c
345753	Midd.	London	<i>Fortune amy</i> . Thomas Gresham knight. London.	LM 2008, p. 109d
345829	Kent	Penshurst	Even as God [will], so say I. p John Paswater. p Ken[<u>tl</u>]	LM 2008, p. 100b
345874	Midd.	London	<i>Spes alit Agric[olam]</i> [...] W. comp.	LM 2009, p. 169c
346106	Devon	Totnes	If God be with us, who can be againste us? By me William Marewood official of Totton in Devon.	LM 2008, p. 159c
346197	Devon	Hacombe	To suffer wrong is my fortune. p Tho. Carew of Hawcombe.	LM 2009, p. 160c
346785	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 107d
346799	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 107a
346853	Midd.	London	God preserve the citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 114d
347346	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 114c
347352	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. P M. and A.	LM 2009, p. 169b
347419	Midd.	London	God preserve the citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 112c
347529	Midd.	London	God preserve the citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 109b
347534	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 109a
347578	Ireland	Kilkenny	Good f[...] nd me to Kilkenny. John Arche[r] Ki[...]ny.	LM 2009, p. 175c
347586	Ireland	Castlemartin	In youth my mother for me is bend, to s[ee]ke gods gift, that all hath send. John Youstes of Castel Mart in the countie of Kildar.	LM 2009, p. 168a
347662	Ireland	Maryborough	As God hath preserved me, so I trust he will reward me. p Frauncis Cosby. Seneshall of the Queenes Countie in Ireland.	LM 2008, p. 116a
347714	Ireland	Maryborough	As god hath preserved me, so I trust he wil reward me. Frauncis Cosbie, Seneschal of the Queenes Countie of Ireland.	LM 2008, p. 102a
347745	Ireland	Maryborough	As pleaseth God, so be it. p Elizabeth Cosby, wife to Frauncis Cosby, Seneshall of the Queenes countie in Ireland.	LM 2008, p. 110b
347754	Ireland	Stradbally	I hope well. George Cosbye of Stradballa.	LM 2008, p. 112d
347819	Ireland	Clonagh	Go [d save?] the Queene. Richard Ketting of the Clo[nay] Gent[l]eman of the Queenes majesties countie.	LM 2008, p. 117c
347821	Ireland	Clonagh	God save the Queene. Richard Ketting of the Clonage. Gent. in the Queenes Majesties Countie.	LM 2008, p. 111b
347849	Ireland	Coleraine	God sende me and myne good fortune. Edmund Ketting of Colnarene in the countie of Ireland.	LM 2009, p. 168b
347887	Ireland	Coleraine	God send me and mine good fortune. Edmund Ketting of Culverwel in the Queenes Countie of Ireland.	LM 2009, p. 173c
348029	Ireland	Maryborough	Good fortune to my childe. Thom. Boith of Maribrough in Ireland.	LM 2008, p. 111a
348267	Northants	Catesby	I have thought good these lottes to adventure, the one for the sonne, the other for the father. p Thom. Onely of Catesby.	LM 2008, p. 104b
348408	Northants	Marston St Lawrence	Helpe now or never if ye can, helpe nowe Dame Fortune and I am made a man. Cressent Buttrie. Marston.	LM 2008, p. 111b
348462	Northants	Abthorpe	<i>Fortunati omnes, quid nostræ pecuniæ possunt</i> ? Anthony Loson. Abthorpe.	LM 2008, p. 118a
348469	Northants	Cold Higham	Hope wel, and have wel. William Kirke. Colhighham.	LM 2009, p. 173c
348580	Hants	Isle of Wight	Manners excell beautie. By John Fitched. Senior. Wight.	LM 2008, p. 110d
348630	Hants	Isle of Wight	Good hope. John Marsh of Wight.	LM 2008, p. 106a
348676	Hants	Isle of Wight	If God will, I shall. By Thom. Curle of Wight.	LM 2008, p. 100a
348806	Hants	Isle of Wight	As please the Queene. By Julian Due of Wight.	LM 2009, p. 169c
349061	Northants	Irthlingboroug h	If fortune serve to my hearts wishe, this lot shall hit, though other misse. p Wil. Cheyny Irtingbrugh.	LM 2009, p. 161b
349164	Derby	Lea Hurst	Chaunce is pearlesse. Humfrey Bradbury, knight. Lee.	LM 2009, p. 172a
349183	Derby	Middleton	God speede al good husbandry. p Jo. Wigley. Midleton.	LM 2008, p. 115c
349230	Durham	Durham	Happie man if I be, a good lot god send me. George Coming of the Citie of Durham. in the parishe of S. Nicholas in the countie of Durham. Mer.	LM 2008, p. 117a
349362	Herts	Hitchin	The peace of God be with me. Thomas Chapman of Hitchin.	LM 2008, p. 115d

349388	Worcs	Bricklehampton	I trust in God for good lucke. p Ankarn Palmer of Briklehampton.	LM 2008, p. 103c
349480	Worcs	Fladbury	Meane is a mery note. William Killing de Fladbury.	LM 2009, p. 174b
349648	Worcs	Worcester	<i>Soli Deo, honor e3 gloria.</i> p William James de Civit. Wigorn.	LM 2008, p. 99c
349661	Worcs	Worcester	<i>Soli Deo honor e3 gloria.</i> P Will. James de Civit. Wigorn	LM 2009, p. 160a
349689	Worcs	Worcester	Occupacions do lacke money to occupy, therefore God defende them from povertie. p Wil. Porter de Civit. Wigorne.	LM 2008, p. 115a
349719	Worcs	Worcester	Occupacions do lack money to occupy, therefore God defend them from povertie. Per William Powde de civit. Wigor.	LM 2009, p. 165a
349747	Worcs	Hallow	<i>Dieu donne a luy qui plaist.</i> Tho. Monox de Hallow[r].	LM 2008, p. 116d
349815	Midd.	London	Helpe Lord, sayd Peter. p F.M.G. keeper in London.	LM 2008, p. 111d
349900	Midd.	London	Helpe Lorde, sayde Peter. p F.M.G. Keeper in London.	LM 2008, p. 117c
350177	Ireland	Cork	<i>In te Domine speravi, non confundar in aeternam.</i> p Ric. Lawallin of Cork on Ireland, Marchaunt.	LM 2008, p. 101c
350404	Ireland	Cork	Whether I win or lose, God save Queene Elizabeth from hir foes. Wil. Galway. of Corke in Ireland, Alderman.	LM 2009, p. 164c
350545	Dorset	Yetminster (Leigh)	Beware my deart. p Roger Parker de Lit in Parochia de Yetmester.	LM 2008, p. 117b
350609	Ireland	Youghal	God sende me suger ynough. Richarde Goughe of Yoghull. Gent.	LM 2008, p. 112d
350714	Ireland	Dongarvan	The Queenes maiestie God hir preserve, whose pay my father hath to serve. Thomas Stafford sonne to the Constable of Dungarvan.	LM 2009, p. 161a
350762	Ireland	Dongarvan	The Queenes Majestie God hir preserve, whose pay my father hath to serve, Thomas Stafford. sonne to the Constable of Dong.	LM 2008, p. 105b
351056	Midd.	London	Honest dealing helpe true meaning. p Henr. Lane. London.	LM 2008, p. 105b
351133	Midd.	London	Children seven called Thombe by name, god send them good fortune, and keepe them from shame. London.	LM 2008, p. 108b
351150	Midd.	London	Robert Winch in Cheape side, Gods grace & good fortune with him to abide. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 159c
351216	Midd. ?	London ?	<i>Pour e3 loya [...] de Semer Pont. per I.D.S. de lisle.</i>	LM 2009, p. 177c
351328	Midd.	London	<i>Ce que doit advenir, adviendra.</i> p Guy Hurlu. London.	LM 2008, p. 117a
351344	Midd.	London	If God will, why not I ? p Christopher Gibson. London.	LM 2008, p. 111a
351451	Midd.	London	Here is for Besse, for Kate and Jone, for Doll and Besse our little one. p London.	LM 2008, p. 103c
351458	Midd.	London	In my beginning God be my speede, and sende me the best lot nowe at my neede. p John Helye. London.	LM 2009, p. 168d
351545	Midd.	London	Although I come late, I would gladly have some. London. Christopher Dun.	LM 2009, p. 175c
351993	Midd.	London	As God will, so shall al come to passe. p London. William Loble. y.	LM 2009, p. 163b
352094	Midd.	London	I venture my money in hope to speede, if God send a good lot I wil helpe them that neede. William Thomas. London.	LM 2009, p. 170a
352148	Norf	Rougham	Nothing venture, nothing have. per John Lardge. Rougham.	LM 2009, p. 164a
352162	Norf	Gressenhall	The hope of gayne, doth ease my payne. Gregorie Godday. Greshnall.	LM 2008, p. 100d
352234	Norf	Hetherset	The lambe bleateth. P John Flouredewe of Hetherset.	LM 2009, p. 176a
352351	Norf	Wicklewood	Yet among many, the great lot may hap. p Thom. Stone of Wickelwood.	LM 2009, p. 175d
352412	Wilts	West Knoyle	Hee that will heaven winne, must serve God at al times. p John Pieke of West Knoyle	LM 2008, p. 104d
352428	Lincs ?	Donnington ?	If we speed well, we will spend well. p Raufe Daniel of Donington.	LM 2008, p. 112c
352732	Kent	Pluckley	Unto Pluckley on the hill, God send his good will. p Jo. Harris of Pluckley.	LM 2009, p. 178b
352831	Kent	Tenterden	Of many people it hath ben sayd, yt Tenterden steple Sandwich haven hath decayd. By Edward Hales of Tenterden in Kent. Gent.	LM 2008, p. 159a
352917	Kent	Frittenden	The Lord is my portion, he shal maintain my lot. By Henry Webbe of Frittenden.	LM 2008, p. 108a
352954	Kent	Mersham Hatch	Be mery Mersham and live in hope. By Richard Knatchebull of Mersham aforesaid. Gent.	LM 2008, p. 99a
353040	Kent	Lynsted	God be my speede, for of the beste lot I have moste neede. By T. Bacon of Lynsted.	LM 2009, p. 161d
353061	Kent	Lynsted	God be my speede, for of the best lotte I have most neede. By Thomas Bacon of Linstede.	LM 2009, p. 174d
353132	Kent	Lynsted	God be my speede, for of the best lot I have moste neede. By Tho. Bacon of Linsted.	LM 2008, p. 102a
353201	Kent ?	??	A brushe makes cleane. Oliverum Breres.	LM 2008, p. 106a
353564	Hants	Southampton	Do as you wold be done unto. F. Capelyn. Southampton.	LM 2008, p. 101d
353661	Suss.	Hastings	From Hastings we come, God send us good speed, never a poor Fisher towne in Englande, of the great lot hath more neede. Richarde Life. Per Hastings in Sussex, one of the five Portes.	LM 2009, p. 163a

353705	Suss.	Hastings	From Hastings we come God sende us good speed, never a poore fisher Towne in Englande of the great lot hath more neede. Rich. Life. p Hasting in Sussex one of the V. Portes.	LM 2008, p. 115b
353763	Norf	??	God send me for my thirtie poundes, sixtie prises more than halfe crownes. Ric. Tolwin. Norff.	LM 2009, p. 166b
353917	Midd.	London	<i>Spero invidia</i> . p S.P. Lond.	LM 2008, p. 102d
354075	Herts	Ware	I put this in, trusting therby to win, if God send good lucke, my brothers part shall be therein. p Tho. Colley. p Ware in Hertf.	LM 2009, p. 178b
354207	Devon	Chagford	Good chaunce for Chagford. p John Newcomb. Chagforde.	LM 2008, p. 108c
354566	Devon	Tiverton	If I speede well, the poore shall speede the better. p Jo. Walwin the elder. Tiverton.	LM 2008, p. 101b
354651	Devon	Topsham	Topsham is buylded upon a red Rydge, I praye God sende a good lot to maintayne the Bay and Bridge. Per John Michell. Topsham.	LM 2008, p. 103a
354714	Devon	Bradninch	I lay in my money to the lottery by rime, bicause I would have it come agayne by time. p John Miller. Brodniche.	LM 2009, p. 161b
354716	Devon	Bradninch	I lay in money to the lot by rime, bicause I wold have it come agayne betime. p John Miller of Brodynynche.	LM 2008, p. 101d
354718	Devon	Bradninch	I lay in money to the lottes by rime, bycause I would have it come agayne by time. Per John Miller. Brodeninch.	LM 2009, p. 163a
354907	York W	Kingsley Park	Helpe Gargrave as needes, Wakefelde, Pont. & Leedes. Tho. Gargrave. Kingsley.	LM 2009, p. 162a
354921	York W	Kingsley Park	Helpe Gargrave as needes, Wakefelde, Pont. and Leedes. Thomas Gargrave. Kingsley.	LM 2008, p. 102d
354982	York W	Kingsley Park	Help Gargrave as needes, Wake. Pont. & Leedes. p Tho. Gargrave. Kingsley.	LM 2009, p. 174a
355449	York W	Doncaster	<i>Trigesies fortuna, millesies esto</i> . p Jo. Hudson. Cleri. de Doncaster.	LM 2008, p. 113a
355471	York W	Doncaster	<i>Trigesies fort[una] millesies esto. p Iobannem Hudson clericum de Doncaster.</i>	LM 2009, p. 178b
356062	Midd.	London	<i>Sine bona, sine mala, fortuna est</i> . p Thom. Aglianby of London gent.	LM 2008, p. 101d
356184	Staffs	Codsall	God sende good lucke to us. p Laurence Worrell of Co[-]sall in Stafforde.	LM 2009, p. 176a
356366	Suff.	Ringshall	<i>In Deo est spes mea</i> . p Rob. Boshall de Kingeshall Cler. Suff.	LM 2008, p. 109a
356695	Wales	Carmarthen	Richard Loid de villa Carmarthen. By gods grace, it will eb or flowe.	LM 2009, p. 173a
356780	Suff.	Aldeburgh	Alderbrough, God send thee good speede, to have a good lot to defend thy enimies, for y[t] hast great neede. p Robert Nelston de Alderbrough in com. Suff.	LM 2008, p. 106b
356958	Surrey	Wonersh	We hope God will encrease our store. p Philip. Mellarshe. Wonarsh.	LM 2008, p. 110c
356994	Surrey	Send with Ripley	God give us his blessing. p John Waston. Sende.	LM 2008, p. 105a
357036	Surrey	Hascombe	Willing the best. p Ri. Covert. Hascombe.	LM 2008, p. 109c
357045	Surrey	Thursley	God graunt us gaine. Per G.K.Boxall. Thursley.	LM 2008, p. 101c
357110	Surrey	Godalming	A Hill, if God will. Thomas Hill. Godalming.	LM 2009, p. 176a
357520	Hants	Harbridge	A great hare. For the parishe of Harbridge.	LM 2009, p. 169b
357759	Gloucs	Bristol	In our beginnyng God be our speede, in grace and vertue to proceede. p John Pruat. Bristoll.	LM 2008, p. 114a
357815	Hants ?	Wield ?	Better happy than wise. p John Hamington of Wilde.	LM 2009, p. 172d
357879	Hants	Micheldever	God sende us gayne. p John Smith Micheldever.	LM 2009, p. 173a
357884	Hants	Brown Candover	Al good gifts come of God. p Ric. Smith of Brown Candever	LM 2008, p. 104b
357895	Hants	Micheldever	God send us [...] mith de Micheldever.	LM 2009, p. 163c
357990	Hants	Sparsholt	Now be luckie. p Richard Buxie. S. Parshold.	LM 2009, p. 178b
358043	Hants	Winchester	God be our speede, we have great neede. Per John White. Winchester.	LM 2009, p. 160d
358119	Bucks	Great Linford (Milton Keynes)	Sadle Cut, and Bridle my Gil, I would have the best lot with a good wil. P Christopher Troughton, Lindford magna.	LM 2009, p. 169d
358198	Camb	Whittlesey	God sende Wittlesay good luck, p Iglapthorn de Wittlesay.	LM 2008, p. 115d
358270	Wilts	Stanton Saint Quinton	Prayse the God, and be penitent. p Rob. Poule, de Stanton Quinton.	LM 2008, p. 116c
358436	Gloucs	Bristol	Hap well for William Pepwell. Bristoll.	LM 2009, p. 162a
358542	Gloucs	Bristol	I trust in God. P Rog. Jones. Brist.	LM 2009, p. 175d
358683	Gloucs	Bristol	Let us to God call, to speede well Taylours all. Per Walter Jones of Bristoll.	LM 2009, p. 161a
358944	Gloucs	Bristol	The lots be caste in lap, but the Lorde giveth the hap. Tho. Chester. Bristoll.	LM 2009, p. 162a
358958	Gloucs	Bristol	The lots be cast in lap, but the Lorde gyves th[e] happe. P Thomas. Chester. Bristoll.	LM 2009, p. 165b
359134	Kent	Eastry	Beware of had I wist. p the parish of Estrie.	LM 2008, p. 102b

359141	Kent	Norborne	Hap well if it be my fortune. p Henry Smith of Norborne.	LM 2008, p. 104d
359431	Heref	Tillington	My golde is gone, I have no more, a good lot will bring in store. p Roger Exton of Tillington in Harforde.	LM 2008, p. 117c
359469	Herts ?	??	Linalles loveth not to lande. Per Rich. Birde of Linalles in Hartford.	LM 2009, p. 165a
359475	Heref	Ivington	Yvingtons yvie, is better than holy. p John Child of Ivington in Herford.	LM 2008, p. 114d
359489	Heref	Croft Castle	Warrant not Warston to have the best. p James Crofts of Miles in Hartford.	LM 2009, p. 165d
359647	Kent	Brenchley	We ar pore men of Brencheley in Kent, if we have not good lottes, we shall be shent. p Paroch. de Brenchley, in com. predict.	LM 2009, p. 160a
359708	Kent	Tudeley	[...] <i>Fano. P Georgius Fane de Tudely in [...] anc. Ar. e3 paroch. de Tudely pred. Com.</i>	LM 2009, p. 177d
359851	Kent	Speldhurst	<i>Qui spe aluntur, moriuntur nof...Junt.</i> p Walter Waller de Spelhurstin. Com. B[...]. Ar. & alijs paroch. de Spelhurst predict. Comit.	LM 2008, p. 100c
359882	Kent	Boughton Malherbe	O[f] Boughton Malherbe, we be pore men, among a great many of lottes, God send us one of ten. p Paroch. de Boughton Malherbe in comitatu Kanc.	LM 2008, p. 115d
359899	Kent	Cuxton	Yet we mistrust not God one whit, but some good chaunce to us my hit. p parochiam de Coocton. Kent.	LM 2008, p. 112d
359900	Kent	Cuxton	Yet we mistrust not God one whit, but some good chaunce to us may hit. p parochiam de Cockeston in com. Lanc.	LM 2008, p. 117d
359976	Midd.	London	<i>Sperando spero, si Deus voluerit.</i> p Abraham Smith. London.	LM 2008, p. 110c
359995	Midd.	London	<i>Sperando spero, si Deus voluerit.</i> Abraham Smith. London.	LM 2008, p. 99c
360012	Kent	Denton	Thoughe we be but two in numbere, yet we hope to speede as well as they that come sooner. p parochians de Denton in com. Lanc.	LM 2008, p. 108a
360043	Kent	Higham	God send us gayns, for our great paines. p Paroc. de Higham in Kent.	LM 2009, p. 160d
360073	Kent	Hollingbourne	John Sowthowson of Hollingborne burneth good lyme, if he have not a good lot he is cast behind. Per John Sowthowson de Hollingborne pred. in Com. Ka[n]c.	LM 2008, p. 114d
360080	Kent	Bexley	Out of this rich lottery, God send advancement to Bexly. p Parochianos de Bexly in Com. Kanc.	LM 2008, p. 101c
360103	Salop	Cleobury North	Just men shall live for ever. p Joh. Holte parson of Clibury. North.	LM 2008, p. 110a
360197	Salop	??	Fortune favoereth fooles. p Ric. Forster. Yesall in Com. Salop.	LM 2008, p. 107c
360264	Westm.	Kendal	Thus it is. Per A. Bellingham. Kendall.	LM 2008, p. 102c
360277	Durham	Bishop Auckland	The judgement is the Lords. p Isaack Pilkinton de Bishop Aukland in Com. Dunnelm.	LM 2008, p. 113b
360286	Leics	Leicester	Nought venture, nought have, I adveniter in hope to receive. Robert Herick of Leicester towne.	LM 2009, p. 160c
360350	Worcs	Worcester	Even as pleaseth God. John Collier of Worceter.	LM 2008, p. 109c
360559	Midd.	London	<i>Deus dat cui vult.</i> Derick Anthony. London.	LM 2008, p. 114a
360707	Midd.	London	<i>Vivit post funera virtus.</i> N.S. Lon.	LM 2009, p. 169c
360822	Midd.	London	<i>Ditat servata fides.</i> William Barker. Lo[...]	LM 2008, p. 118b
360870	Midd.	London	<i>Ditat servata fides.</i> William Barker. London.	LM 2008, p. 116d
360878	Midd.	London	<i>Ditat servata fides.</i> William Baker. London.	LM 2008, p. 117a
360898	Midd.	London	God be my frende. Tho. Conye. London.	LM 2008, p. 105a
360987	Norf	Ludham	In the Lord I trust, if not I, an other must. Per Thom. Locke de Loudham in comit. Norffolke.	LM 2009, p. 172b
361065	Norf	Ludham	I doubt not, but to have a lotte by good fortune and chaunce, though Doughtie be my name I I wot, so shall I me advance. p Agnes Doughty of Lowdham. Norff.	LM 2008, p. 116c
361293	Midd.	London	<i>Aliquid vel nihil.</i> John Weale. London.	LM 2008, p. 108c
361296	Midd.	London	<i>Aliquid vel nihil.</i> John Weale. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 116a
361363	Midd.	London	What hath God sent me ? Roger Martin. Lond.	LM 2009, p. 162b
361445	Midd.	London	Whatsoever in this lotterie to us shall fall, we Wevers of London will prayse God for all. Christopher Smith. London.	LM 2008, p. 116d
361590	Midd.	London ?	<i>Viennne gain plustost que perte pour tenir court overt. Per Thiery de la Court.</i>	LM 2008, p. 106a
361631	Midd.	London	<i>Benedicta tu in mulieribus.</i> p Nichol. Mulier.	LM 2008, p. 106c
361635	Midd.	London	<i>Benedicta tu in mulieribus.</i> p Nicholas Mulier.	LM 2008, p. 115a
361691	Midd.	London	Magdalena Verplancken hadde zy den hoochsten prijs zy zoude haer bedancken. p Wittenbeer Buttollane.	LM 2008, p. 115c
361748	Midd.	London	Sal Joos vander plancken, hem moghen dedancken. Per Witten Beer Bottellaen.	LM 2008, p. 113b
361856	Norf	??	That is but earth and dust, in the Lord is all my trust Thom. Dobbins. Norff.	LM 2008, p. 116a
361883	Midd.	London	<i>Fortuna favet fatuis.</i> Robert Russell. London.	LM 2008, p. 117a

361887	Midd.	London	Phillip Risdon is my name in deede, God send me a good lot now at my neede. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 107d
361916	Midd.	London	Whether my lotte be great or small, I give God thanks, for he gives al. George Bucke. London.	LM 2008, p. 110a
361974	Midd.	London	God giveth all. Henry Farrington. London.	LM 2009, p. 164d
362009	Midd.	London	Philip Rysden is my name in deed, [God] [s]end me a good lot now at my neede. p Lon.	LM 2008, p. 111c
362098	Midd.	London	What God will sende me with these three, for myne owne selfe it shal be. George Gyes. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 111b
362291	Midd.	London	Some first, some nexte, some at the last, he may hap speede best that makes no hast. Th. Bright London.	LM 2008, p. 116b
362424	Notts ?	Darfould (Workshop) ?	It will prove to great good, if one good lotte hit Burche. p Rob. Burchewood of Deatforth. Yeoman.	LM 2008, p. 107a
362501	Notts	Mansfield Woodhouse	O God be thou my friende. By Richard Chancock of Mansfield. Woodhouse.	LM 2008, p. 107d
362518	Notts	Mansfield Woodhouse	God send good chance. By Ralph Snowden of Manufield. Woodhouse.	LM 2008, p. 113c
362611	Notts	Mansfield (Sherwood Forest)	Oppresse not simple people with wrong judgment. By Christofer Wadgworth of Maunsfield in Sherwood.	LM 2008, p. 101b
362633	Notts	Mansfield (Sherwood Forest)	Five thousand pounce for my Ryall I hope for to have, if I chaunce of halfe a Crown, I neyther gayne nor save. p Rowl. Davie of Maunsfield in Sherwood.	LM 2008, p. 110c
362695	Notts	Habblesthorpe	Good fortune to Haplethorpe, if they hit the greatest lot. By William Bet of Haplethorpe.	LM 2008, p. 107a
362950	Midd.	London	Love thy Lord God with heart and minde, so shalt thou be sure to have God thy frend. Per Robert Gabbot of London.	LM 2008, p. 102b
363058	Ireland	Waterford	Love god. T. Wise of Water. me.	LM 2009, p. 173a
363074	Ireland	Waterford	Love God. Tho. Wise of Waterford. Marchaunt.	LM 2008, p. 101a
363094	Ireland	Waterford	Feare God. Andrewe Wise of Waterforde.	LM 2009, p. 168c
363186	Ireland	Waterford	Al good giftes come of God. Edwarde [G]oughe of Waterforde.	LM 2009, p. 167b
363207	Ireland	Waterford	All good gifts come of God. Edwarde Gowghe of Waterford.	LM 2008, p. 108c
363252	Ireland	Waterford	Obey thy prince. William Lenard of Waterford, marchaunt.	LM 2008, p. 101c
363279	Ireland	Waterford	Obey thy Prince. William Leonard of Waterford, merchaunt.	LM 2009, p. 167d
363475	Ireland	Waterford	In the name of God, I do adventure into this lotterie. Pers Sherlock of Waterford Merchant.	LM 2009, p. 170c
363517	Ireland ?	??	I desire the grace of God, more than worldly riches. Per Hughe Clarke of Melem.	LM 2009, p. 175a
363580	Midd.	London	God gaff God nam den naem des heren sighe benedit. Robert Leeman ende Floris Allewin. Per comp. Crockwint laen. Lond.	LM 2008, p. 115c
363615	Midd.	London	As God hath appointed, so am I contented. Rouland Martin. London.	LM 2009, p. 167c
363789	Midd.	London	Chaunce that chaunce shall, in God put all. I.A. London.	LM 2008, p. 111b
363795	Midd.	London	Chaunce what chaunce shall, in God put all. I.A.	LM 2008, p. 111b
363899	Leics	Leicester	Florishing faith floweth. Per Mary Fulshorst.	LM 2008, p. 100a
363969	Gloucs	Quenington	Many a flye eateth the blinde. p Ric. Phillips de Quellington. Glouc.	LM 2009, p. 168d
363983	Gloucs	Tewkesbury	In God is my trust. Per George Morrey Burg. Tewxbury. Glouc.	LM 2008, p. 114d
364135	Ireland	Cork	The father of heaven send me good fortune. Per Andrew Galway. Corke.	LM 2009, p. 172a
364204	Cheshire	Malpas	Utere quæsitis modice. Decanatus Malpas infra Archidiacon. Cestr.	LM 2008, p. 115b
364255	Sodor and Man	Isle of Man	<i>Est aliquiū providere tenuis.</i> Tho. Standley. Godorēs. Bishop.	LM 2009, p. 170d
364288	Cheshire	Wilmslow	<i>Vera Nolititas in virtute.</i> Henr. Trafford. Wil[mon]sley. Dioc. Cest.	LM 2008, p. 117b
364324	Lancs	Manchester	<i>Nil apud Deum impossibile.</i> Decanat. Manchester, Dioc. Cest.	LM 2008, p. 113a
364689	Midd.	London	If losse or gayne me Fortune to fall, I give God thanks the disposer of all. Tho. Baynam. Lon.	LM 2009, p. 167b
364691	Midd.	London	If losse or gayne me fortune to fall, I gyve God thanks the disposer of al. Thomas Bainam of London.	LM 2009, p. 172a
365031	Midd.	London	Lincolnes Inne, lookes to win. Robert Monson.	LM 2009, p. 166c
365335	Midd.	London	Lincolnes Inne, lokes to win.	LM 2009, p. 167a
365356	Midd.	London	Lincolnes Inne, lookes to winne. Roberte Monson.	LM 2009, p. 169d
365858	Midd. ?	London ?	<i>Senior se a te piace d'army, non my euro della fortuna.</i> Elizabeth Hennyge.	LM 2009, p. 170b
366047	Midd.	London	Good counsell is the ende and begynning of every worke. Hugh Gybon of Lond.	LM 2009, p. 168a
366084	Midd.	London ?	<i>Post tenebras spero lucem.</i> J.G.	LM 2009, p. 162b

366132	Midd.	London ?	<i>Tout vient a point qui peut attendre, vueille donques ton bras estendre, pur nous tirer quelque bon pris, tu ne sera pour nous repris. p comp. N.F.E.R.</i>	LM 2008, p. 99d
366170	Midd.	London ?	<i>Tout vient a point qui peut attendre, vueille donques ton bras estendre, pour tirer quelque bon pris, tu n'en pour nous repris. p comp. N.F.E.R.</i>	LM 2008, p. 118b
366404	Midd.	London ?	<i>Fecit potentiam in Brachio suo. p. G.I.D.L.H.M.W. The Musicians of my L. Marques.</i>	LM 2009, p. 173c
366496	Midd.	London	Wat godt belieft, my belieft. S.P. London.	LM 2008, p. 113d
366498	Midd.	London	Wat Godt belieft, my belieft. p S.P. London.	LM 2008, p. 107b
366888	Midd.	London	<i>Lucri bonus est odor.</i> ende ick doe mede. Jacques Clautier. p London.	LM 2009, p. 176a
367030	Midd.	London	A chance it is what suer befall, but to get nothing, ill luck we do cal. I.B.A.S.I.R.R.C. London.	LM 2008, p. 105d
367167	Midd.	London	A chaunce it is whatsoever befall, but to get nothing, ill lucke we do call. J.B.A.S.J.R.R.C. London.	LM 2009, p. 163b
367325	Midd.	London	Hendrick van Paeschen heeft groot verlanghen, wat hy voor cen lot sall ontfanghen.	LM 2008, p. 111a
367390	Midd.	London	<i>Fortune peut, ou elle veut. p S.P. com. Lon.</i>	LM 2008, p. 103c
367487	Midd.	London	<i>Fortune peut ou elle vult. Per S.P.P. Comp. London.</i>	LM 2008, p. 159b
367542	Midd.	London	God speede the ploughe, and we shall have corne ynough. p T.S. London.	LM 2009, p. 165a
367567	Midd.	London	<i>In Domino confido.</i> p A.S. London.	LM 2009, p. 169b
367676	Midd.	London	Now or never. p A.I.T.H.R.S. London.	LM 2009, p. 169a
367695	Midd.	London	Now & ever. p M.U.J.K.A.S. Lon.	LM 2009, p. 172b
367781	Midd.	London	For me, my wife, and children three, I hope of the greatest lot if it may be. p Ric. Smith. London.	LM 2008, p. 102b
367864	Midd.	London	God giveth to whome he wil, as God wil so be it, in God is all my trust. P Tho. Walker Vintener of London.	LM 2009, p. 161d
368088	Midd.	London	God prosper the Skinners, & send them good speed, for of the biggest lot they have great neede. per William Towerson. London.	LM 2009, p. 178b
368300	Midd.	London	For the Haberdashers. Our sum put in, is in hope to win. C. and H. London.	LM 2009, p. 162a
368308	Midd.	London	For the Haberdashers. Our summe put in, is in hope to win. p C. and H. of Lon.	LM 2008, p. 108d
368392	Midd.	London	For the Haberdashers. Our summe put in, is in hope to win. P C. and H. London.	LM 2009, p. 162a
368446	Midd.	London	For the Haberdashers. Our summe put in, is in hope for to winne. p C.H. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 104d
368452	Midd.	London	For the Haberdashers. Our summe put in, is in hope to win. p C. and H. London.	LM 2009, p. 162c
368502	Midd.	London	For the Haberdashers. Our sum put in, is in hope to winne. P C. and H. of London.	LM 2009, p. 160d
368763	Midd.	London	What is a tree of Cheries worth to foure in a companie? p Tho. Laurence. Lond.	LM 2009, p. 163c
368939	Midd.	London	<i>Taciturnitate.</i> Per Thomas Aglianby of London.	LM 2008, p. 102b
369170	Wales	Trevalyn	Hap wel or hap ill, in God I will hope still. Per Mary Trevor of Trevallin.	LM 2008, p. 159a
369240	Midd.	London	P.I.A Conteman of London.	LM 2008, p. 159a
369246	Midd.	London	P.J.A. Cotteman of London.	LM 2009, p. 168c
369306	Surrey	Lambeth	<i>Esto mihi deus adiutor.</i> p Rich. Serrat of Lambeth. Yoman. Surrey.	LM 2008, p. 102a
369407	Midd.	London	My mind to thee O God is knowen, thy grace only I crave, some lotte in this lotterie alone, for my portion to have. Robert Goodriche Goldsmith. p London.	LM 2008, p. 107a
369415	Midd.	London	Reward my Ryall. p Roger Revell of London.	LM 2009, p. 173b
369515	Midd.	London	<i>Sperando spero, si Deus voluerit.</i> Abraham Smith. London.	LM 2008, p. 99d
369615	Midd. ?	London ?	If hap and hope in one agree, farewell blank, come lot to me. p R.J.S.	LM 2009, p. 174d
369636	Midd. ?	London ?	If hap and hope in one agree, farewell blank, come lot to me. p R.I.S.	LM 2008, p. 118a
369729	Midd.	London	<i>Sperando spero, si Deus voluerit.</i> Abraham Smith. London.	LM 2009, p. 163c
370022	Midd.	London	The spread Eagle spread, hopeth for a good lotte to be red. A, and C. Stilliard. London.	LM 2008, p. 108c
370042	Midd.	London	The spread Eagle spread, hopeth for a good lot to be red. A. and C. Stilliard. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 102a
370065	Midd.	London	The spread Eagle spread, hopeth for a good lotte to be red. p A. & C. Stilliard. Lond.	LM 2009, p. 178b
370119	Midd.	London	The spread Eagle spread, hopeth for a good lot to be red. A. and C. Stilliard. Lon.	LM 2009, p. 172d
370213	Midd.	London	The spread Eagle spread, hopeth for a good lot to be red. A, and C. Stilliard. London.	LM 2008, p. 103b

370378	Midd.	London	The spread Egle spread, hopeth for a good lot to be red. A.C. Stillyard. London.	LM 2008, p. 116b
370645	Midd.	London	The spred Egle spred hopeth for a good lotte to be red. A and C. Stilliard. London.	LM 2008, p. 104a
370844	Midd.	London	The spred Egle spred, hopeth for a good lotte to be red. A. and C. Stilliard. London.	LM 2009, p. 163c
371028	Midd.	London	The spred Eagle spred, hopeth for a good lot to be red. A. & C. Stil. London.	LM 2008, p. 115b
371030	Midd.	London	The spred Egle spred, hopeth for a good lotte to be red. A. and C. Stilliard. London.	LM 2008, p. 118a
371066	Midd.	London	The spred Egle spred, hopeth for a good lotte to be red. A. and C. Stilliard. Lond.	LM 2009, p. 169a
371131	Midd.	London	The spred Egle spred, hopeth for a good lotte to be red. A. and C. Stilliard. London.	LM 2009, p. 166c
371206	Midd.	London	The spred Egle spred, hopeth for a good lotte to be red. A and C. Stilliard. London	LM 2008, p. 99c
371254	Midd.	London	The spred Eagle spred, hopeth for a good lotte to be red. A. and C. Stilliard. London.	LM 2008, p. 113b
371280	Midd.	London	The spred Eagle spred hopeth for a good to to be red. A. and C. Stilliard. Lond.	LM 2009, p. 168d
371323	Midd.	London	The spred Egle spred, hopeth for a good lotte to be red. A and C. Stilliard. London.	LM 2008, p. 102b
371325	Midd.	London	The spred Egle spred, hopeth for a good lotte to be red. A. and C. Stilliard. London.	LM 2009, p. 173c
371420	Midd.	London	The spred Egle spred, hopeth for a good lotte to be red. A. and C. Stilliard. London.	LM 2008, p. 115d
371452	Midd.	London	The spred Egle spred, hopeth for a good lotte to be red. A. and C. Stilliard. London.	LM 2009, p. 172b
371490	Midd.	London	The sp[r]ead E[agle] spred hopeth f]or a good lot to be red. C. and [A. Stilliard]. Lond.	LM 2009, p. 167c
371857	Midd.	London	The spred Eagle spred, hopeth for a good lot to be red. A. and C. Stilliard. London.	LM 2009, p. 172a
372145	Midd.	London	The spread Eagle spred, hopeth for a good lot to be red. A. and C. Stilliard. London.	LM 2009, p. 173a
372264	Midd.	London	The spred Egle spred, hopeth for a good lotte to be red. A. and C. Stilliard. London.	LM 2008, p. 117d
372371	Midd.	London	The spread Eagle spred, hopeth for a good lot to be red. A. and C. Stilliarde. London.	LM 2009, p. 168c
372386	Midd.	London	The spread Eagle spred, hopeth for a good lot to be red. A. and C. Stilliard. London.	LM 2009, p. 170d
372555	Midd.	London	The spread Egle spread, hopeth for a good lot to be red. A.C. Stillyard. London.	LM 2008, p. 116b
372607	Midd.	London	The spread Egle spred, hopeth for a good lot to be red. p A. and C. Stilliard. Lond.	LM 2009, p. 160b
372688	Midd.	London	The spread Egle spre[d] hopeth for a good lot to be red. A. and C. Stillia[r]d. London.	LM 2009, p. 164c
372733	Midd.	London	The spred Egle spread, hopeth for a good lot to be red. A. and C. Stillyard. London.	LM 2008, p. 107d
372949	Midd.	London	The spred Eagle spred, hopeth for a good lot to be red. A. and C. Stilliard. Lon.	LM 2008, p. 99b
373082	Midd.	London	The spred Eagle spred, hopeth for a good lot to be red. A. and C. Stillyard. London.	LM 2009, p. 174a
373088	Midd.	London	The spread Eagle spred, hopeth for a good lotte to be red. A. and C. Stilliard. London.	LM 2008, p. 106c
373093	Midd.	London	The spread Eagle spred, hopeth for a good lot to be red. A. and C. Stilliarde. London.	LM 2009, p. 165b
373116	Midd.	London	The spread Egle spred, hopeth for a good lot to be red. A. and C. Stilliard. London.	LM 2009, p. 170c
373144	Midd.	London	The spread Eagle spred, hopeth for a good lotte to be red. A. and C. Stilliard. London.	LM 2008, p. 109c
373194	Midd.	London	Two partners being of good comforte and chere, if fortune sende them somewhat they will appeare. George Lubking and Philip Bockelman. London.	LM 2008, p. 116c
373399	Midd.	London	Benedict Spynola. London.	LM 2009, p. 162a
373528	Midd.	London	Benedict Spinola. London.	LM 2008, p. 100c
373726	Flanders	Antwerp	Alexander Grymalde. Antwerpe.	LM 2008, p. 102a
373772	Midd.	London	Benedict, Pasquill, and Jacob Spinola. London.	LM 2008, p. 111a
373776	Midd.	London	Benedict, Pascal, and Jacob Spynola. London.	LM 2009, p. 169d
373941	Midd.	London	<i>Men[i]re che jo viuro. lo. Baptist Fortune. Florence.</i>	LM 2008, p. 115b
373945	Midd.	London	<i>Mentre che vivero.</i> John B[...] Fortune Florence.	LM 2008, p. 108c
374015	Midd.	London	Benedict Spynola, for the sonnes and daughters of Thomas Haselfoote. London.	LM 2008, p. 100b
374041	Midd.	London	Benedict Spinola. for Robert Harris. London.	LM 2009, p. 169c

374185	Midd.	London	I am a poore Orphan, God sende me good fortune. M.B. London.	LM 2008, p. 113b
374191	Midd.	London	I am past thirtie in all poinctes. T.C. London.	LM 2008, p. 116c
374194	Midd.	London	I am past thirtie in all poinctes. T.C. London.	LM 2008, p. 106b
374247	Norf	Swanton Abbott	Nothing venture, nothing have, is commonly sayd, therefore to venture, wherfore should we be afrayd. P John Crome of Swanton. Abbot.	LM 2009, p. 170b
374261	Norf	Gunthorpe	If I may impute it to fortune. p Gregory Houghton of Gonthorp.	LM 2008, p. 103c
374365	Norf	Cley next the Sea	Let fortune favour. p Giles Simondes of Claye juxta Mare.	LM 2008, p. 117b
374503	Norf	Binham	God who all things doest excel, graunt me my lot to chaunce wel. p John Man de Bynham.	LM 2008, p. 108a
374532	Norf	Binham	I am the lot of age and youth, I hope to speede I tell you truth. p Peter Hagan of Bynham.	LM 2008, p. 116b
374539	Norf	Langham	Chaunce well, and mounthe high, and I wil praise this lottery. p H. Walker of Langham.	LM 2008, p. 100d
374557	Norf	Langham	The greatest lot I doe not crave, but the second I would faine have. p Richard Walker of Langham.	LM 2008, p. 101c
374613	Norf	Blakeney (Sniterley)	As I trust in God, so helpe me. p Thomas Barker the elder of Blakeney.	LM 2008, p. 109a
374718	Norf	Weasenham	All that we have we doe vouchesave. p Nicholas Smith de Wesenham pro villa de Wesenham.	LM 2008, p. 100b
374760	Norf	Wells next the Sea	We be poore men of the haven towne of Welles, God send us his gayne, and nothing elles. Wil. Sabbes. p. Welles.	LM 2008, p. 100c
374829	Norf	Pudding Norton	Be as be may. p Richarde Benson of Pudding Norton.	LM 2008, p. 116c
374897	Norf	Sedgeford	I wish to us good speed, as the town of Sedgeforth have neede. p Godfrey Hargaw of Sedgeforth.	LM 2008, p. 159d
374926	Norf	Shernborne	<i>Iniuria vincitur beneficio</i> p Lancelot Smalpiece. de Sharliborne.	LM 2008, p. 108b
375034	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 117d
375099	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 159b
375154	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. P M. and A.	LM 2009, p. 160c
375218	Midd.	London	God preserve the Citie of London. p M. and A.	LM 2008, p. 112b
375519	Midd. ?	London ?	<i>En espoir comforte face. p Comp. p F.F.M.O. p Anvers.</i>	LM 2008, p. 105c
375548	Midd. ?	London ?	<i>En espoir comforte face. p Comp. p F.F.M.P. Per Anvers.</i>	LM 2008, p. 113a
375591	Midd. ?	London ?	<i>En espoir comforte face per company. Per F.F.M.O. per Anvers.</i>	LM 2008, p. 159d
375766	Midd.	London	<i>In te Domine operavi.</i> per Elizabeth Martin. Lady Mairis of London.	LM 2009, p. 163b
375808	Midd.	London	<i>In te Domine operavi.</i> Elizabeth Martin, Lady mairesse of London.	LM 2009, p. 161d
375853	Midd.	London	The Lorde giveth, and the Lorde taketh, as the Lorde willeth it commeth to passe. p William Preme of London.	LM 2009, p. 160b
375891	Midd.	London	The Fickle frute of fortunes floure, it ripeth and rotteth all in one houre. p Phillip Fuller. Lon.	LM 2009, p. 160d
375905	Midd.	London	The fickle frute of Fortunes floure, it rypeth & rotteth, and al in an houre. p Phillip Fuller of London.	LM 2009, p. 172a
376091	Midd.	London	O Lorde give to thy servaunte what it shal please thee. Per Arthur Hunson of London.	LM 2008, p. 109b
376092	Midd.	London	O Lord give to thy servaunt, what it shall please thee. Per Arthur Hanson of London.	LM 2008, p. 104d
376123	Midd.	London	This money of me you do attaine, in hope to me a further gaine. Gerveis Simons.	LM 2009, p. 173c
376264	Midd.	London	In heaven a dwelling place, and there I shall be sure of Gods grace. p Susan Wolhouse. M.[U.] London.	LM 2008, p. 101d
376287	Midd.	London	In heaven a dwellyng place, and then I shall be sure of Gods grace. p Susan Wolhouse. M.Y. of London.	LM 2008, p. 104a
376395	Midd.	London	Lord whether thou send a good lot or a blanck, yet for thy goodnesse I am bound thee to thanke. per Jo. Bodleigh of London.	LM 2009, p. 174c
376497	Suff.	Stratford	The lot causeth contention to cease, and I John [Uffol] hope for increase. p Stratford in Suffolk.	LM 2008, p. 109c
376612	Midd.	London	This lot which heere in hand I hold, I wil harmelesse his maister save, and bring him golde. Per Rich. Munde of London.	LM 2008, p. 112b
376726	Midd.	London	Winne or losse let be as will, the mony is payde it shall not skill. p Ric. Morley of London.	LM 2008, p. 108c
377067	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Videò & taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 112c
377126	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Videò & taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 113a
377214	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Videò & taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 166b
377277	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Videò & taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 109d
377414	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Videò & taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 169a
377510	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Videò & taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 114c
377670	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Videò & taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 100b

377781	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 110b
377934	Hunts	Slepe, St Ives	I sleepe in sleape at S. Ives. p William Laurence of S. Ives.	LM 2009, p. 169b
377939	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 113c
378022	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 166c
378045	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 118b
378100	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 117d
378183	The Queen	The Queen	<i>video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 165b
378408	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 99b
378519	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 103a
378617	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 174a
378623	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 175b
378638	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 109d
378730	The Queen	The Queen	<i>video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 161c
379083	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 172b
379118	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 172d
379125	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 168b
379229	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 104d
379259	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 113c
379324	The Queen	The Queen	<i>video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 162c
379469	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 174b
379477	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 163c
379530	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 105b
379648	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 173b
379787	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 167b
379797	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video et taceo</i>	LM 2009, p. 174b
379944	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 176b
379988	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 161a
380017	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 162b
380054	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 163d
380059	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 174b
380227	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 163a
380450	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 114b
380647	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 104d
381328	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo</i>	LM 2008, p. 159b
381440	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 100d
381599	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Vid[e]o [e³] [t]aceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 160c
381675	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video et taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 166c
381741	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 117d
381746	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 107b
381783	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 99d
381800	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 108a
382001	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 166c
382008	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 112b
382112	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 110d
382189	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 163c
382271	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 118a
382479	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 161c
382522	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 165b
382536	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 112a
382562	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 117b
382723	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 100a
382804	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 117a
382805	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 107b
382835	The Queen	The Queen	<i>V[ideo e³ Taceo].</i>	LM 2008, p. 117c
382924	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 110d
382928	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 100a
383020	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 167d
383143	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 110c

383421	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video et taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 172b
383522	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 170c
383562	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 110c
383579	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 101c
383594	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 110d
383747	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 117b
383815	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 166a
383966	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 106d
384065	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 106a
384145	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 172a
384415	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 166d
384700	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 116c
384818	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 116b
384846	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 112d
384960	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 99c
385140	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 99c
385260	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 100a
385272	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 173b
385287	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 113a
385400	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 116a
385414	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 116c
385435	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 166d
385459	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 116d
385511	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video et taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 166c
385530	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 113a
385650	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 167b
385788	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video et taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 166d
385868	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 110a
386246	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 164d
386462	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 100c
386569	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video et taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 160d
386730	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 165d
386944	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 165a
387030	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 102c
387458	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 103b
387510	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 109b
387540	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 161a
387625	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 170b
387874	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 103c
387885	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video et taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 166c
388104	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 104b
388185	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video et taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 173c
388835	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 175b
389078	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 103c
389244	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 159b
389261	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 159c
389288	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 108d
389290	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 105c
389360	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Vide[o] e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 117c
389384	The Queen	The Queen	<i>video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 161c
389407	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 162d
389644	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 105d
389700	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 109b
389804	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 177b
389948	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 104d
389963	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 111c
390185	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 105a
390517	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e³ taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 108d

390621	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 177b
390682	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 104b
390727	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 170d
390778	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 109a
390863	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 162a
390887	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 116c
391059	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 106b
391446	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 100a
391483	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 114a
391750	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 104d
391764	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 114d
391977	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 166a
392009	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 159d
392031	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 159b
392170	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 177d
392220	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 117a
392389	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video et taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 176b
392588	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 111b
392607	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 167b
392677	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 118a
392834	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 102a
392852	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 106d
392856	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 99b
393169	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 112b
393212	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 116a
393407	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 108d
393528	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 161c
393567	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 100b
393574	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 99c
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393932	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 99c
393962	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 112a
393993	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 166c
394046	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 106c
394060	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 115a
394145	The Queen	The Queen	<i>video et taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 167a
394245	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 112c
394254	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 165b
394365	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 111d
394506	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 114c
394691	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 174b
395003	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 117b
395006	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 163c
395328	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 115a
395337	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 106b
395412	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 168a
395502	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 170a
395539	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 168b
395713	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 101b
395878	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 101d
396001	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 116b
396092	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 115a
396180	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 172a
396201	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 168c
396225	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 104a
396248	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 162b
396253	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 174d
396398	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video 3 taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 160c

396435	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e3 taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 162b
396806	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e3 taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 177d
396948	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 109d
396987	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e3 taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 172a
397069	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 159c
397337	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 107a
397384	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video [...]</i>	LM 2009, p. 175c
397400	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e3 taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 172c
397424	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 100b
397446	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 112c
397484	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 117d
397577	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 112a
397682	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 99c
397859	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e3 taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 164c
397955	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 114d
398191	Midd. ?	London ?	The power of God be helping to us both yong Elkins. Tho. Elkins.	LM 2008, p. 106d
398296	Midd.	London	As without adventure nothyng is got, so by good fortune I may have the great lot. Anne Gresham of London.	LM 2009, p. 165d
398307	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 113c
398322	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e3 taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 167a
398345	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e3 taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 167a
398381	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 106c
398583	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 113b
398614	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e3 taceo.</i>	LM 2009, p. 165b
398624	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 111d
398689	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 118b
398752	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 116d
398986	Midd.	London	We read in scripture playne: Hee that put in but little, by the grace of god may have great gaine. Frauncis Litler. London.	LM 2008, p. 112c
399139	Midd.	London	Whether I speede or speede not, the thought is taken. Piers Pennant London.	LM 2008, p. 104d
399303	Hants	Isle of Wight	In the Lord is my trust. Alexander Harvie. p Isle of Wight.	LM 2009, p. 164c
399365	Midd.	London	Melcher of Aldenecke wisheth to ye pore, the greatest lot, or any other, if it please God. London.	LM 2009, p. 164a
399933	Midd. ?	London ?	God mijn hulf. p G.V.A.D.W.	LM 2009, p. 166d
581753	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Video e3 taceo.</i>	LM 2008, p. 101d
2425876	Midd.	London	<i>Acerbo Velutelli de Luca. p trois bons companions.</i>	LM 2008, p. 116b
??	Devon	Wembury	I [XXX]. p Thom. Rider of Wenbery.	LM 2008, p. 117c
??	Gloucs	Bristol	The [...] Lord giveth hap. T[...]	LM 2009, p. 174c
??	??	??	[...] Radulph. Heldon. Li[v]on.	LM 2009, p. 177d
??	Surrey	Kingston upon Thames	Good fo[...]y, pl[at]e [lin]en, or tap[...] ingston upon Th [...]	LM 2009, p. 173c
??	Midd.	London	As [...] ing, I am content w[...] rtin of Chepside, gold[smith]	LM 2009, p. 169c
??	??	??	What God [...]me. p John Harkin de [...]	LM 2009, p. 170c
??	Suff.	??	What I do wish, I pray God accomplish. Per Rob. [---] de ---worth in com. Suff. juniorem.	LM 2008, p. 159c
[---]30	Cornw	Phillack ?	God helpe [...] [...]hn Harry de Selack in Corne[wall?]	LM 2009, p. 168c
[---]414	Gloucs	Bristol	[Hap] well, for William Pepwell of Bristol.	LM 2008, p. 105a
[---]437	Berks	Abingdon	If God will. p Ric. Brotwel. Abendon. [?]	LM 2008, p. 159c
[---]58	Midd.	London	Thin[...] ster Roger Martin, Lo[...] of London. for Mercers co[...]	LM 2009, p. 175c
[---]6	Hants	Southampton	God g [...] ase. p J. Knight. Southampton.	LM 2009, p. 173c
[---]4	??	??	I am [...] Prist. Paro[...]	LM 2009, p. 175c
[--]4400	??	??	[--]fants hap. p John Sherman de Heybridge.	LM 2008, p. 116c
[.]37-[9]8	Midd.	London	[the spread] Eagle spread, hopeth for a good lotte [to be red]. [p.] A. and C. Stilliarde of London.	LM 2008, p. 117c
[.]710	Cambs	Ely	[Sors] mea Dominus. p Andreas Perne. Ely.	LM 2008, p. 106a
[8378]	Midd.	London	<i>In Domino confido. p A.S. Lon[don].</i>	LM 2008, p. 103c
[3]55792	Somerset ?	??	O poore, poore, [...] poore. p Tho. Sowton de Som[...].	LM 2009, p. 167c
[3226---]	Ireland	Stradbally	Tru[...] Stradballa.	LM 2009, p. 174c
[346---]	Midd.	London	God [...] M. and [...]	LM 2009, p. 174c

[57451]	Midd.	London	If this lot be lucky I have my minde, I gayne not my selfe, I gyve it my friende. Per Christopher Chewte. London.	LM 2009, p. 169b
[76591]	Surrey	Byfleet (Woking)	Byfl[...].yed. p Rob. Smith. Biflyt. Su[...]	LM 2009, p. 174c
1120[1]6	Lincs	Sleaford	<i>La Fordia nova e^s vetus</i> . William Carre. de Sleaforde.	LM 2008, p. 117c
1465[-]	??	??	<i>Spes ali [...]</i> tal of Haughton.	LM 2009, p. 173c
1667[0/9]6	??	??	One no doubt of the great lot shall hit, and peradventure one that shall have lest neede of it. Thomas Calton.	LM 2009, p. 177b
16885[-]	Midd.	London	<i>Per il vi[...]</i> se Ferrario. London.	LM 2009, p. 177c
1709[-]	??	??	<i>Avis prohibet sperare [...]</i> ora. p Henry Stanley. p Byeston.	LM 2009, p. 165c
18421[-]	Devon	East Allington	At fal[...] Fortescue. East Alington.	LM 2009, p. 174c
195[-]7	Midd.	London	God graunte with grace in his feare to runne my race. John Turner. London.	LM 2009, p. 174b
2[4-0]55	York Y	York	<i>Mea forte [co]ntentus ero</i> . John Leadall of York.	LM 2008, p. 101b
2[6]0080	Norf	Baconsthorpe	<i>Dubius rerum cuentus</i> . T. Heydon Bakenschorpe.	LM 2008, p. 115c
20[-]553	York E	Hull	Hope wel Hul thou mayest be happy, hitherto god hath delt with thee lovingly. Ric. Dalton. Hull.	LM 2009, p. 169c
200[3]19	Midd.	London	<i>Vincit veritas</i> . p F.P.	LM 2008, p. 113b
2098[3]5	Dorset	Symondsburys	He that hath but little must spend the lesse. Per Andrew Holcome. Simondsbrough.	LM 2008, p. 117c
22[-]62[-]	Midd.	London	Sith god doth give th[ough] nought I crave, unfold let see what hap I h[ave] [...] John Hutton of London, Stapler.	LM 2009, p. 167c
2365[-]0	??	??	Robert Wright of Strubly, Good lucke God send me. Strubly in Woodthorp.	LM 2009, p. 167a
26[0]721	Essex	Saffron Walden	T... the Lotterie containing to eve... [resteth in b]... William Strachie... [t]he towne of Saffron Walden,...Countie of Essex, according to gods g...[tr]usting in him some of them will take p...	LM 2008, p. 117c
26074[-]	Essex	Saffron Walden	Twelve lots [...] count to every lotte shillin[gs] ten, [...]ly William Stracie, dwelling in the T[owne] of Saffron Walden, within the Count[ie...] er: according to gods grace, trusting in [...]me of them will take place.	LM 2009, p. 170c
268[7]65	Midd.	London	I am Elizabeth John Philips wife, even as please God my lot and my life. London.	LM 2009, p. 166a
388[---]	Gloucs	Bristol	---grace to Mombridge place, be it--- p William Yate. Bristoll	LM 2008, p. 159c
3977[-5]	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Vide et taceo</i> .	LM 2009, p. 165c
684[---]	??	??	Cha[...] Per Hocfield.	LM 2009, p. 175c
8353[-]	Oxon	Henley	Hap happily Henly. p William Mercer de Henly.	LM 2008, p. 159c
N/A	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Vide e^s taceo</i> . three times called together.	LM 2008, p. 105c
N/A	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Vide e^s taceo</i> . thrise together.	LM 2008, p. 106c
N/A	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Vide e^s taceo</i> . three times called together.	LM 2008, p. 107a
N/A	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Vide e^s taceo</i> . three times together.	LM 2008, p. 114c
N/A	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Vide e^s taceo</i> . three times together blanke.	LM 2008, p. 105c
N/A	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Vide e^s taceo</i> , three times together called.	LM 2009, p. 166a
N/A	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Vide e^s taceo</i> . three times together, Blanck,	LM 2009, p. 166c
N/A	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Vide e^s taceo</i> . thrise together called.	LM 2009, p. 162a
N/A	The Queen	The Queen	<i>Vide e^s taceo</i> . foure times together, blanck.	LM 2008, p. 159b

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Lansdowne MS 11/13/13, ff. 41–44	Stephen Perrett to Cecil; his scheme for raising money by lottery, 4 May 1569
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PROB 11/51/288, ff. 118 ^r –119 ^r	Will of William Swyfte of Rotherham, Yorks., 14 Jul 1569
PROB 11/56/228, ff. 152 ^v –153 ^r	Will of William Hatley of Stevington, Bedf., 13 May 1574

PROB 11/57/18, ff. 14^v–15^r

Will of Elizabeth Bromhall of Stevington, Bedf.,
18 Jan 1575

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James Aldaye to Cecil, 25 Jun 1559

SP 12/4/65, ff. 207–208^v

James Aldaye to Cecil, 25 Jun 1559

SP 12/41/36, f. 75

Cecil, 'Memoryall to the Quene at the End of the
Parliament', 8 Nov 1566

SP 12/47/13, f. 28

William Gerrard and Thomas Offley to Cecil, 14
Jul 1568

SP 12/47/48, f. 97

Pembroke, Leicester and Cecil to Antwerp's
Merchant Adventurers (draft), 30 Aug 1568

SP 12/48/17, ff. 33–34

Roger Martin to Cecil, 15 Oct 1568

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Duc d'Albe*

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Estienne Perrot to Cecil, 3 Dec 1568

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Jan 1568

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William Hammond to More, 23 Feb 1568

6729/7/144g

Hammond to More, 20 Dec 1567

6729/7/144h	William Garrard and Thomas Offley to More, 6 Jan 1568
6729/7/144i	Garrard to More, 14 Apr 1568
6729/7/144j	John Johnson to More, 10 Jul 1568
6729/7/144k	Draft precept, More and Johnson to the constables of Surrey hundreds, [10 Jul 1568]
6729/7/144l	Privy Council to JPs, collectors, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, etc. in Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Hampshire, 22 Jul 1568
6729/7/144m	Johnson to More, 21 Aug 1568
6729/7/144n	Johnson to More, 8 Sep 1568
6729/7/144o	Johnson to More, 15 Sep 1568
6729/7/144p	Thomas Browne to More, 20 Sep 1568
6729/7/144q	Garrard, Offley and John Tamworth to More, 9 Oct 1568
6729/7/144r	More to Hammond, Moys and Evelyn (copy), 13 Oct 1568
6729/7/144s1	Evelyn to More, 18 Dec 1567
6729/7/144s2	Evelyn to More, 8 Apr 1568
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- ‘BENDLOWES, William (1514/1584), of Great Bardfield, Essex’
- ‘BRADBOURNE, Sir Humphrey (by 1513–81), of Bradbourne and Lea, Derbys.’
- ‘CHALONER, John II (by 1526–81), of Calais and Ireland’
- ‘CHAMBERLAIN, George (by 1533–80 or later)’
- ‘CHICHESTER, John (1519/20–68), of Great Torrington, Youlston and Raleigh, Devon’
- ‘CLIFTON, Gervase (1516–88), of Clifton, Hodsock and Wilford, Notts.’
- ‘COOKE, Tristram (by 1530–72/73), of Scarborough, Yorks. and Flixborough, Lincs.’
- ‘CRUWYS (CRUSE), John (by 1530–66 or later), of Liskeard, Cornw.’
- ‘DENYS, Sir Thomas (by 1477–1561), of Holcombe Burnell and Bicton, Devon and London.’

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- ‘EYNNS (GYNNS, HEYNES), Thomas (c.1515–78), of Westminster, Mdx. and Heslington, Yorks.’
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- ‘GARGRAVE, Thomas (1494/95–1579), of North Elmsall and Kinsley, Yorks.’
- ‘HALES, John II (by 1516–72), of Coventry, Warws. and London’
- ‘HUNGERFORD, John (by 1516–82), of Stokke, Wilts. and Down Ampney, Glos.’
- ‘KEKEWICH, George (1530–82), of Catchfrench, Cornw.’
- ‘LANE, Robert (1527–c.88), of Hogshaw, Bucks. and Horton, Northants.’
- ‘LINCH, Simon (by 1521–74), of Cranbrook, Sandwich and Staple, Kent’
- ‘LITTLETON, Edward (by 1489–1558), of Pillaton, Staffs.’
- ‘LONG, Robert (1515/16–81), of Draycot Cerne, Wilts.’
- ‘MALLOCK (MANNOCK), John (by 1527–66/67), of Axmouth, Devon’
- ‘POWTRELL, Nicholas (by 1517–79), of Egmantown, Notts.’
- ‘SAYER, George (by 1515–77), of Colchester, Essex’
- ‘SCUDAMORE, (SKYDMORE), John (by 1503–71), of Holm Lacy, Herefs.’
- ‘SHERBORN, Sir Richard (by 1522–94), of Stonyhurst, Lancs.’
- ‘SMITH, alias DYER, John (1498/99–1571), of Ipswich, Suff.’
- ‘WHALLEY, Richard (1498/99–1583), of Kirton, Welbeck and Sibthorpe, Notts. and Wimbeldon, Surr.’
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- ‘CHICHESTER, Sir John (c.1520–68), of Great Torrington, Yowlston and Raleigh, Devon’

- ‘CHUDLEIGH, John (1564–89), of Ashton, Devon’
- ‘EYNNS, Thomas (d.1578), of York and Heslington, Yorks.’
- ‘FIENNES, Richard (1555–1613), of Broughton Castle, Oxon.’
- ‘FISH, William (d.1591), of Scarborough, Yorks.’
- ‘FLEETWOOD, Thomas (1518–70), of London; The Vache, Chalfont St. Giles, Bucks. and Rossall, Lancs.’
- ‘FRETCHVILE, Peter (c.1571–1634), of Staveley, Derbys.’
- ‘LANE, Ralph (c.1528–1603), of London Glendon, Northants., Dublin’
- ‘LANE, Sir Robert (1527–c.88), of Horton, Northants.’
- ‘LANE, William I, of Horton, Northants.’
- ‘LEIGHE (LYE), George (d.1578), of Shrewsbury, Salop.’
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- ‘PARKER, Thomas (c.1510–70), of Norwich, Norf.’
- ‘PATE, Richard (1516–88), of Minsterworth, Glos.’
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- ‘SHUTE, Robert (c.1528–90), of Oakington, Cambs.’
- ‘SLEGGE, Roger (c.1519–89), of Cambridge’
- ‘SUCKLING, Robert (1520–89), of St. Andrew’s, Norwich, Norf.’
- ‘TAMWORTH, John (c.1524–69), of Sandon, Essex; Sutton, Lincs. and St. Botolph, Bishopsgate’
- ‘WATERTON, Thomas (by 1526–75), of Walton and Sandal, Yorks.’
- ‘WHALLEY, Richard (c.1558–c.1632), of Kirton and Screveton, Notts.’
- ‘WINGFIELD, Edward Maria (c.1550–c.1614), of Stoneley, Hunts.’
- ‘WOTTON, Edward (1548–1628), of Boughton Malherbe, Kent and London’
- ‘YORK, Peter (c.1542–89), of Gouthwaite, Yorks.’
- ‘YORK, Sir John (d.1569), of York and St. Stephen Walbrook, London’
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 - ‘Benlowes, Edward (1602–1676), poet’, by P. G. Stanwood
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 - ‘Brooke, John (d. 1582), translator’, by Kathleen E. Kennedy
 - ‘Browne, Sir Anthony (1509/10–1567), judge’, by J. H. Baker
 - ‘Bryskett, Lodowick [Lewis] (c.1546–1609x12), administrator and writer’, by Richard A. McCabe
 - ‘Cecil, Thomas, first earl of Exeter (1542–1623), courtier and soldier’, by Richard Milward
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 - ‘Cole, Thomas (c.1520–1571), Church of England clergyman’, by Brett Usher
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 - ‘Elyot, Sir Thomas (c.1490–1546), humanist and diplomat’, by Stanford Lehmborg
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- ‘Harington, Sir John (bap. 1560, d. 1612), courtier and author’, by Jason Scott-Warren
- ‘Heron, Haly (c.1550–1591), author and soldier’, by Jill Kraye
- ‘Heywood, Jasper (1535–1598), poet and Jesuit’, by Dennis Flynn
- ‘Heywood, John (b. 1496/7, d. in or after 1578), playwright and epigrammatist’, by Peter Happé
- ‘Hopton, John (d. 1558), Dominican friar and bishop of Norwich’, by Ralph Houlbrooke
- ‘Houghton, John [St John Houghton] (1486/7–1535), prior of the London Charterhouse and martyr’, by James Hogg
- ‘Kaye, John (b. before 1530, d. 1594), landowner and poet’, by Robert Tittler
- ‘Kingsmill, Andrew (1537/8–1569), civil lawyer and religious activist’, by Ronald H. Fritze
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- ‘Lane, Sir Ralph (d. 1603), soldier and colonist’, by Warren M. Billings
- ‘Lesley [Leslie], John (1527–1596), bishop of Ross, historian, and conspirator’, by Rosalind K. Marshall
- ‘Lily, George (d. 1559), Roman Catholic ecclesiastic and cosmographer’, by T. F. Mayer
- ‘Loftus, Adam (1533/4–1605), Church of Ireland archbishop of Dublin’, by Helga Robinson-Hammerstein
- ‘Lupton, Thomas (fl. 1572–1584), political and religious controversialist’, by G. K. Hunter
- ‘Lyly, John (1554–1606), writer and playwright’, by G. K. Hunter
- ‘Martin [née Eccleston], Dorcas, Lady Martin (1536/7–1599), translator and bookseller’, by Elaine V. Beilin
- ‘Martin, Sir Richard (1533/4–1617), goldsmith’, by C. E. Challis

- ‘Munday, Anthony (bap. 1560, d. 1633), playwright and translator’, by David M. Bergeron
- ‘Myddelton, Sir Hugh, baronet (1556x60?–1631), goldsmith and entrepreneur’, by Mark S. R. Jenner
- ‘Nugent, Christopher, fifth Baron Delvin (1544–1602), nobleman’, by Colm Lennon
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- ‘Patten, William (d. in or after 1598), author’, by Peter Sherlock
- ‘Peckham, Sir George (d. 1608), colonial adventurer’, by James McDermott
- ‘Percy, Thomas, seventh earl of Northumberland (1528–1572), magnate and rebel’, by Julian Lock
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- ‘Perne, Andrew (1519?–1589), dean of Ely and college head’, by Patrick Collinson
- ‘Phillips [Phillip], John (d. 1594x1617), author’, by Alexandra Walsham
- ‘Pilkington, James (1520–1576), bishop of Durham’, by David Marcombe
- ‘Pole, Richard de la (d. 1525), soldier and claimant to the English throne’, by Sean Cunningham
- ‘Ponder, Nathaniel [called Bunyan Ponder] (1640–1699), bookseller’, by Beth Lynch
- ‘Porter, Henry (d. 1599), playwright’, by G. K. Hunter
- ‘Proctor, Thomas (fl. 1578–1584), poet’, by Matthew Steggle
- ‘Proctor, John (1521–1558), schoolmaster and author’, by David Loades
- ‘Rhodes, Hugh (fl. 1545?), writer on education’, by Douglas Gray
- ‘Roper, William (1495x8–1578), biographer’, by Hugh Trevor-Roper
- ‘Russell, Francis, second earl of Bedford (1526/7–1585), magnate’, by Wallace T. MacCaffrey
- ‘Smyth [Smith], Richard (1499/1500–1563), theologian’, by J. Andreas Löwe
- ‘Stanley, Edward, first Baron Monteagle (c.1460–1523), soldier; also including Thomas Stanley (d. 1569)’, by Gervase Phillips

- ‘Suckling, Sir John (bap. 1609, d. 1641?), poet; also including Sir John Suckling (bap. 1569, d. 1627)’, by Tom Clayton
- ‘Thorold family (per. c.1492–1717), gentry’, by Gerald A. J. Hodgett
- ‘Toy, Humphrey (b. in or before 1537, d. 1577), bookseller’, by I. Gadd
- ‘Udall [Yevedale], Nicholas (1504–1556), schoolmaster and playwright’, by Matthew Steggles
- ‘Waldegrave, Sir Edward (1516/17–1561), courtier and administrator’, by Ann Weikel
- ‘Whetstone, George (bap. 1550, d. 1587), writer’, by Emma Smith
- ‘Whitney, Geoffrey (1548?–1600/01), author’, by Andrew King
- ‘Wilford, Sir Thomas (c.1530–1610), soldier’, by M. A. Stevens
- ‘Winwood, Sir Ralph (1562/3–1617), diplomat and secretary of state’, by M. Greengrass
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- ‘Wotton, Edward, first Baron Wotton (1548–1628), diplomat and administrator’, by A. J. Loomie
- ‘Wriothesley, Henry, third earl of Southampton (1573–1624), courtier and literary patron’, by Honan Park
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